

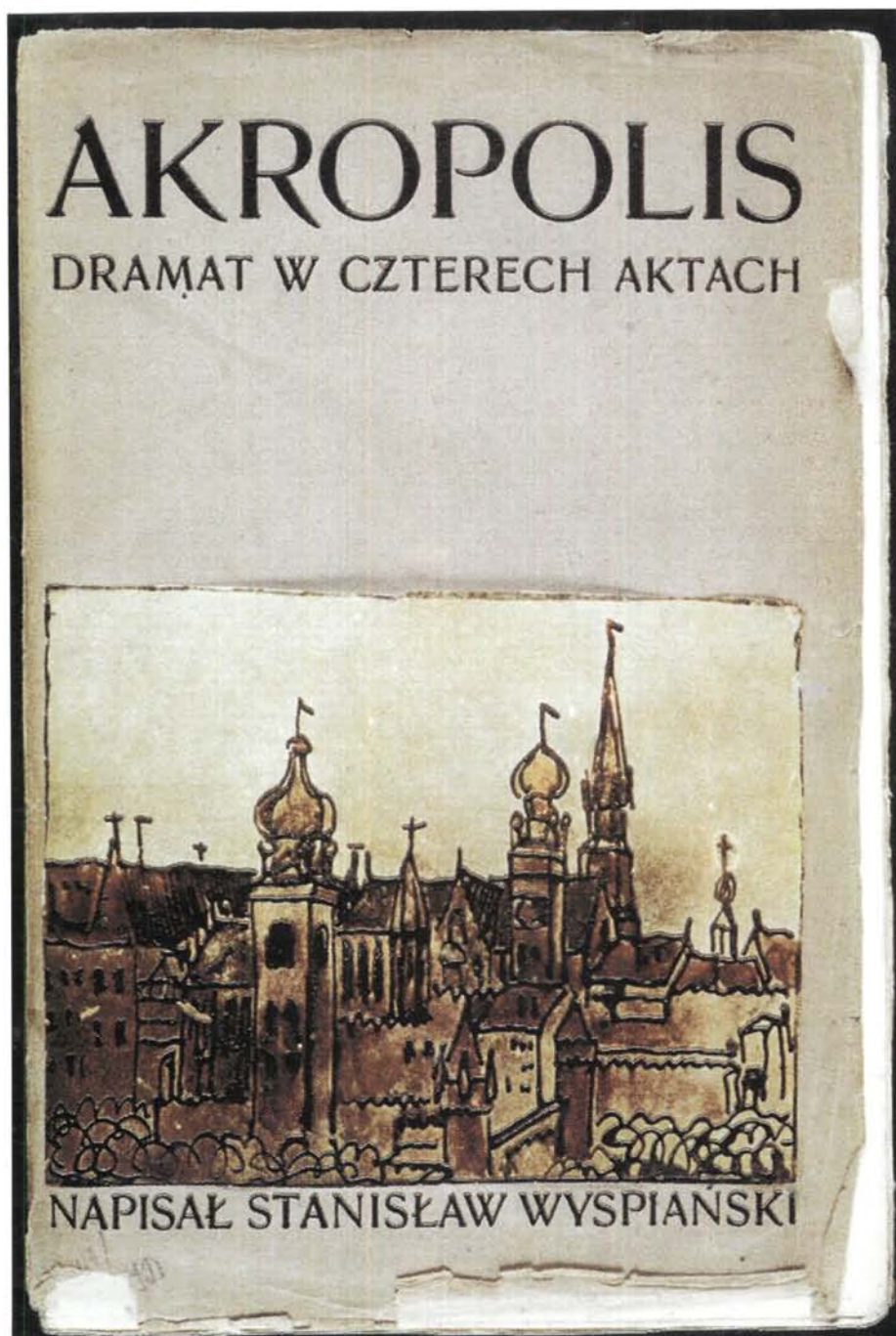
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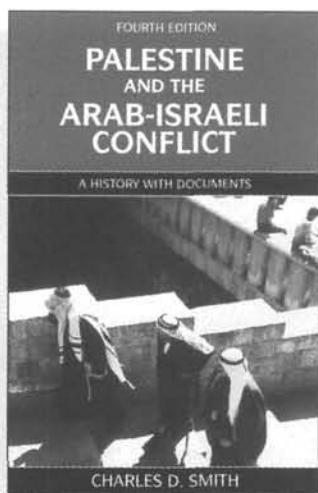
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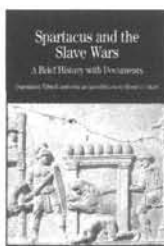
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## In This Issue

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This rather full issue contains a mixture of very different sorts of pieces, several of which overlap in interesting ways. It opens with research articles on Poland and on China, which share a common concern with cultural and political currents of the period around 1900. These are followed by a *Forum* that analyzes cinematic representations of World War II and the changing place of that traumatic event in American, Russian, and British national memory. Next comes an *AHR Forum Essay*—which, like last year's, will be the focal point for an online exchange with the author. (See the Introduction on page 865 for details.) It compares and contrasts the operation of racial categories in varied colonial settings. Finishing off the article section is a review essay that revisits the theme of commemoration so central to the World War II *Forum*, by way of a critical assessment of Pierre Nora's influential series of volumes on French national memory. The issue also contains our usual array of book and film reviews.

### Articles

**Larry Wolff** takes as his point of departure an oft-cited essay on fin-de-siècle Vienna by Carl Schorske that appeared in these pages exactly forty years ago. His focus, though, is not on the Austrian capital but rather on another important, though much less studied Habsburg metropolis: Cracow. Wolff describes the complex interplay between conservative and modernist trends in this Polish city, while illuminating as well the significance of Gallician loyalism in the politics of the day. Famous events (such as the anarchist assassination of Habsburg empress Elisabeth in 1898) and major works of literature (such as a 1901 play whose title translates as "The Wedding") are put into context. In

addition, the rhetoric of the press is examined, and subsidiary themes such as the importance of violent images in contemporary poetry are discussed.

**Joan Judge** addresses a theme that has recently generated considerable attention in many historiographical literatures: the gendered nature of nationalism. Her focus is on the experiences and writings of the first generation of Chinese women to address nationalist issues, a group of female students who went to Japan at the beginning of the twentieth century. Her article juxtaposes two paradigms of the relationship between women and the nation. The first, articulated by conservative cultural authorities in China and Japan, indirectly links women to the nation through their virtue, making the domestic sphere the most meaningful context for female self-definition. The second, which the overseas students themselves embraced, ties women directly to the fate of the nation through their talents and deems national history the only significant context for the unfolding of female subjectivities. Judge's close examination of the way these two paradigms converged and diverged in an intriguing setting sheds new light on an enduring paradox: while an appeal to radical nationalism can enable women to challenge existing gender ideologies, it can also constrain the development of autonomous visions of feminine selfhood. In this case, having repudiated the principles of nationalist patriarchy, female Chinese students in Japan ended up replacing it with an equally confining patriotic femininity.

### ***AHR Forum***

Cinematic representations of World War II and the ways that films reflect as well as help shape national and other forms of collective memory have been the subject of scholarly scrutiny and popular commentary for some time. One period of particularly intense interest came in the mid to late 1990s, due to the confluence of marking the fiftieth anniversary of the end of the war and the production of high-profile movies such as *Saving Private Ryan*. This *Forum*—comprised of pieces that focus on the United States (**John Bodnar**), Britain (**Geoff Eley**), and the Soviet Union (**Denise J. Youngblood**) and a commentary by a leading scholar of World War I (**Jay Winter**)—was first envisioned at that time, but it appears in print

during an equally interesting moment for thinking broadly about the topic. This is due to the subsequent completion of several new films on World War II, from recent foreign-language Academy Award-winner *Life Is Beautiful* (an Italian film), to *Pearl Harbor* (a big budget Hollywood epic), to *Enemy at the Gates* (reviewed individually elsewhere in this issue). If we needed further proof of the importance of coming to terms with the varied ways that World War II lives on in the popular culture of different lands, including but by no means limited to those discussed in this *Forum*, these and other films provide it. There is thus a timely quality, as well as long-term interest, in the insightful discussions that Bodnar, Eley, and Youngblood provide of the differing celluloid wars that filmmakers of successive generations have crafted in three of the countries that pride themselves on having helped to defeat the Axis powers. The continuing centrality of mediated memories of World War II also underscores the significance of Winter's insistence that we keep struggling to refine the analytical tools at our disposal when trying to interpret cinematic representations of that event and its complex place in collective psyches.

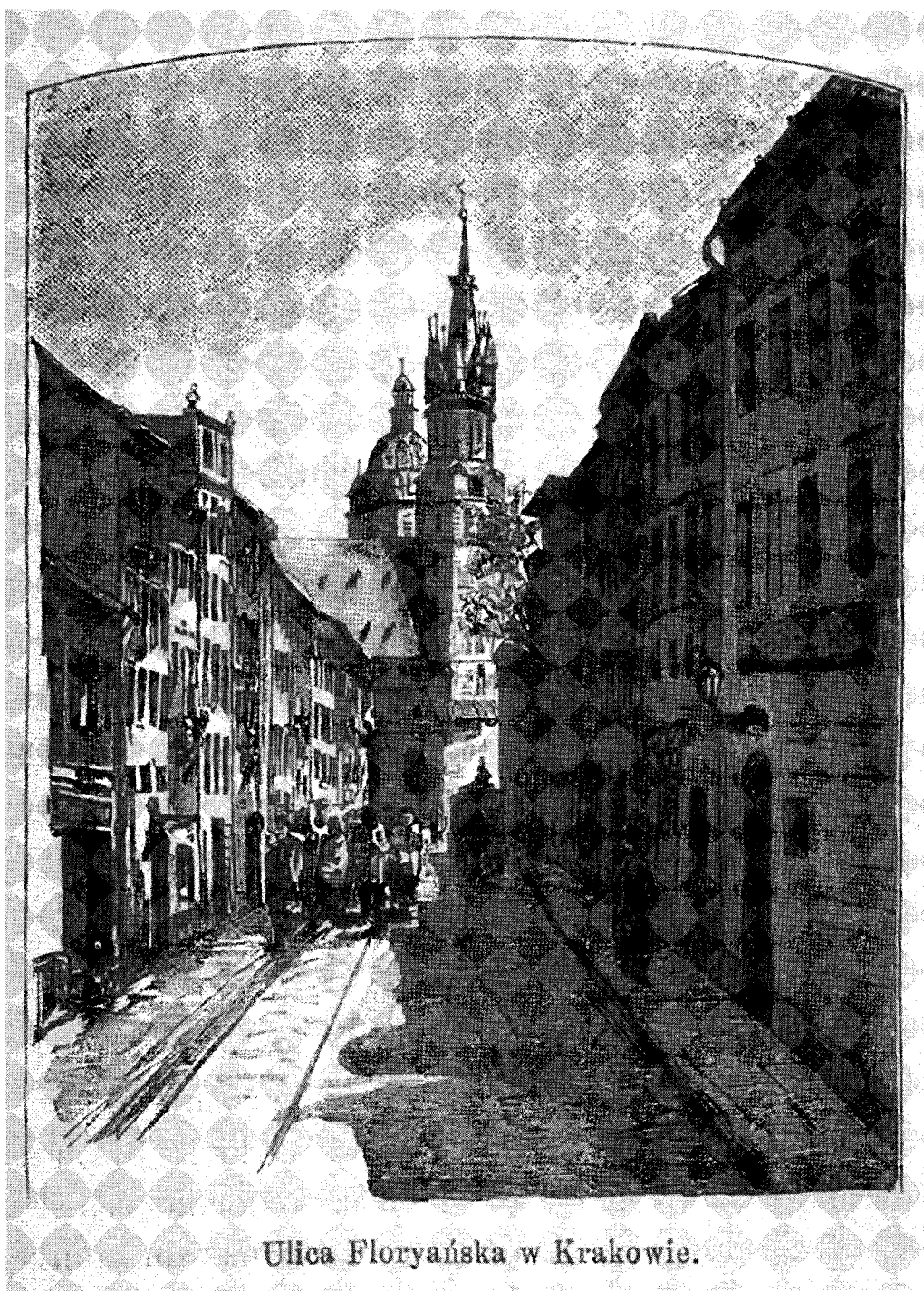
### ***AHR Forum Essay***

**Patrick Wolfe** argues for a new approach to comparative and particularly cross-colonial studies, in which significant generalizations are made without jeopardizing the individuality of particular situations. He makes his case for this method via a close look at the basic colonial relationships whereby land and labor were differentially exploited. Wolfe's focus is on the histories of four colonized peoples—African Americans, Native Americans, Afro-Brazilians, and Australian Aborigines—and the varied workings of racialized categories in the processes of exploitation to which these peoples were subjected. By tackling both a topic of great concern to historians working on varied times and places and raising methodological issues of potential interest to all members of the discipline, Wolfe's *Forum Essay* is an ideal one to use as the starting point for an open-ended online exchange. This is precisely what will take place in early September (see the Introduction to the *Forum Essay* for details), and *AHR* readers interested in taking part are encouraged to send in their commentaries at that time.



***Review Essay***

**Hue-Tam Ho Tai** assesses the monumental studies of French national memory edited by Pierre Nora, which initially ran to seven volumes and have been published in a stripped-down but still massive four-volume English-language translation. Tai, a specialist in Vietnamese history who has been working on issues associated with war and memory, compares the contents of the French and English versions of the project. She is particularly attentive to the ways in which individual contributors and the volumes as a whole define “France” and what it means to be French. She illuminates both the accomplishments of Nora and his colleagues and the things that they, either intentionally or inadvertently, seem to have been oblivious to or have chosen to ignore.



Ulica Floryńska w Krakowie.

FRONTISPIECE: Floryńska Street in the historic center of the city of Cracow, with the great Kościół Mariacki, the Church of the Virgin Mary, appearing at the end of the vista. The café Jama Michalika on Floryńska Street became an important locale for Young Poland, with the opening there of the Green Balloon cabaret in 1905. Illustration by Włodzimierz Tetmajer, half-brother of the poet Kazimierz Tetmajer, from Bolesław Limanowski, *Galicja: Przedstawiona słowem i ołówkiem* (Warsaw, 1892). Courtesy of the Harvard College Library.

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## Dynastic Conservatism and Poetic Violence in Fin-de-Siècle Cracow: The Habsburg Matrix of Polish Modernism

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LARRY WOLFF

EVER SINCE THE PUBLICATION IN THE *American Historical Review* in the summer of 1961, forty years ago, of Carl Schorske's pioneering article, "Politics and the Psyche in *fin-de-siècle* Vienna," there has been little doubt among historians that Viennese intellectual and artistic concerns were of fundamental significance for the cultural developments of the twentieth century in Europe. The public fascination with fin-de-siècle Vienna has even gone beyond the boundaries of academic scholarship, culminating in blockbuster museum exhibits such as "Vienna 1900" at the Museum of Modern Art in New York in 1986 or, that same year, "Vienne: Naissance d'un Siècle" at the Centre Pompidou in Paris. In a recent book of essays on Vienna and Budapest, published in 1998, the Hungarian historian Péter Hanák has noted "Vienna's extraordinary present-day popularity," observing that "Vienna's brilliance long obscured the virtues and merits of its neighbors" and making a case in the book for the parallel importance of Budapest.<sup>1</sup> Indeed, it appears remarkable that, over the course of a generation, the historiographical ascendancy of fin-de-siècle Vienna has not resulted in more purposeful efforts to place the urban culture of the capital in the context of a more broadly conceived fin-de-siècle Habsburg monarchy, whose multiple, multinational centers might include not only Vienna and Budapest but also Prague, Trieste, Zagreb, L'viv, and Cracow, among others. The case of Cracow provides a crucial piece of the Habsburg cultural puzzle, with artistic and intellectual developments that both converged and contrasted with those of the contemporary Viennese scene.

My research in Cracow was generously supported by the International Research and Exchanges Board (IREX). I am grateful to David Frick for reading the manuscript and to Patrice Dabrowski, Laurie Koloski, and Nathaniel Wood for the benefit of their Cracow expertise. In Cracow, I had the good fortune to receive assistance and advice from Jacek Purchla, Krzysztof Zamorski, Emil Orzechowski, Wacław Twardzik, and Deryn Verity. I am grateful for general advice about readings in urban history from Michael Wilson, Laura Frader, Peter Weiler, and David Quigley. I wish to acknowledge the inspiration of my Polish professor, the late Wiktor Weintraub, who, twenty-five years ago, first introduced me to fin-de-siècle Cracow. The conception of this article also owes much to an imperial fascination with the Habsburgs, especially Elisabeth, that I shared for many years with the late William Abrahams.

<sup>1</sup> Carl E. Schorske, "Politics and the Psyche in *fin-de-siècle* Vienna: Schnitzler and Hofmannsthal," *AHR* 68 (July 1961): 930–46; rpt. in Schorske, *Fin-de-siècle Vienna: Politics and Culture* (1980; New York, 1981), 3–23; Péter Hanák, *The Garden and the Workshop: Essays on the Cultural History of Vienna and Budapest* (Princeton, N.J., 1998), xv–xvi; see also Katherine David-Fox, "Prague-Vienna, Prague-Berlin: The Hidden Geography of Czech Modernism," *Slavic Review* 59 (Winter 2000): 743–50.



In Polish historiography and literary history, fin-de-siècle Cracow has been most often treated in the national context of *Młoda Polska*, or Young Poland, linking Cracovian concerns with those in other specifically Polish centers, especially Warsaw within the Russian empire.<sup>2</sup> For instance, when in the midst of the Solidarity revolution, in June 1981, there took place in Cracow an academic conference on "Cracow at the Turn of the Nineteenth and Twentieth Century," the papers posed such national questions as "whether Cracow was the capital of *Młoda Polska*," and "whether Cracow at the turn of the nineteenth and twentieth century was the Polish Rome."<sup>3</sup> Such questions are meaningful and important, looking to the common aspects of national culture in the partitioned lands of Poland but tending to obscure the Habsburg correspondences that also conditioned intellectual life in Cracow. The historical revaluation of fin-de-siècle Cracow should also consider the city in relation to contemporary Vienna and thus in the context of the fin-de-siècle Habsburg monarchy.

The designation *Młoda Polska*, analogous in name to the literary circle of *Jung-Wien* in the Habsburg capital, suggests that fin-de-siècle Cracow, like Vienna, may be considered as a question of cultural generational conflict. Schorske has analyzed, almost psychoanalyzed, the Viennese complex, in which "the new culture-makers in the city of Freud thus repeatedly defined themselves in terms of a kind of collective oedipal revolt," rebelling "against the authority of the paternal culture that was their inheritance," against "the value system of classical liberalism-in-ascendancy."<sup>4</sup> The culture-makers in contemporary Cracow also formed, both chronologically and self-consciously, a generational cohort; they were swayed by the charismatic "Satanic" leadership of Stanisław Przybyszewski, born in 1868, were attuned to the decadent and melancholy verses of Kazimierz Tetmajer, born in 1865, were amazed at the revolutionary dramatic conceptions of Stanisław Wyspiański, born in 1869, and were amused at the cabaret songs of the slightly younger Tadeusz Żeleński, nicknamed "Boy" and born in 1874. These writers themselves had a powerful conviction of their own generational achievement in fin-de-siècle Cracow, and later memorialized it with their own pens in Przybyszewski's *Moi Współcześni* (My Contemporaries) in 1930 and Boy's *Znaszli ten kraj?* (Do You Know the Land?) in 1931.

Yet the model of generational revolt against ascendant liberalism, which

<sup>2</sup> Maria Podraza-Kwiatkowska, *Literatura Młodej Polski* (Warsaw, 1992), 5–70, 108–18, 176–216; Tomasz Weiss, *Cyganeria Młodej Polski* (Cracow, 1970), 5–77; Kazimierz Wyka, "Kraków stolica Młodej Polski," *Kraków i Małopolska przez dzieje*, Celina Bobińska, ed. (Cracow, 1970), 339–52; Harold Segel, "Cracow: Little Green Balloons," in *Turn-of-the-Century Cabaret* (New York, 1987), 221–53; Piotr Wandycz, "The Era of 'Young Poland,'" in *The Lands of Partitioned Poland, 1795–1918* (Seattle, 1974), 371–80; David Crowley, "Castles, Cabarets, and Cartoons: Claims on Polishness in Kraków around 1905," in *The City in Central Europe: Culture and Society from 1800 to the Present*, Malcolm Gee, Tim Kirk, and Jill Steward, eds. (Brookfield, Vt., 1999), 101–17; Czesław Miłosz, "Young Poland," in *The History of Polish Literature* (1969; rpt. edn., Berkeley, Calif., 1983), 322–79; see also Artur Hutnikiewicz, *Młoda Polska* (Warsaw, 1994); Janina Kulczycka, Irena Maciejewska, Andrzej Makowiecki, and Roman Taborski, *Literatura Polska: Młoda Polska* (Warsaw, 1991); Kazimierz Wyka, *Modernizm polski* (Cracow, 1968); Piotr Krakowski, "Cracow Artistic Milieu around 1900," in *Art around 1900 in Central Europe: Art Centres and Provinces*, Piotr Krakowski and Jacek Purchla, eds. (Cracow, 1999), 71–79.

<sup>3</sup> Tomasz Weiss, "Czy Kraków był stolicą Młodej Polski," and Wojciech Bartel, "Czy Kraków na przełomie XIX i XX wieku był polskim Rzymem," in *Kraków na przełomie XIX i XX wieku: Materiały sesji naukowej z okazji Dni Krakowa w 1981 roku* (Cracow, 1983), 56–74, 75–88.

<sup>4</sup> Schorske, *Fin-de-siècle Vienna*, xxvi.

Schorske has proposed for the case of Vienna, should perhaps be revised in the case of Cracow to take into account the hegemonic conservatism of the city, where clerical and aristocratic values had prevailed during the second half of the nineteenth century. The intellectual revolt of the turn of the century in Cracow pitted itself not against the vulnerable paternal ideals of liberalism in retreat but rather against a conservative traditionalism that had not yet seriously encountered the social, economic, and ideological challenges of bourgeois liberalism. Boy, comparing it to Paris, conceived of fin-de-siècle Cracow as half a modern city, merely the "left bank" of the Vistula, with plenty of students and professors, disporting themselves in cafés and cabarets, but without the ballast of a "right bank" for modern commerce and capitalism.<sup>5</sup> The imbalance of bohemianism and business created the conditions for precocious cultural modernism without advanced economic modernity. Paris may have been, in Walter Benjamin's famous phrase, "the capital of the nineteenth century," its urban landscape provoking the modern poetic vision of Charles-Pierre Baudelaire, while Walt Whitman's New York, George Gissing's London, Arthur Schnitzler's Vienna, and Andrey Bely's St. Petersburg were likewise culturally compelling, whether by stupendous population, glittering consumption, gargantuan construction, or the monumental manifestations of far-flung imperial power.<sup>6</sup> Cracow, with 70,000 inhabitants in 1890 and 85,000 in 1900, was a modest city of increasing size, whose cultural rebels were well aware that artistic modernism, elsewhere, nourished itself on the unprecedented idiosyncracies of the true metropolis.<sup>7</sup>

The modernist uprising of a younger generation against conservatism in Cracow, like the "revolt" against liberalism in Vienna, should not be interpreted as absolutely oppositional in nature, inasmuch as the generations were inevitably bound together in intimate relation. The oedipally rebellious sons deployed the paternal legacy and depended on the elder patronage of established institutions and an ambivalent public. The younger generation had no alternative but to seek the sympathy and support of the older generation, which, in conservative Cracow as in

<sup>5</sup> Boy [Tadeusz Żeleński], "Prawy brzeg Wisły," *Znaszli ten kraj? . . . i inne wspomnienia* (Cracow, 1962), 7–14.

<sup>6</sup> Walter Benjamin, "Paris, Capital of the Nineteenth Century," in *Reflections: Essays, Aphorisms, Autobiographical Writings*, Peter Demetz, ed. (New York, 1986), 146–62; Raymond Williams, *The Country and the City* (New York, 1973), 142–247; Marshall Berman, *All That Is Solid Melts into Air: The Experience of Modernity* (New York, 1988), 131–286; Lewis Mumford, *The City in History: Its Origins, Its Transformations, and Its Prospects* (New York, 1961), 410–45; Paul Hohenberg and Lynn Hollen Lees, *The Making of Urban Europe, 1000–1950* (Cambridge, Mass., 1985), 179–214; Karl Bosl, "Die mitteleuropäische Stadt des 19. Jahrhunderts im Wandel von Wirtschaft, Gesellschaft, Staat, Kultur," in *Die Städte Mitteleuropas im 19. Jahrhundert*, Wilhelm Rausch, ed. (Linz, 1983); Thomas Bender and Carl Schorske, "Budapest and New York Compared," in *Budapest and New York: Studies in Metropolitan Transformation, 1870–1930* (New York, 1994), 1–28; see also Jerrold Seigel, *Bohemian Paris: Culture, Politics, and the Boundaries of Bourgeois Life, 1830–1930* (New York, 1986); Christine Stansell, *Bohemian New York and the Creation of a New Century* (New York, 2000).

<sup>7</sup> Jan Małecki, "Lwów i Kraków: Dwie stolice Galicji," *Roczniki dziejów społecznych i gospodarczych* 50 (1989): 119–31; Małecki, "W dobie autonomii galicyjskiej (1866–1918)," *Dzieje Krakowa: Kraków w latach 1796–1918*, Janina Bieniarzówna and Małecki, eds. (Cracow, 1979), 225–394; Jacek Purchla, *Matecznik Polski* (Cracow, 1992), 19–69; Purchla, *Jak powstał nowoczesny Kraków* (Cracow, 1990), 19–58; Józef Buszko, "Kraków w dobie autonomii galicyjskiej (1866–1914)," *Szkice z dziejów Krakowa: Od czasów najdawniejszych do pierwszej wojny światowej*, Janina Bieniarzówna, ed. (Cracow, 1968), 355–89; Lawrence Orton, "The Formation of Modern Cracow (1866–1914)," *Austrian History Yearbook* 19/20 (1983–1984): part 1, 105–17.



liberal Vienna, was already inclined to take an interest in literary and artistic developments. Schorske has argued that, in Vienna, art became for the bourgeoisie "an escape, a refuge from the unpleasant world of increasingly threatening political reality."<sup>8</sup> In Cracow, correspondingly, culture became in the nineteenth century the alternative or escape for a conservative Polish aristocracy that preferred to forgo the dangers of insurrectionary national politics; at the same time, culture could serve to disguise or defuse the political implications of a deeply impoverished peasant population in Galicia and intense national and religious tensions among Poles, Jews, and Ukrainians (or Ruthenians) in the province. Just as the preeminent organ of hegemonic liberal culture in Vienna was the daily *Neue Freie Presse*, so the prevailing voice of conservatism in Cracow was the newspaper *Czas* (Time). Boy remembered "the venerable daily *Czas*, the aristocratic, conservative, and clerical organ," with its pervasive influence on the public: "'*Czas* writes,' '*Czas* says,' these were words that rang in my ears from my earliest childhood." In the 1890s, *Czas* continued to dominate a small field of daily rivals, such as the liberal *Nowa Reforma* (New Reform) and the nationalist, outspokenly anti-Semitic upstart *Głos Narodu* (Voice of the Nation).<sup>9</sup> With its populist impulse, *Głos Narodu* was particularly inclined to polemicize contemptuously against *Czas*.

According to Boy, who was writing songs at the turn of the century for the cabaret "Zielony Balonik" (The Green Balloon), the culture of fin-de-siècle Cracow flourished in the context of "a strange symbiosis between *Czas* and the Green Balloon, a discreet but very real symbiosis."<sup>10</sup> In Vienna, the *Neue Freie Presse* soon embraced *Jung-Wien*, applauding and even publishing the work of such writers as Hugo von Hofmannsthal and Arthur Schnitzler. In Cracow, the clerical, conservative *Czas*, though understandably apprehensive of Przybyszewski's self-proclaimed Satanism, published the poetry of Tetmajer and Wyspiański and, finally, in 1901, after three days of hesitating silence, gave an enthusiastic review to the premiere of Wyspiański's dramatic masterpiece, *Wesele* (The Wedding). The notion of "symbiosis," as formulated by Boy, suggests that *Czas* itself may provide an important perspective for evaluating fin-de-siècle Cracow, as the newspaper registered, reflected, revised, and reviewed the values of the younger generation within the city, as well as broader currents from elsewhere in the Habsburg monarchy and the rest of Europe. Retrospectively reading *Czas*, as *Czas* itself was once read by its Cracow public, and as the paper in turn interpretively "read" the city, the historian may seek to analyze the correspondences between the textual artifacts of urban journalism and the literary products of fin-de-siècle culture, at a time when city and culture alike were ambivalently located in nationally Polish and imperially Habsburg contexts.<sup>11</sup>

The note of fin-de-siècle decadence was already sounded in 1894, in Tetmajer's

<sup>8</sup> Schorske, *Fin-de-siècle Vienna*, 8.

<sup>9</sup> Boy, "Zakrystia," *Znaszli ten kraj?* 34–43; Jerzy Myśliński, "Prasa polska w Galicji w dobie autonomicznej (1867–1918)," *Prasa Polska w latach 1864–1918*, Jerzy Łojek, ed. (Warsaw, 1976), 121–28.

<sup>10</sup> Boy, "Zakrystia," *Znaszli ten kraj?* 40.

<sup>11</sup> Peter Fritzsche, *Reading Berlin, 1900* (Cambridge, Mass., 1996), 1–169; David Henkin, *City Reading: Written Words and Public Spaces in Antebellum New York* (New York, 1998), 1–25, 101–35; Vanessa Schwartz, *Spectacular Realities: Early Mass Culture in Fin-de-Siècle Paris* (Berkeley, Calif., 1998), 1–44.

poem "Koniec wieku XIX" (The End of the Nineteenth Century). The poet could not satisfy his spirit in prayers, in resignation, through faith in a future life, or even by indulgence in sensuous pleasures: "So what is there? What remains for us who know everything, for whom none of the old beliefs is enough? / What is your shield against the spear of evil, man of the end of the century?"<sup>12</sup> Such questions pointed toward the inebriated enthusiastic nihilism of Przybyszewski, who returned to Poland in 1898 after many years abroad, settled in Cracow, took up the editorship of the journal *Życie* (Life), and promptly revolutionized the cultural climate of the city. From the moment of his arrival, the younger generation found its rallying point in his outrageous and charismatic leadership. The year 1898 was also a watershed for Cracow conservatism. It was a year in which *Czas* anticipated the decorous and solemn celebration of two significant semi-centennials, the fiftieth anniversary jubilee of the Habsburg emperor Franz Joseph and also the same anniversary of the newspaper's own journalistic existence, established in 1848. Yet both of those important conservative occasions were suddenly undercut and overshadowed by an unanticipated Habsburg disaster, the anarchist assassination of Empress Elisabeth in September 1898. This immediately became the occasion for *Czas* to reformulate and consolidate the ideological stance of conservatism, with almost apocalyptic fervor, looking toward the century's end. The assassination called forth an affirmation of dynastic loyalism in Cracow and gave sensational substance to a conservative vision of cosmic struggle against the ideological monsters of Satanism, revolution, and anarchy. At the same time, the perspective of conservatism was already inflected with elements of fin-de-siècle decadence, so that even a conservative organ like *Czas* could not fail to appreciate the tremendous dramatic impact of anarchist violence, to recognize the poetic aspects of the life and death of the empress. Transfixed by the anarchist act of violence, the city was distracted from other, more mundane, acts of violence that expressed the social, economic, national, and religious tensions of contemporary Galicia. The assassination of the empress and the character of its reception in the city demonstrated that an imperial Habsburg sensation could become an occasion for transformative municipal self-fashioning and, at the same time, revealed the artistic reverberations of violence within the culture of fin-de-siècle Cracow.

IN A SPECIAL EDITION OF *Czas* on September 11, 1898, the editor, Michał Chyliński, reported to his readers the news, received from Vienna by telephone, of the assassination of Elisabeth (Elżbieta in Polish) on September 10 by the shores of Lake Geneva. "The horrifying news about the tragic death of the empress," he noted, "calls forth from all circles of society the most painful impressions and deepest sympathy for the monarch hurt by such a heavy blow." Thus, from the very first announcement of the news in Cracow, the story of the assassination was invested with the dual significance of rallying sympathy and support to the

<sup>12</sup> Kazimierz Tetmajer, "Koniec wieku XIX," *Antologia liryki Młodej Polski*, Ireneusz Sikora, ed. (Wrocław, 1990), 137–38, transl. by Czesław Miłosz in *History of Polish Literature*, 336–37.

Habsburg dynasty and forging a sort of sentimental solidarity among different "circles of society." On September 13, *Czas* elaborated on these themes:

The crime committed in Geneva shocks the whole world with aversion and repugnance, calls forth curses in the entire monarchy, and intensifies the feeling of filial loyalty and attachment, when for the lonely monarch the peoples under the Habsburg scepter remain his nearest family. Such feelings have taken hold deeply in every level of the population in our society and country. Some years ago there flashed for us for a moment the hope of greeting the enchanting empress, who everywhere spread grace and charm. A concurrence of contraries deprived us of the possibility of paying homage to her in our land, and this regret increases the mourning of our country.<sup>13</sup>

The assassination immediately became an occasion for affirming the solidarity of "every level of the population in our society and country" and, at the same time, "the peoples under the Habsburg scepter." The references to "our country" could hardly have meant Poland, which did not exist in 1898, and whose partitioned lands were divided among three different dynasties, but rather referred to Galicia, the provincial entity of Habsburg Poland. Galicia was created at the time of the first partition of Poland in 1772, when Empress Maria Theresa needed a name to designate the Polish territory she had reluctantly acquired for the sake of preserving the balance of power. Cracow was first included in the province after the third partition of 1795, then adhered to the Grand Duchy of Warsaw under Napoleonic auspices, and, after the Congress of Vienna, it emerged as a nominally independent city state. The city was definitively reincorporated into Habsburg Galicia after 1846, a traumatic year in the history of the province that still cast a shadow at the end of the nineteenth century. In that year, a Polish national insurrection was launched in the free city of Cracow, with an appeal in the name of independence to the province of Galicia. Some Habsburg officials sponsored a counter-appeal to the peasantry of the province, urging loyalty to the emperor and resistance to the insurrectionary Polish *szlachta*, the gentry; the unexpectedly ferocious response was a peasant uprising against the gentry, culminating in the massacre of more than a thousand people in the region around the town of Tarnów. The lesson that the gentry learned was that the Polish peasants were not susceptible to the insurrectionary cause of Polish nationalism and actually preferred to cast their lot with the Habsburg dynasty; many nobles in Galicia came to the conclusion that they should do likewise. After 1866, when the Habsburgs were defeated by Otto von Bismarck at Königgrätz, and were vulnerable to national pressure from within the monarchy, the nobles of Galicia strategically affirmed their attachment to the Habsburgs, and the provincial assembly in L'viv adopted a declaration of eloquent loyalty to Franz Joseph: "Przy Tobie, Najjaśniejszy Panie, stoimy i stać chcemy," "We stand with you, Your Majesty, and wish to stand with you." Galicia emerged from the Austro-Hungarian Compromise of 1867 with autonomous privileges of its own, self-government by the diet or Sejm at L'viv, and important concessions to the Polish language in administration and education.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>13</sup> *Czas*, September 11, 1898, *Nadzwyczajny Dodatek* (Special Supplement); September 13, 1898.

<sup>14</sup> Wandycz, *Lands of Partitioned Poland*, 214–28; Philip Pajkowski, "Dynamics of Galician Polish Conservatism in the Late Nineteenth Century," *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas* 43 (1995): 19–33; Lawrence Orton, "The Stańczyk Portfolio and the Politics of Galician Loyatism," *The Polish Review* 27,

L'viv was the provincial capital, but Cracow, with Jagiellonian University, became the intellectual and ideological center of triumphant conservatism in Galicia, articulated for the public in the pages of *Czas*. The gentry of Poland, at the time of the partitions, were among the most relatively numerous nobilities in Europe, counting perhaps 8 percent of the population; in little nineteenth-century Cracow, they played an unusually influential urban role, enhanced by the Habsburg penchant for curial election structures on municipal, provincial, and imperial levels. The importance of the gentry in Cracow was increasingly supplemented by that of the university professors, who could often be characterized by noble descent or, more vaguely, by noble values. There was a well-known anecdote about a beggar who solicited a coin from a gentleman, addressing him as "count" (*panie hrabio*); when he denied being a count, the beggar immediately altered the salutation to "professor" (*panie profesorze*).<sup>15</sup> The powerfully influential figure of Count Stanisław Tarnowski combined both qualities as professor of literature at the university, president of the Cracow Academy, and one of the creators of Cracow's conservative "Stańczyk" ideology, named for a sixteenth-century court jester.

Conservatism achieved political power in Cracow after 1867, just when liberalism arrived at its moment of supremacy in Vienna; by the final decade of the century, those hegemonies were threatened by the same social and ideological rumblings of modern mass politics. Precisely because of Galicia's autonomy and relatively relaxed Habsburg circumstances, Polish political movements found more opportunities for development than in Russian or Prussian Poland; in 1892, a social democratic party was established in Galicia, in 1893 a peasant party. In 1893, the Cracow municipal council chose the bookseller Józef Friedlein as its president over Count Antoni Wodzicki; Friedlein introduced electric streetcars to the city. In 1893, *Głos Narodu* first appeared in Cracow, encouraging anti-Semitism and even commercial boycott against the Jews who made up 30 percent of the city's population, and in 1895 Roman Dmowski began to publish in Galicia the journal *Przegląd Wszechpolski* (All-Polish Observer), mobilizing middle-class integral nationalist sentiment.<sup>16</sup> In 1894, the appointment of Mykhailo Hrushevsky as a history professor in L'viv consolidated the increasing importance of Ukrainian national identity in eastern Galicia. In 1897, the extended Habsburg franchise brought Ignacy Daszyński, the Galician socialist leader, into the Viennese Reichsrat, shattering the conservative consensus of the "Polish Club," while the elections in eastern Galicia witnessed new levels of tension between Poles and Ukrainians. Whereas in 1846 it was the dynastically loyal peasants who murdered the nationally discontented nobles, in 1898, when Elisabeth was assassinated, it was the loyal conservative nobles who sought to rally the dynastic sentiments of the increasingly discontented lower levels of society. In *Czas*, the declaration of "filial loyalty and attachment" to Franz Joseph in 1898 echoed the famous formula of 1866—"we stand with you"—putting a newly urgent emphasis on the inclusiveness of the first-person plural.

nos. 1–2 (1982): 55–64; Stanisław Grodziski, *W Królestwie Galicji i Lodomerii* (Cracow, 1976), 215–82; see also Kazimierz Wyka, *Teka Stańczyka na tle historii Galicji w latach 1849–1869* (Wrocław, 1951).

<sup>15</sup> Małecki, "W dobie autonomii galicyjskiej (1866–1918)," 314; Purchla, *Matecznik Polski*, 46–55.

<sup>16</sup> Małecki, "W dobie autonomii galicyjskiej (1866–1918)," 244, 317.

As the newspaper could not conceal, Elisabeth had never managed to make a visit to Cracow, and "the hope of greeting the charming empress," of "paying homage to her in our land," was never to be fulfilled. Elisabeth had not been without passionate attachments to particular peoples of the monarchy, most notably the Hungarians, but the ardor for her, articulated in Cracow after the assassination, was apparently platonic in character, a matter of purely ideological devotion, unassisted by any memories of personal contact in the imperial flesh. Now, in the aftermath of martyrdom, the empress was everywhere in Cracow: "On account of the death of Her Majesty our city has gone into mourning clothes. From the churches, from every municipal and official building, as well as from public institutions there wave the flags of mourning." Shops and businesses were closed in her honor, and theater performances were canceled. Mourning for the empress was supposed to include the entire city, affecting all its public activities, just as it was meant to embrace every social stratum. While schools organized special services to promote mourning among the young, there were placards around the city announcing a Mass to be sponsored by Catholic workers' societies. The bishop of Cracow, Jan Puzyna, issued a statement deploring the assassination as "the sad fruit of estrangement from God and the Church, which unfortunately we see in our times," and offering the emperor that sympathy which "with deep suffering strikes the hearts of all his subjects." Not only the head of the urban ecclesiastical hierarchy but also the leaders of its intellectual institutions became spokesmen for municipal condolences, with Władysław Knapiński, the rector of Jagiellonian University, and Tarnowski, the president of the Cracow Academy, sending telegrams of sympathy for the emperor to Vienna and promptly receiving in return official telegrams of gracious acknowledgment. "His Imperial and Royal Apostolic Majesty thanks you kindly for the expressions of sympathy," read the telegram to Tarnowski, and the whole city read it in the newspaper along with him.<sup>17</sup> *Czas* sought to represent in its pages the universality of municipal mourning, which embraced the clergy, the professors, the students, and the workers. *Głos Narodu* offered its readers a somewhat more divisive view of their city, describing public announcements posted Sunday morning after the assassination on Saturday, with groups of "poorer people" already gathered to read the news at six, "going to church or the morning markets," while intellectuals, officers, and middle-class people were not seen reading the posters until seven. Nevertheless, *Głos Narodu* conceded that "the whole city was in a true fever."<sup>18</sup>

Boy described fin-de-siècle Cracow as a city obsessed with "ceremonies," including funerals, for "all solemnities played a disproportionately large role in the life of Cracow"; at Easter, "in all the salons people remarked on how beautiful Bishop Dunajewski appeared with the miter on his silver hair," appraising him as if he were an actor.<sup>19</sup> On the morning of Friday, September 16, 1898, Bishop Puzyna, the successor to the silver-haired Albin Dunajewski, presided over a memorial service for the murdered empress, who was represented by an empty coffin on a catafalque in Cracow's great Church of the Virgin Mary, the Kościół Mariacki. All the city's clergy, officials, and military officers were present, while "the rest of the church was filled with so much of the public that many people, not being able to get

<sup>17</sup> *Czas*, September 13, 1898, September 14, 1898, September 15, 1898.

<sup>18</sup> *Głos Narodu*, September 12, 1898.

<sup>19</sup> Boy, "Prawy brzeg Wisły," *Znaszli ten kraj?* 11–12.





EINE MOMENTPHOTOGRAPHIE DES KAISERS UND DER KAISERIN.  
KURZ VOR DER KATASTROPHE VON GENÈVE.

FIGURE 1: This picture of Emperor Franz Joseph and Empress Elisabeth dates from shortly before the “catastrophe of Geneva,” that is, the assassination of Elisabeth in September 1898. From A. de Burgh, *Elisabeth: Kaiserin von Oesterreich und Königin von Ungarn* (Vienna, 1901). Courtesy of the Harvard College Library.

in, remained before the church doors." For the duration of the service, the city's gas lanterns were burning, and the lampposts themselves were hung with black mourning crepe, by order of Friedlein, the president of the municipal council. For those same hours, the council also ordered the closing of shops and businesses, those of Jews as well as Christians. The service, concluding with the singing of the "Salve Regina," was followed by an assembly at the Spiski palace to send off the Cracow delegation, which was now about to set out to attend the empress's true funeral the next day in Vienna. *Czas* meticulously enumerated all the institutions and organizations that were represented there, from the academy and the university to the Jewish Council and the Uniate Church of the Ukrainians, all sending their sympathy to Vienna with the delegation. "All levels [*wszystkie warstwy*] and professions of our society were represented," the newspaper proudly proclaimed, returning to the theme of municipal solidarity, "namely officials, intelligentsia, the Cracow middle class, workers, and village people."<sup>20</sup> The liberal *Nowa Reforma* placed further emphasis on the participation of Cracow's Jews in the public mourning, noting that there would be special services "for the peace of the soul of the empress" in the synagogues on Saturday.<sup>21</sup> *Nowa Reforma*, at this time, was publishing serially Władysław Reymont's naturalist novel *Ziemia obiecana* (The Promised Land) about the troubled coexistence of Poles, Germans, and Jews in the industrial city of Łódź in Russian Poland. Liberalism, like conservatism, could find comfort in municipal unity, whether conceived as traditional harmony or modern ecumenicism. *Głos Narodu* said nothing about mourning among the Jews of Cracow.

The year 1898 was the centennial of the birth of Adam Mickiewicz, Poland's most celebrated Romantic poet, and Cracow's love of the ceremonial found some satisfaction in the formalities that surrounded the unveiling of the statue of Mickiewicz in the Rynek, the central market square. In 1890, there had been even more elaborate ceremonies of a funereal nature when Mickiewicz, who died in Constantinople in 1855 and was buried in France, was finally reinterred in Wawel Cathedral in Cracow. In June 1900, as the century turned, Wyspiański published his rhapsody, "Kazimierz Wielki," on the burial of Casimir the Great, which first took place in Cracow when the king died in 1370 and then was ritually reenacted five hundred years later in 1869. In his funeral dirge for Casimir, Wyspiański evoked the same spirit of municipal harmony in Cracow that had been emphasized two years before in the mourning over Elisabeth.

And they go gloomy  
from all of the churches  
with tokens and wreaths,  
which flowering, fragrant,  
were counted in thousands.  
And peasants in long coats  
and lords who are dressed  
in scarlet clothing and cloaks.<sup>22</sup>

<sup>20</sup> *Czas*, September 16, 1898, September 17, 1898.

<sup>21</sup> *Nowa Reforma*, September 14, 1898.

<sup>22</sup> Stanisław Wyspiański, "Kazimierz Wielki," *Dzieła zebrane*, Vol. 11: *Rapsody, Hymn, Wiersze* (Cracow, 1961), 38–39; Alicja Okońska, *Stanisław Wyspiański* (Warsaw, 1971), 309–21.





FIGURE 2: The Sukiennice, the Renaissance Cloth Hall, stands at the center of Cracow's main square, the Rynek. Illustration by Włodzimierz Tetmajer from Limanowski's *Galicja*, 1892. Courtesy of the Harvard College Library.

*Czas* had described just such an occasion of mournful solidarity in Cracow in September 1898, and in June 1900 the newspaper published Wyspiański's funereal rhapsody.

Przybyszewski's *Totenmesse*, his morbidly decadent Mass for the dead, was originally published in German in Berlin in 1893, but a part of it appeared in Polish, as *Msza żałobna*, in Cracow in 1900; *Czas* did not publish it but rather a journal called *Młodość* (Youth). It was *Czas*, however, that in 1897 had published in installments Tetmajer's novel, *Anioł śmierci* (The Angel of Death), and the newspaper thus "violently rejuvenated itself," according to Boy.<sup>23</sup> In 1899, Tetmajer's fin-de-siècle volume *Melancholia* included a rhapsodic apostrophe to death, "Do śmierci": "O death! white and silent death: we are alone together, the two of us, like a pair of lovers—why not bring your mouth close to my mouth?"<sup>24</sup> The fascination with death, which was also artistically important in fin-de-siècle Vienna, whether in Hofmannsthal's poetry or Gustav Klimt's painting, made imperial murder and municipal mourning into an occasion for the convergence of cultural concerns between literary generations.

Wyspiański, at the same time that he composed his rhapsody, designed a stained-glass window for Wawel Cathedral, showing Casimir as a skeletal cadaver

<sup>23</sup> Boy, "Chrzyciny Ivi," *Znaszli ten kraj?* 119.

<sup>24</sup> Kazimierz Tetmajer, *Melancholia* (Warsaw and Cracow, 1899), 27; Wyka, *Modernizm polski*, 92–101; see also Jan Błński, "Kazimierz Tetmajer," in *Literatura okresu Młodej Polski*, Kazimierz Wyka, Artur Hutnikiewicz, and Mirosława Puchalska, eds. (Warsaw, 1967–68), 1: 279–97; Krystyna Jabłońska, *Kazimierz Tetmajer* (Cracow, 1969).

wearing the regalia of royalty. In Wyspiański's funeral dirge, the mourners responded to the ringing of church bells:

And the bells ring to them  
from all of the churches  
and sounded, and fluttered  
with sashes in front,  
banners, pennants  
funereal.<sup>25</sup>

On Saturday, September 17, 1898, at four o'clock, just as the funeral of Elisabeth was beginning in Vienna, a signal from Wawel Cathedral set all the church bells of Cracow ringing. Again, the gas lanterns were lit and were draped with sashes of black crepe. *Czas*, receiving reports by telephone from Vienna, could inform the public of Cracow about the arrival of the train from Geneva with the corpse of the empress and about the mourning crowds and processions in the Habsburg capital. Cracow had already completed its own funeral service with an empty coffin, but *Czas* made the Viennese rites into the occasion for further reflection on the significance of the assassination:

All the peoples were preparing for the jubilee gathering of homage to the monarch; the solemn ceremony was supposed to crown fifty years of government, conducted in the name of justice. All these feelings, which grew and strengthened through a series of long years, were supposed to explode in one single exaltation, to thunder at the throne in one precious and harmonious outcry . . . Instead of triumphal fanfares the mourning bells have sounded . . . A tragic fate compels these peoples to put on black crepe, and to replace the jubilee manifestation with the power of sympathy in sadness.<sup>26</sup>

Whereas the Cracow rites had been represented as a demonstration of municipal solidarity among different levels of society, the Vienna funeral was interpreted in terms of "harmonious" multinational solidarity among the peoples of the Habsburg monarchy.

In Vienna, the delegates laid on the imperial coffin a flowery wreath with a sash, inscribed "from the city council of Cracow to our ever lamented empress and queen." *Czas* sought a "psychological truth" in the experience of common suffering, the emotional reinforcement of a "pact of attachment" between Franz Joseph and his subjects: "Millions of these hearts beat in time with the heart of the aching monarch. May this sympathy become balsam . . . The treasury of dynastic feelings, gathered through fifty years of fatherly rule, are multiplied more by the days of mourning than could be done by the most brilliant intoxication of jubilee celebrations. Often the bonds formed by tears are stronger than those joined by joy."<sup>27</sup> Aching hearts, flowing tears, and healing balsam became the emotional imagery of an "intoxication" of mourning, now pronounced truly preferable to mere rejoicing. While the crisis of liberalism in Vienna was preparing for the intellectual revolution of psychoanalysis, nervous conservatism in Cracow responded to "the

<sup>25</sup> Wyspiański, "Kazimierz Wielki," 38.

<sup>26</sup> *Czas*, September 16, 1898, September 20, 1898.

<sup>27</sup> *Czas*, September 16, 1898, September 20, 1898.

most hidden secrets of the heart” and invoked the principle of “psychological truth” in order to discover a deeper sentimental affirmation of dynastic loyalty and imperial solidarity. Fin-de-siècle Cracow offered a richly enhanced sentimental vocabulary to a conservative vision of the social contract, or “pact of attachment,” based on millions of hearts all beating in time, while mourning bells “ring to them/from all of the churches,” ringing in contrapuntal rhythm.

Precisely a month after the assassination, in October, the balsam of suffering and sympathy was still at work in Cracow, with a commemorative Mass for the soul of the empress at the Church of the Bernardines before a “numerous public.” Later in October, when students and professors began the academic year at Jagiellonian University, there was a special service for Elisabeth at the Church of St. Anne, conducted by theology professor and church historian Władysław Chotkowski. At the same time, *Głos Narodu* published a piece of amateur poetry, “At the Coffin of the Empress Elisabeth”; the poem began at the Viennese funeral (“Mourning covers the walls of Vienna . . .”) and concluded by comparing her coffin to the metaphorical tomb of partitioned Poland. While *Czas* looked for imperial solidarity in Polish mourning, the poem in *Głos Narodu* suggested a more explicitly national dimension: “So today for that heart which has been bloodied, / Let a Polish tear fall among so many tears of sympathy.”<sup>28</sup> A copy of the poem was sent to Vienna; eventually, the emperor himself, through the Cracow police department, sent thanks to the author, a high school teacher, “for this manifestation of loyalty,” and Franz Joseph requested translated copies for Elisabeth’s daughters, the archduchesses Gisela and Marie Valerie.<sup>29</sup>

In contrast, however, to this poetic loyalty, in late October there took place in Cracow behind closed doors the trial of a postman named Gimpel Goldberg. He was charged with *lèse majesté*, suspended from his job, convicted for “praising a criminal act after the death of Her Majesty,” and condemned to fourteen days’ imprisonment. The provocation for this official action was his alleged remark that the assassin “deserved a medal.”<sup>30</sup> The judicial record identified the postman as a native of Cracow, the father of ten children, and a sufferer from chronic headaches. He had also been heard to remark that postal employees deserved higher salaries. As late as the following February, the police in Cracow and L’viv were still investigating the possibility that Goldberg, through the postal service, had made other subversive contacts in Galicia.<sup>31</sup> The secrecy of his October trial suppressed the details of this one dissonant note in the harmony of Cracow’s municipal solidarity, the city’s unified exaltation of mourning inspired by the assassination of the empress. One presumably Jewish postman had failed to conform to the seemingly mandatory mourning, and he was promptly suspended, charged, condemned, and imprisoned. This single reported instance of dissidence, provoking in response such purposeful suppression, underlined the urgency of the conservative vision of universal sympathy and solidarity.

<sup>28</sup> *Czas*, October 11, 1898, October 22, 1898; *Głos Narodu*, October 22, 1898.

<sup>29</sup> *Dyrekcja Policji w Krakowie*, Archiwum Państwowe w Krakowie, register 52 (1899), file 116.

<sup>30</sup> *Czas*, October 28, 1898; *Głos Narodu*, October 28, 1898; *Nowa Reforma*, October 29, 1898.

<sup>31</sup> *Sąd Krajowy Karny w Krakowie*, Archiwum Państwowe w Krakowie, register 590 (1898), file 1241; *Dyrekcja Policji w Krakowie*, Archiwum Państwowe w Krakowie, register 52 (1899), file 189.



WHEN BISHOP PUZYNA ADDRESSED the Cracow delegates to the Viennese funeral, before the gathered representatives of every level of society, he declared that it was “not only the task of chaplains, but of everyone, to work for the healing of the evil which has sunk such deep roots, and found its expression in anarchy.”<sup>32</sup> The assassin, Luigi Luccheni, was, in fact, an Italian anarchist, but the bishop, in the spirit of Cracow conservatism, perorated against anarchy as a general manifestation of universal evil rather than a specific political perspective and workers’ movement in nineteenth-century Europe. From the first reports of the assassination, *Czas* interpreted it in terms of a cosmic struggle between Satanic and Christian principles, with nothing less than civilization itself at stake. The bereaved emperor was quoted as wondering “who could make such an assault on her, she who only did good and no evil to anyone?” *Czas* rhetorically responded: “In the mysteries of human psychology there is no reply to this question. One must seek for it in the pervasive, demonic currents in modern humanity.” The advent of demonic force into modern history was dated to the French Revolution:

The Empress Elżbieta fell by the dagger of an assassin, like Marie Antoinette one hundred years before on the guillotine. The same furious and infernal tendencies that took possession of the Convention here wielded the murderer’s instrument of death . . . In the array of regicides from antiquity to our own times, these two female forms are today surrounded by a common halo as victims of an idea, by which revolutionary madness endeavors to exterminate.<sup>33</sup>

Appreciating the assassination of the empress as a crime of ideology, *Czas* framed its response in the fin-de-siècle language of religiously inflected conservatism, invoking the opposition between hell and the halo. The reference to Marie Antoinette seemed to allude to Edmund Burke’s *Reflections on the Revolution in France*, which already in 1790 cherished the French queen as the victim of revolutionary madness. In 1898, Cracow conservatism recognized the devil behind the ideological dagger.

The stabbing of Empress Elisabeth demonstrated that revolutionary evil had developed even more insidiously during the century since the execution of Marie Antoinette:

Contemporary anarchism outdoes French terrorism; equally monstrous, but much more vile, it lurks treacherously, and from concealment hurls the missile of death among crowds of people . . . What is the source, where the limits, of these insanities? How to heal the soul of humanity from similar infections, how to secure society and every higher authority from extinction? By turning one’s mind where today the heavily afflicted monarch turns his mind—toward heaven! The earth is a battlefield between infernal and celestial powers—peoples and thrones stand between Satanic inspirations and the grace of God. In order to put out these underground fires in human souls, it is necessary to draw rays from on high into the social-civilizational structure, to return the current of civilization to the Christian creche.<sup>34</sup>

<sup>32</sup> *Czas*, September 17, 1898.

<sup>33</sup> *Czas*, September 13, 1898.

<sup>34</sup> *Czas*, September 13, 1898.



EINES DER LETZTEN BILDER DER KAISERIN.

FIGURE 3: One of the last pictures of Empress Elisabeth before her assassination. From A. de Burgh, *Elisabeth*, 1901. Courtesy of the Harvard College Library.

In this Manichaean conception of a human universe polarized between Satanic and celestial forces, *Czas* could offer only the conventional conservative remedy of Christian principles. The framing of the problem, however, was more notably modern, moving from the “mysteries of human psychology” to the “underground fires in human souls,” in search of the concealed ideological culprit that put society and civilization at risk of extinction.

Andrzej Walicki has analyzed the importance of Hegelian dialectical philosophy for Polish Romantic Messianism, especially in the case of August Cieszkowski, the author of *Ojciec Nasz* (Our Father), of which the final volumes only appeared

posthumously in 1899 and 1903. Wiktor Weintraub, as well as Walicki, has considered the importance of prophecy and catastrophism in Polish Romanticism, especially in the Paris lectures of Mickiewicz. Finally, Jerzy Jedlicki has indicated the significance of apocalyptic catastrophism, concerning economy and society, for the evolution of Polish conservatism in the nineteenth century.<sup>35</sup> *Czas*'s emphases on cosmic dualism and catastrophic prophecy were consistent with some of the intellectual principles of Polish Romanticism, removed from its revolutionary political impulses and reconceived as Christian conservatism.

Having identified "anarchism" as the fundamental ideological infection hidden within the human soul, *Czas* considered the political menace of the anarchist movement and seized on the assassination as an occasion for international mobilization. "Just as in our monarchy, so in the entire civilized world," the newspaper recorded, "one shriek of horror and condemnation has gone up on account of the monstrous crime in Geneva." A published list of anarchist attacks in the 1890s mentioned the attempts on the life of the Italian king Umberto in 1893 and 1897 (before the successful assault of 1900) and the assassination of the French president Sadi Carnot in 1894; the published condolences to Franz Joseph from international leaders in 1898 included telegrams from Pope Leo XIII, Kaiser Wilhelm II, Queen Victoria, and President William McKinley (himself later assassinated by a Polish-American anarchist in Buffalo in 1901). *Czas* viewed anarchism as both more and less than a purely political danger to crowned heads and elected leaders:

It is not possible to consider the anarchists as a political party and to evaluate their activity by the standards applied to political offenders. They are only either common criminals who cover their transgressions with the pretenses of some theory, or they are madmen seized by the mania for murder. In both cases they ought to be excluded from general laws, for humanity must defend itself equally from criminals and from the insane if it wants to exist and develop further.<sup>36</sup>

*Czas* thus proposed a sociological and psychological conception of anarchism, alternatively framed as a matter of crime or insanity. The very existence of humanity—of "the entire civilized world"—was at stake, and *Czas* emphasized the seriousness of the menace by returning to the medical metaphor of infection.

Completely incomprehensible therefore is the conduct of those states that tolerate not only individual anarchists but even their unions and associations. No government anywhere suffers the official existence of clubs of thieves or brigands, and yet anarchist associations have for their purpose the destruction of property and life. Anarchism is certainly a grievous social disease, and truly for that reason it should be destroyed by all means; if however international understanding suffices to check plague, cholera, smallpox, and other harmful diseases, why should it not suffice to wipe out the pestilence of anarchism.<sup>37</sup>

<sup>35</sup> Andrzej Walicki, *Philosophy and Romantic Nationalism: The Case of Poland* (Oxford, 1982), 127–45; Jerzy Jedlicki, *A Suburb of Europe: Nineteenth-Century Polish Approaches to Civilization* (1988; rpt. edn., Budapest, 1999), 103–65; Wiktor Weintraub, *Poeta i prorok: Rzecz o profetyzmie Mickiewicza* (Warsaw, 1982), 344–432.

<sup>36</sup> *Czas*, September 14, 1898, September 17, 1898.

<sup>37</sup> *Czas*, September 17, 1898.

From the conservative perspective of cosmic dualism, the anarchist menace appeared as a Satanic principle transmitted along the social vectors of catastrophic infection.

The balance between didactic journalism and apocalyptic prophecy became increasingly unstable as *Czas*, a week after the funeral, published an informative historical account called "The Origin and Development of Anarchism," while, at the same time, on the front page, meditating about the imminent end of the nineteenth century:

The nearer the end of the century, the more threatening the clouds that veil the future. In whatever direction we look, everywhere is unrest and discord . . . The force of racial, social, even confessional hatred is increasing in the world. It is as if, following the angel of faith, the good spirits have flown from the earth—the angel of hope and the angel of love, the spirit of freedom, the spirit of law, and the spirit of progress. Instead monsters and reptiles are crawling out from every side.<sup>38</sup>

Citing anarchism in general and the murder of the empress in particular, *Czas* thus explicitly linked the assassination to the fin-de-siècle spiritual crisis, as conceived from the perspective of Cracow conservatism. In the apocalyptic encounter between angels and spirits, on the one hand, and monsters and reptiles, on the other, the assassination of Elisabeth was a historical manifestation of Manichaean conflict, an indication of that which lay concealed within the hearts of men and hidden behind the clouds that veiled the future of humanity. In 1894, Tetmajer had asked, "What is your shield against the spear of evil, man of the end of the century?" In 1898, after the murder of the empress, *Czas* recognized the dagger of the anarchist assassin as the instrument of a monstrous evil hovering over the century's end. Tetmajer's man of the end of the century "hung his head silently" at the end of the poem, but Cracow conservatism did not hesitate to identify the only operative shield as "the finger of God and the hand of Providence." *Czas* declared that "our century is not thoroughly perverted," and, in spite of "moments of eclipse, of decline, of discord, of danger," there was nevertheless reason to believe in the ultimate triumph of redemptive Christianity. Thus the rival generations of fin-de-siècle Cracow, from the perspectives of decadent poetry and of conservative piety, acknowledged the same spiritual crisis.

*Głos Narodu*, by contrast, was more specific in identifying the lurking menace behind the violence of anarchism and in naming the monsters who stalked the turn of the century. Within days of the assassination in September, that newspaper looked into the "infernal band" of Italian anarchists and discerned in all their evil work the "red thread" of "Jewish activity and Masonic work." In February 1899, *Głos Narodu* began a series of articles entitled "At the Turn of the Century," with a vision of redemption "in the whole world and especially in Galicia" through the struggle for "liberation from moral and material oppression by the Jews."<sup>39</sup> Schorske has demonstrated the importance of anti-Semitic mass politics in Vienna, which was demagogically challenging the earlier prevalence of municipal liberalism, as in the Christian Socialism of Karl Lueger, who became mayor of Vienna in 1897.

<sup>38</sup> *Czas*, September 22, 1898.

<sup>39</sup> *Głos Narodu*, September 15, 1898, February 8, 1899.



*Głos Narodu* in Cracow attempted to articulate just such a challenge to municipal conservatism, reporting on Lueger himself in September 1898 when the mayor made his own Viennese statement on the assassination of the empress.<sup>40</sup> Lueger was once famously supposed to have summed up his tactical anti-Semitism with the comment, "Wer Jude ist bestimme ich," "I decide who is a Jew." In this same arbitrary spirit, *Głos Narodu* did not hesitate to attribute even the assassination of the empress to the machinations of the Jews, editorializing in a spirit of demagogic brazenness that trampled on the elaborately articulated conservative principles of *Czas*.

In November 1898, when *Czas* celebrated its own jubilee, after fifty years of publishing, the last half of the nineteenth century was still summed up in a spirit of apocalyptic concern, "the always denser darkness of intensifying hatreds and endeavors of destruction." *Czas* reaffirmed its faith in conservative principles and claimed that Polish society, at least, had proven itself largely immune to the dark endeavor of anarchism during the last fifty years. In 1899, however, the newspaper reviewed the work of the historian Bronisław Łoziński, reconsidered the massacre of the nobles in Galicia in 1846, and recognized that tragedy under the name of anarchy.<sup>41</sup> Indeed, the principle of anarchy, once satisfactorily defined as a Satanic force that manifested itself in criminality or insanity, offered a convenient alternative to specifying the dynamics of class conflict. In retrospect, the revulsion against murderous anarchism in 1846 could be celebrated as the founding force of nineteenth-century Cracow conservatism. In 1900, as the century turned, *Czas* reviewed the work of the Polish philosophy professor Henryk Struve and evaluated the concept of "anarchism of the spirit" (*anarchizm ducha*). Struve had traced the history of philosophical anarchism from Baudelaire through Nietzsche and, finally, to the epicenter of fin-de-siècle literary anarchism, Cracow itself, where *Młoda Polska* was in the intellectual thrall of the notoriously Satanic Stanisław Przybyszewski.<sup>42</sup>

Struve remarked on Przybyszewski's "naked erotomania" as evidence of his anarchism, but *Czas* hesitated to accept the verdict, noting Struve's "too imprecise characterization of the manifestations of contemporary art, which must be misunderstood and warped if it is to be forcibly drawn into the pattern of 'anarchism of the spirit.'" <sup>43</sup> *Czas* was unwilling to dismiss modernist literature, including Przybyszewski, as a mere manifestation of anarchism. *Głos Narodu*, in fact, even censured *Czas* for being too sympathetic to *Młoda Polska* and labeled the literary movement as a pestilential "bacteria culture." In October 1898, a month after the assassination, *Głos Narodu* found *Młoda Polska* to be fully infected with the French spirit of "Vive l'anarchie." Although Tetmajer was sincerely admired by *Głos Narodu*, and even Przybyszewski grudgingly regarded as "at least a person of unusual and original talent," the whole movement had to be condemned for its

<sup>40</sup> *Głos Narodu*, September 13, 1898; Carl Schorske, "Politics in a New Key: An Austrian Trio," in *Fin-de-siècle Vienna*, 133–46.

<sup>41</sup> *Czas*, July 7, 1899, July 8, 1899; see also Thomas Simons, Jr., "The Peasant Revolt of 1846 in Galicia: Recent Polish Historiography," *Slavic Review* 30 (December 1971): 795–817.

<sup>42</sup> *Czas*, March 23, 1900.

<sup>43</sup> *Czas*, March 23, 1900.

"socialist-Jewish retinue."<sup>44</sup> The outrage of others underlined the more sympathetic engagement of *Czas* with its relatively favorable view of *Młoda Polska*.

Nevertheless, *Czas* itself had made the explicit equation between Satanism and anarchism in September 1898, and Przybyszewski, whose literary reputation included both of those dubiously distinctive labels, was inevitably controversial for the conservative point of view. Przybyszewski returned to Poland in September 1898, after years of literary celebrity in Germany and Scandinavia; now he settled in Cracow to take up the editorship of *Życie* and preside over the modernism of *Młoda Polska*. His literary Satanism had been acknowledged as recently as the previous year, in 1897, when he published in Germany the essay *Die Synagoge des Satan* and the novel *Satans Kinder*, both written in German; Polish versions were published as soon as Przybyszewski returned to Poland in 1899, with the essay appearing in Cracow in *Życie* and the novel in L'viv. *The Synagogue of Satan* offered a somewhat fanciful historical account of Satanism since ancient times, with an enthusiastic salute to Satan's original role as the "god of instinct and fleshly pleasure." In *Totenmesse* (1893), Przybyszewski had demonstrated his appreciation of the sexual principle, anticipating the psychoanalytic revolution with the scandalously unbiblical pronouncement, "In the beginning there was sex." Boy, remembering Przybyszewski's Cracow disciples with their bohemian morals and alcoholic excesses, celebrated them as "Satan's children" with the master himself as the "good-hearted" Satan.<sup>45</sup>

The novel *Satan's Children*, however, was not in the least good-hearted. Its central Satanic figure was an anarchist, who went by the Byronic name of Gordon, and masterminded a gratuitous act of anarchistic arson. Gordon affirms that "we are all the children of Satan, all of us who are driven by despair," and that "life is the kingdom of Satan: hell." Asked, "Why do you wish to destroy?" Gordon replies, "Because I hate."<sup>46</sup> He has no qualms about committing any crime, including murder. Thus Przybyszewski, in 1897, had already made precisely the same equation between anarchism and Satanism that *Czas* articulated in response to the assassination of the empress in 1898. *Czas*, like Przybyszewski, saw the earth as "a battlefield between infernal and celestial powers," life as a contest "between Satanic inspirations and the grace of God," even though Przybyszewski was capable of artistic sympathy with some aspects of Satanism. *Czas* also discerned the "underground fires in human souls," but Przybyszewski recognized that they burned with the psychological intensity of human instincts. Cracow conservatism and fin-de-siècle decadence were closely related in their terms of analysis, addressing the Satanic character of anarchism.

In July 1899, *Czas* published a review essay on works by Przybyszewski that had recently appeared in Polish, including *Satan's Children*. The reviewer was the

<sup>44</sup> *Głos Narodu*, October 29, 1898.

<sup>45</sup> Stanisław Przybyszewski, *Die Synagoge des Satan* (Berlin, 1897), 8; Przybyszewski, *Totenmesse* (Berlin, 1900), 5; Boy, "Dzieci Szatana," *Znaszli ten kraj?* 113; see also David-Fox, "Prague-Vienna, Prague-Berlin," 750–58; Artur Hutnikiewicz, "Stanisław Przybyszewski," in *Literatura okresu Młodej Polski*, 2: 107–20; George Klim, *Stanisław Przybyszewski: Leben, Werk und Weltanschauung im Rahmen der deutschen Literatur der Jahrhundertwende* (Paderborn, 1992); Maria Kuncewiczowa, *Fantasia alla polacca* (Warsaw, 1979); Maxime Herman, *Stanisław Przybyszewski* (Lille, 1939).

<sup>46</sup> Przybyszewski, *Dzieci Szatana*, Gabriela Matuszek, ed. (Cracow, 1993), 16, 32; Wyka, *Modernizm polski*, 101–12.



Messianic philosopher Wincenty Lutosławski, who did not particularly admire Przybyszewski's style—"the lack of any artistic elaboration"—or his anarchist characters: "The people whom he presents to us as the children of Satan are, in truth, poor sick victims of the more serious forms of neurosis, leading to hysteria." Lutosławski further noted the recurrence of the "favorite theme of the author, the violent force of sexual lust," but complained of "monotony" and implausibility. He allowed himself to wonder whether Przybyszewski, in spite of his literary success in "depraved Berlin," would ever manage "to dazzle virtuous Cracow."<sup>47</sup> Przybyszewski lived in Berlin between 1889 and 1894, and he continued to publish there in German after moving on to Norway and then Cracow; Lutosławski's moral comparison between Berlin and Cracow, a true metropolis and a small city, suggested the difficulty of cultivating urban modernism without modern urbanism.

"All this Satanism exists nowhere and never existed, except in the dreams induced by drunkenness," affirmed Lutosławski.<sup>48</sup> Yet, in spite of such sensible skepticism, *Czas* itself was more or less in agreement with Przybyszewski in accepting the existence of Satanism and even its correspondence to anarchism. The morbid ravings, the infectious somnolence, the neurotic intoxications of fin-de-siècle decadence also found some echo in the principles of Cracow conservatism. Although Lutosławski might insist that such Satanism never existed, when *Czas* reviewed the concept of "anarchism of the spirit" in 1900, with attention to Przybyszewski, the newspaper also published in an adjoining column a report from Switzerland on assassin Luigi Luccheni in prison. A professor of psychiatry in Switzerland had just published an article declaring Luccheni to be mentally ill: "The gloomy anger of Luccheni and his morbid madness are the symptoms of insanity."<sup>49</sup> In Cracow, Luccheni had become a symptomatic point of reference in the crisis of conservatism at the turn of the century.

LUCCHENI MURDERED THE EMPRESS on the afternoon of September 10, 1898, and, in the early age of telephone communication, the news was rapidly disseminated, reaching Cracow by telephone from Vienna around six in the evening. Details of the tragedy arrived by telegraph an hour later. That evening, at the Teatr Miejski, the municipal theater, the company was performing a comedy by the French dramatist Victorien Sardou, and, in the middle of the second act, the play was interrupted by an announcement from the stage, to the full house, that the empress had been assassinated. From the very beginning, therefore, the reception of the news of the assassination was conditioned by a theatrical context. The Cracow public was further informed, in the next day's newspaper, about the announcement of the news to another theater audience in Vienna, where the Burgtheater was sold out for the tragedy of *Faust*. The performance was about to begin:

All at once there was unrest in the whole hall, groups formed, and some began to press in a crowd toward the exit. At the stroke of seven the curtain rose and the artist Robert, already

<sup>47</sup> *Czas*, July 28, 1899; see also Fritzsche, *Reading Berlin, 1900*, 127–69; and Peter Jelavich, *Berlin Cabaret* (Cambridge, Mass., 1993), 1–35.

<sup>48</sup> *Czas*, July 28, 1899.

<sup>49</sup> *Czas*, March 23, 1900.

in costume as Faust, announced that the performance was canceled by the highest order. This occurred similarly in the opera and in all the private theaters. The public, exiting from the theaters, filled the streets, and awaited details of the terrible crime.<sup>50</sup>

In Cracow, as in Vienna, such audiences went out into the streets to wait for special editions from the newspapers; eventually, they would also read about themselves, about the interrupted performances in which the imperial tragedy supplanted the staged drama of Faust and Mephistopheles. The intensity of theatrical and literary culture in Vienna has been noted by Stefan Zweig in his memoirs, by Hermann Broch in his essay on Hofmannsthal, and by Schorske in his historical studies; theater and literature in Cracow were considerably more limited by the comparatively smaller public but were disproportionately important precisely on that account. Afterwards, looking back, Boy remarked, "in defiance of all the material and physical inadequacies of the city, artistic life developed more fully than ever before" in the 1890s, and, "where real life was so terribly impoverished," modern drama, for instance the plays of Henrik Ibsen, could become "the sole realities."<sup>51</sup> The assassination of Elisabeth, from the moment it was announced in the theater, became a public sensation in which the theatrical, artistic, and poetic values of fin-de-siècle Cracow pervasively influenced and transmuted the representation of journalistic reality.

Schorske has stressed the influence of aesthetic culture on journalism in fin-de-siècle Vienna, with particular attention to the feuilleton, a newspaper essay in which the writer "tended to transform objective analysis of the world into subjective cultivation of personal feelings."<sup>52</sup> *Czas* reacted to the assassination with an anonymously authored front-page obituary feuilleton, published in installments over the course of three days. This meditation on the life and death of the empress began by imagining her own grief at the suicide of her son Crown Prince Rudolf at Mayerling ten years before. "Seeking peace in solitude, in the beauty of nature and art," the empress was represented in print as a focus for the impressions and emotions of the Habsburg public:

It was impossible to imagine that she could awaken fanatical hatred, she who, her whole life, brought enchantment with beauty and grace. For that reason amazement seizes the mind, suggesting an image of bestial crime on Lake Geneva. There have been regicides whose bloody deeds had something of monstrous greatness, compelling the fantasy of poets [*przykuwającą fantazję poetów*]; but this murderer, whose dagger cut off the days of the Empress Elżbieta, strikes one only with aversion, with abomination, like the shock of nerves at the brutal sight of the figures of common criminals in a peep show at the fair.<sup>53</sup>

The strategy of the feuilleton involved the overwhelming of the susceptible mind by suggestive images and impressions, the manipulative appeal to sensitive nerves. Yet, even as the obituary affirmed that the only possible emotional response was

<sup>50</sup> *Czas*, September 11, 1898, Nadzwyczajny Dodatek.

<sup>51</sup> Boy, "Wiatr nad Krakowem," *Znaszli ten kraj?* 65; "Ariel i Kaliban," *Znaszli ten kraj?* 74; Stefan Zweig, *The World of Yesterday*, Harry Zohn, ed. (Lincoln, Neb., 1964), 12–20; Hermann Broch, *Hugo von Hofmannsthal and His Time: The European Imagination, 1860–1920*, Michael Steinberg, ed. (Chicago, 1984), 59–65; Schorske, *Fin-de-siècle Vienna*, 5–10.

<sup>52</sup> Schorske, *Fin-de-siècle Vienna*, 9.

<sup>53</sup> *Czas*, September 13, 1898.

aversion and abomination, it was impossible altogether to suppress the deeply decadent idea that assassination could compel "the fantasy of poets." Indeed, it was part of the self-conscious aesthetic scheme of decadent poetry to play perversely on the nerves. The form of the feuilleton, by its subjective nature, was inclined toward such poetic impulses, but the obituary determinedly resisted the Satanic values of Przybyszewski, for whom anarchist reptiles might well have assumed some sort of "monstrous greatness." In his "Confiteor" manifesto, published in *Życie* on New Year's Day 1899, Przybyszewski would affirm the absolute value of art for art's sake, including even art that represented "the greatest crimes" (*największe zbrodnie*).<sup>54</sup> The obituary feuilleton in *Czas* already conceded that murder could stimulate the aesthetic nerves of fin-de-siècle sensibility.

The obituary also affirmed a set of more conservative aesthetic values, discovered in the character of Elisabeth herself. She was saluted for "her sensitivity to everything artistic," including the island of Corfu, the statues of ancient Greece, and the poetry of Heinrich Heine, but especially for her appreciation of nature: "the mysterious pulse of the life of the ocean waves, of forests, and of mountain peaks."<sup>55</sup> Yet a modern artistic movement already existed in Cracow, where the artists' association *Sztuka* was established in 1897, the same year as the Viennese Sezession; as in the parallel literary movements of *Jung-Wien* and *Młoda Polska*, the aesthetic concerns of a younger generation also involved contacts and connections between Cracow and Vienna.<sup>56</sup> Cracow conservatism was not untroubled by the inklings of aesthetic ambivalence in 1898, and finally, after a week of municipal mourning, *Czas* became less resistant to the sentimental temptations of fin-de-siècle decadence. The story that had been first reported from the stage of the theater was now fully integrated into the dramatic repertory: "The tragic death of the Empress Elżbieta on foreign territory, by the hand of a foreigner, is among the series of dramas that have played continuously in our century on the steps of thrones—but exceptional in its historical significance, we would dare to say [*śmielibyśmy powiedzieć*], it has a strange poetry and beauty [*ma dziwną poezję i piękność*]; it also arouses exceptional suffering and terror."<sup>57</sup> The almost Aristotelian aspects of the tragedy were articulated in the fin-de-siècle formulas of morbid modern aestheticism. After first refusing to acknowledge any appeal to the fantasy of poets, *Czas* now fully conceded that the death of the empress, as the tragically inevitable conclusion of her drama, was artistically admirable, suffused with "strange poetry and beauty." The convergence between the older generation of dynastic conservatism and the younger generation of decadent modernism was consummated in a daring ideological concession to the poetry of violence.

On the 1st of March 1899, Arthur Schnitzler's one-act play *Der grüne Kakadu* (The Green Cockatoo) was first performed in Vienna at the Burgtheater, and before the end of that month it was reviewed in *Czas*, keeping Cracow up to date on the important dramatic phenomena of fin-de-siècle Vienna. Schnitzler's play was all about the theatricality of violence, about the ways in which violence, even

<sup>54</sup> Stanisław Przybyszewski, "Confiteor," in Andrzej Makowiecki, *Młoda Polska* (Warsaw, 1981), 198.

<sup>55</sup> *Czas*, September 14, 1898.

<sup>56</sup> Krakowski, "Cracow Artistic Milieu around 1900," 76–77; Roman Taborski, *Wśród wiedeńskich poloników* (Cracow, 1983), 150–63; Taborski, *Polacy w Wiedniu* (Wrocław, 1992), 102–54.

<sup>57</sup> *Czas*, September 18, 1898.

murder, could produce a poetic titillation in the fantasy of susceptible spectators. The play was set in a Paris cabaret, the Green Cockatoo, in which decadent aristocrats went to watch actors playing the parts of violent criminals. The date of the action was July 14, 1789, and the people of Paris were storming the Bastille offstage, so that revolutionary violence became confused with theatrical violence inside the club. "Reality enters into the play," a character commented, "the play into reality." *Czas* found the message familiar: "variations on a theme of thought that is not new: life is a combination of dream and reality, of falsehood and truth." Boy would later see this as the hallmark of fin-de-siècle Cracow: "Nowhere else as in Cracow did people live so much in the imagination and so little in reality."<sup>58</sup> Schnitzler's drama proposed a perspective on reality that was perfectly conducive to the literary atmosphere of Cracow and a vision of violence consistent with the dramatic appreciation of the assassination six months before. In Vienna, the daughters of Elisabeth, the Habsburg archduchesses, found Schnitzler's play subversively offensive and encouraged its removal from the repertory.

Just as Schorske has suggested that art provided Viennese liberals with an "escape" from the unpleasantness of politics, so in *Der grüne Kakadu* the aristocratic escape into theatrical fantasy was overtaken and overwhelmed by revolutionary reality outside the Green Cockatoo.<sup>59</sup> The Cracow conservatives who lavished such an exaltation of attentions on the assassination of the empress in 1898, and came to find a certain "strange poetry and beauty" in her death, were also seeking refuge from a more threatening and less poetic reality. It is true that the growing organization of socialist, populist, and nationalist movements in Galicia was distasteful and alarming to Cracow conservatives, and an apocalyptic intimation of anarchistic Satanism served as a sort of distraction from more mundane political menaces. At the same time, however, there were other manifestations of violence in Galicia, which could be neither apocalyptically philosophized nor aesthetically poeticized, still less comprehended and confronted. The articles in *Czas* during the first week of September addressed the violent events that would be promptly displaced in the press by the assassination of the empress on September 10. On September 5, the trial began in Cracow of forty-four people accused of criminal violence against Jews in various villages of the region, a judicial reckoning with the serious anti-Semitic riots of 1898 in Galicia. *Czas* told the unsavory story of a village mob, earlier in the year, armed with axes and cudgels, smashing windows and breaking into Jewish taverns in order to destroy the premises, drink the vodka, and steal whatever could be carried away. On September 9, four more defendants were accused in court of public violence and putting people at risk of bodily injury, for breaking the windows of Jewish establishments in nearby Wieliczka. At the same time, *Czas* was following a murder trial in Sanok, east of Cracow, where a peasant was charged with stabbing to death his wife and her uncle, who happened to be a priest; the defendant claimed to have committed the murder on account of the incestuous relation between the two victims.<sup>60</sup> Such were the stories of unpoetic

<sup>58</sup> *Czas*, March 23, 1899; Boy, "Prawy brzeg Wisły," *Znaszli ten kraj?* 12.

<sup>59</sup> Schorske, *Fin-de-siècle Vienna*, 8.

<sup>60</sup> *Czas*, September 3, 1898, September 6, 1898, September 10, 1898; Frank Golczewski, *Polnische-Jüdische Beziehungen 1881-1922* (Wiesbaden, 1981), 60-84; Golczewski, "Rural Anti-Semitism in





FIGURE 4: Galician Jews. Illustration by Włodzimierz Tetmajer from Limanowski's *Galicya*, 1892. Courtesy of the Harvard College Library.

village violence in Galicia that were conveniently swept aside by the sensational news of the assassination of the empress, far away in Geneva, by the hand of an insane Satanic anarchist.

By October, it was violence as usual, as a case came to court in Cracow that involved a Jew accused of murdering the agent of the noble Zamojski family in a village near Nowy Targ, in consequence of a dispute over the *propinacja*, the rights to make and sell alcoholic drink on the Zamojski estate.<sup>61</sup> In general, the violent crimes reported in the pages of *Czas* involved peasant villagers, with bloody murder occurring in the context of bitter poverty, often within families, and sometimes reflecting the tensions between Christians and Jews in the villages of Galicia. In November, around the time that Luccheni went on trial in Geneva, a peasant was tried in Cracow for the village murder of his son-in-law, a case that also involved suspicions of father-daughter incest. In February 1899, a man came to trial for murdering his brother, and a nineteen-year-old boy was tried for killing a woman who was struck on the forehead while he and his friends were throwing stones at the windows of a Jewish tavern. That same month, the disappearance of a young

Galicia before World War I," in *The Jews in Poland*, Chimen Abramsky, Maciej Jachimczyk, and Antony Polonsky, eds. (Oxford, 1986), 97–105.

<sup>61</sup> *Czas*, October 13, 1898.

Christian girl who worked as a servant for a Jewish family provoked village rumors of ritual murder.<sup>62</sup> Such commissions and suspicions of violence were not notably poetic, and although they exercised a certain fascination for the press, they could hardly inspire any “exaltation” in the urban public. Neither were they the crimes of urban violence that one might have found in a modern metropolis, giving cause to reflect on the consequences of urban development; rather, they emphasized the fact that Cracow remained a small town, alarmingly surrounded by the seething violence of village life in Galicia. The issues raised in connection with the assassination of Elisabeth, municipal solidarity in mourning, the menace of Satanic anarchism, and the poetics of violence, were all the more compelling inasmuch as they evaded the everyday regional recurrence of violent crime in Galicia and focused on the rare and remote sensation of Habsburg tragedy.

IN ITS ACCOUNT AND ANALYSIS OF THE ASSASSINATION, Cracow conservatism, as expressed in *Czas*, demonstrated its readiness to appropriate and adapt the issues and themes of the younger generation, indulging with some relish in the spirit of morbid decadence that made violent death into a fin-de-siècle fascination. At the same time, the ongoing unpoetic reporting on violent crime in the villages of Galicia made it possible for the artistic vision of *Młoda Polska* to advance toward a new perspective on the social and cultural crisis of the province and, ultimately, to bring the “fantasy of poets” to bear on the banality of peasant violence. In March 1901, there took place the first performance of Wyspiański’s verse play *Wesele* (The Wedding), the preeminent dramatic masterpiece of fin-de-siècle Cracow. Wyspiański’s achievement emerged from the many influential arenas of the city’s theater world, including the Teatr Miejski, which staged the modern dramas of Ibsen in the 1890s, the popular theater, which flourished seasonally in the Park Krakowski in the 1890s before being institutionalized as the Teatr Ludowy in 1900, and, finally, traditional puppet theater, called *szopka*, which also influenced the conception of the characters in *Wesele*.<sup>63</sup> The subject of *Wesele* was the village marriage of a writer from Cracow to a peasant girl, and it was based on the true marriage of Lucjan Rydel in 1900. In addition to the groom, the party coming from Cracow to the country wedding also included someone designated as “the poet,” probably based on Tetmajer, and someone else designated as “the journalist,” probably based on Rudolf Starzewski, who wrote for *Czas*. Wyspiański thus staged an encounter between fin-de-siècle Cracow and the Galician countryside, and also between the Polish present and the Polish past, as represented by a series of phantom historical figures who appeared on the scene to haunt and inspire the contemporary characters.

Although the groom rapturously exclaims on the joys of being barefoot in the country, amidst “orchards, fields, meadows, groves,” and though the country characters include a young Jewish woman who has read all of Przybyszewski’s

<sup>62</sup> *Czas*, November 5, 1898, November 7, 1898, November 9, 1898.

<sup>63</sup> Jan Michalik, “Teatr krakowski w latach 1893–1918,” in *Dzieje teatru polskiego*, Tadeusz Sivert, ed., Vol. 4: *Teatr polski w latach 1890–1918: Zabór austriacki i pruski* (Warsaw, 1987), 45–193; Ryszard Górski, *Dramat ludowy XIX wieku* (Warsaw, 1969), 211–32; Miłosz, *History of Polish Literature*, 355–57.

works, the encounter between the urban and rural contingents is fraught with misconceptions.<sup>64</sup> Perhaps most striking among them is the notion that village life is idyllically peaceful. "Oh, this peace; oh, this quiet," the groom exclaims, while the journalist remarks to the peasant Czepiec:

Yes, but here your village is peaceful [*wieś spokojna*].  
Let there be war the whole world over,  
as long as the Polish village is quiet,  
as long as the Polish village is peaceful.<sup>65</sup>

Wyspiański's ironic intentions become immediately apparent, when Czepiec replies, "We're ready for any kind of a fight." Later, he appears as the very model of a violent villager:

CZEPIEC: Well, then just look at my fists;  
just you whistle for me sometime,  
you'll hear the sound of breaking ribs.

HOST: Like with that Jew!<sup>66</sup>

Then, when a Jew and a priest arrive on the scene, the former remarks, "Look, good Father, what's going on, the peasants beat each other up." Czepiec owes money to the Jew, and addresses the priest in a rage:

Good Father don't be mad at me,  
but I'm in such a dogged fever  
that, dammit, I could even break  
the neck of my own brother [*nawet rodzonemu bratu*].<sup>67</sup>

This sentiment matched the case of actual fratricide reported in the pages of *Czas* in 1899; more generally, the dramatic conception of unpeaceful peasants, beating up each other and then assaulting the Jews, reflected familiar cases of village violence in Galicia. In 1898, in the aftermath of the anti-Semitic riots, Stanisław Szeliga was charged in Cracow with *lèse majesté*, because he told his fellow villagers that he had been to Vienna, where Emperor Franz Joseph informed him personally that it was permissible to beat up Jews.<sup>68</sup>

Hosting the wedding in *Wesele* is another urban artist who lives in the village, based on the figure of Włodzimierz Tetmajer, the half-brother of the poet

<sup>64</sup> Stanisław Wyspiański, *The Wedding*, Gerard Kopolka, trans. (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1990), 50, 53; Aniela Łempicka, *Wyspiański: Pisarz dramatyczny; Idee i formy* (Cracow, 1973), 279–345; Okońska, *Stanisław Wyspiański*, 235–72; see also Claude Backvis, *Le dramaturge Stanislas Wyspiański* (Paris, 1952).

<sup>65</sup> Wyspiański, *The Wedding*, 28.

<sup>66</sup> Wyspiański, *The Wedding*, 63.

<sup>67</sup> Wyspiański, *The Wedding*, 69, 72.

<sup>68</sup> *Sąd Krajowy Karny w Krakowie*, Archiwum Państwowe w Krakowie, register 590 (1898), file 905.



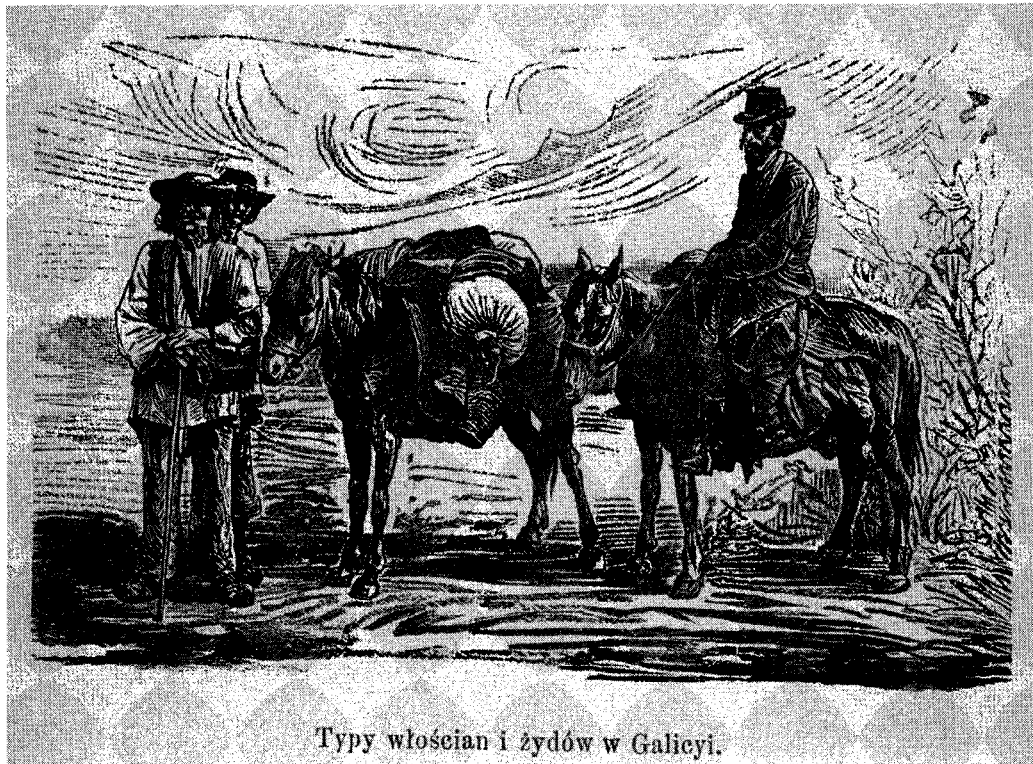


FIGURE 5: "Peasant and Jewish types in Galicia." Illustration by Włodzimierz Tetmajer, who himself became the model for the host in Stanisław Wyspiański's play *Wesele* (The Wedding), and was thus inserted into a drama involving peasant and Jewish types. From Limanowski's *Galicya*, 1892. Courtesy of the Harvard College Library.

Kazimierz Tetmajer, and it is the host who articulates the historical significance of peasant violence:

You only have to give them arms, '  
and they're afire just like dry straw;  
just let them see a flashing knife,  
and they forget the name of God—  
just like it was in forty-six [*taki rok czterdziesty szósty*]—  
the Polish peasants are like that.<sup>69</sup>

Thus the massacre of the gentry in 1846 was the historical memory that haunted Wyspiański's staging of fin-de-siècle Cracow's excursion in the country. An old beggar in the cast of characters can still remember the massacre after half a century—"I saw, I watched with my own eyes"—and it is he who later finds himself face to face with the ghost of Jakub Szela, the peasant who took the lead in the violence of 1846.

<sup>69</sup> Wyspiański, *The Wedding*, 72–73.



BEGGAR: Get out of here, hell-hound.

GHOST: Don't curse me, you're my brother—  
Tremble! It is me—Szela!!  
I came here to the Wedding.<sup>70</sup>

The peasant massacre of 1846 in Galicia was the traumatic historical event that fed the founding and the endurance of Cracow conservatism. In 1899, *Czas* interpreted that vividly remembered violence as a manifestation of “anarchy,” the same Satanic principle that explained the assassination of the empress in 1898.

Wyspiański's dramatic treatment confirmed the persistent significance of the “ghost” of 1846 in fin-de-siècle Cracow, as rival generations converged in their cultural efforts to explain and exorcise the memory of murderous violence. At the end of the play, the peasants, headed by Czepiec, stand mobilized with their scythes to engage in battle, as they once did on behalf of the Polish national cause, at the time of the Kościuszko insurrection in 1794. Yet the unpredictability of their violent impulses suggests the possibility that they might even end up venting their anger in the spirit of 1846. The drama thus concludes in the ultimate tension of anticipation, as the characters await some sort of apocalyptic upheaval and the groom thinks that he can discern, in the distance, “blood over Cracow.”<sup>71</sup> Even though the action takes place entirely in a peasant village setting, the nightmares of *Wesele* are those of fin-de-siècle Cracow. Schorske, writing about fin-de-siècle Vienna, invokes Hofmannsthal's verse play of 1892, *Der Tod des Tizian*, on the death of Titian in sixteenth-century Venice. The artist's disciples gaze upon Venice at night, and experience a nightmarish ambivalence about the magically beautiful city with its disturbing but vital elements of violence and vulgarity.<sup>72</sup> Wyspiański in *Wesele* explored a similar aesthetic ambivalence in the balance between the city of Cracow and the villages of Galicia.

The figure of the journalist, representing *Czas*, is haunted by the ghost of Stańczyk, the sixteenth-century court jester whose name was attached to nineteenth-century Cracow conservatism. When the jester remembers the raising of the sixteenth-century Zygmunt bell at Wawel Cathedral, the journalist remarks on the bell's funereal message:

And it rings for us today,  
when we bury one who's dear [*jak grzebiemy, kto nam drogi*];  
it calls to us, commands us to go  
and hear the noises from churches,  
in the great confusion of minds,  
in the great wailing of prayers.<sup>73</sup>

It was at a signal from the Wawel that the church bells of Cracow were set ringing for Elisabeth in 1898, and Cracow conservatives cherished an image of their city

<sup>70</sup> Wyspiański, *The Wedding*, 67, 112.

<sup>71</sup> Wyspiański, *The Wedding*, 181.

<sup>72</sup> Schorske, *Fin-de-siècle Vienna*, 16–18.

<sup>73</sup> Wyspiański, *The Wedding*, 96.

echoing piously with mourning bells. Starzewski, the model for the journalist in *Wesele*, was also the designated reviewer of the drama in *Czas* in 1901, and his sympathetic review was a watershed in the conservative acceptance of fin-de-siècle cultural values. While Stanisław Tarnowski, of an older conservative generation, professed to find the play incomprehensible, Starzewski in *Czas* appreciated the complexity of the dramatic representation of the peasantry and admired the incantatory spell of the poetry, "the balsam of the imagination, soothing the wounds of reality."<sup>74</sup> Stanisław Estreicher later observed that the friendship between Wyspiański and Starzewski was such that their conversations must have played a part in the development of the drama, which thus emerged from a complex symbiotic relation between the journalism of *Czas* and the modernism of *Młoda Polska*.<sup>75</sup> In 1905, Starzewski, at the age of thirty-five, replaced Chyliński as the editor-in-chief of the newspaper, bringing about a generational transition.

Yet Starzewski was already a member of the editorial staff in the 1890s, playing a conciliatory role in the cultural conflict of the generations. When *Czas* included the tragic death of the empress in 1898 among a "series of dramas"—a series consistent in its violence even if the assassination was "exceptional" in its "poetry"—the proscenium boundaries between imaginative drama and political reality were suggestively effaced in the spirit of fin-de-siècle culture. In fact, it was the press that helped make the assassination into a theatrical phenomenon, such that it appeared as part of a dramatic series, reiterated tragedies of violence, culminating in the artistic composition, staged performance, and public acclamation of Wyspiański's *Wesele* in 1901. The negotiated cultural accommodation between Cracow conservatism and fin-de-siècle modernism occurred in the context of an increasingly delicate relation between imaginative drama and sensational news. The issues of social solidarity, apocalyptic anticipation, and poetic violence made public discussion of the assassination in 1898 into a sort of thematic rehearsal for the theatrical sensation of *Wesele* in 1901.

*Wesele*, of course, was not fundamentally a Habsburg drama, and it appealed to symbols and themes of explicitly Polish character. Perhaps its single implicit Habsburg reference occurred when the ghost of Szela remarked, "You see, I've worn my medal."<sup>76</sup> His ostentation curiously echoed the shocking comment of Gimpel Goldberg, who said in 1898 that Luccheni "deserved a medal." It was commonly supposed that Szela had been recognized and rewarded by the Habsburg government for the loyalty demonstrated in the massacre of the insurrectionary Polish nobles in 1846. That allusion alone would have provoked the most distressing associations for Cracow conservatives, with their superlative Habsburg loyalty, for such a medal would have implied that the Habsburg government itself once dabbled in the most diabolical anarchism.

Forty years ago, in the *American Historical Review*, Carl Schorske discovered in fin-de-siècle Vienna a bridge between traditional politics and modernist literature in Hofmannsthal's dramatic appreciation of political ritual: "This ritualistic concept of politics bears the clear stamp of the Habsburg tradition. In the late Austrian

<sup>74</sup> Aniela Łempicka, ed., *Wesele we wspomnieniach i krytyce* (Cracow, 1961), 26–27, 123–26, 197–201.

<sup>75</sup> Łempicka, *Wesele we wspomnieniach i krytyce*, 41–45.

<sup>76</sup> Wyspiański, *The Wedding*, 113.

Empire, the imperial office, with its aura of ceremonial formalism, was the only effective focus of civic loyalty.”<sup>77</sup> Elisabeth was all the more readily mourned in Cracow, in an “exaltation” of dynastic loyalty, because her assassination demonstrated the polar opposition between the principles of Satanic anarchy and imperial order. The apparent relish of the conservative coverage indicated that the cultural values of fin-de-siècle Cracow were attuned to those of fin-de-siècle Vienna, revealing a morbid sentimental ambivalence about death, an interest in the psychological mysteries of destructive violence, and a susceptibility to the confusion of theater and reality. In 1899, the prompt review in *Czas* of *Der grüne Kakadu* demonstrated the sensitivity of Cracow to ideological and dramatic developments in fin-de-siècle Vienna. Yet writers like Przybyszewski and Wyspiański were not particularly conditioned by Viennese cultural influences. Przybyszewski had lived in Berlin and was further influenced by Scandinavian models of modernism, while Wyspiański had lived in Paris for formative periods in the 1890s and most admired the Belgian modernism of dramatist Maurice Maeterlinck. Many European currents thus conditioned the culture of fin-de-siècle Cracow, but, because of the crucial conservative principle of dynastic loyalism, the force of Habsburg mythology and ideology could exercise a magnetic effect on Polish intellectual life. At the moment of the anarchist assassination of the empress, the hegemonic generation of Cracow conservatism responded in a spirit of rejuvenated fin-de-siècle fervor to the urgent sentimental agenda of the imperial Habsburg context.

<sup>77</sup> Schorske, *Fin-de-siècle Vienna*, 21.

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## Talent, Virtue, and the Nation: Chinese Nationalisms and Female Subjectivities in the Early Twentieth Century

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JOAN JUDGE

THE LITERATURE ON WOMEN AND NATIONALISM in diverse historical and geographical contexts generally focuses on one particular paradox: while the figure of Woman has served as a powerful symbol of the modern nation-state, actual women have had to struggle for the right to participate in national political life.<sup>1</sup> By emphasizing the objectification of women in nationalist discourses, these discussions tend to overlook the more intriguing—and unsettling—paradoxes that arise when women use nationalism as their own authorizing discourse. This appropriation of nation-

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<sup>1</sup> Anne McClintock describes women as symbolic bearers of the nation who are nonetheless denied direct relation to national agency, “‘No Longer in Future Heaven’: Gender, Race and Nationalism,” in McClintock, Aamir Mufti, and Ella Shohat, eds., *Dangerous Liaisons: Gender, Nation and Postcolonial Perspectives* (Minneapolis, 1997), 90. In the introduction to the “Special Issue on Gender, Nationalisms and National Identities,” *Gender and History* 5 (Summer 1993), the editors, Catherine Hall, Jane Lewis, Keith McClelland, and Jane Rendall, note (p. 162): “Women were more frequently the subjected territory across which the boundaries of nationhood were marked than active participants in the construction of nations.” A number of the essays in this special issue deal with various aspects of this paradox. For example, Beth Baron describes how women are symbols for the nation but not imagined as part of the nation, in “The Construction of National Honor in Egypt,” 252; and Joanna de Groot describes the simultaneous centrality and marginality of gender-in-politics, in “The Dialectics of Gender: Women, Men and Political Discourses in Iran c. 1890–1930,” 266. On this paradox, see also Prasenjit Duara, “The Regime of Authenticity: Timelessness, Gender, and National History in Modern China,” *History and Theory: Studies in the Philosophy of History* 37, no. 3 (1998): 297; Deniz Kandiyoti, “Identity and Its Discontents: Women and the Nation,” in *Colonial Discourses and Post-Colonial Theory*, Patrick Williams and Laura Chrisman, eds. (New York, 1994), 388.

The distinction between Woman and women that I will use throughout this article is explained by Chandra Mohanty as the difference between “Woman” as a “cultural and ideological composite Other constructed through diverse representational discourses” and “women as real material subjects of their collective histories.” Chandra Talpade Mohanty, “Under Western Eyes: Feminist Scholarship and Colonial Discourses,” in Mohanty, Anne Russo, and Lourdes Torres, eds., *Third World Women and the Politics of Feminism* (Bloomington, Ind., 1991), 53. Rosi Braidotti claims that the elaboration of a feminist political subjectivity requires the recognition of the distance between “Woman” and real women, representation and experience. Braidotti, *Nomadic Subjects: Embodiment and Sexual Difference in Contemporary Feminist Theory* (New York, 1994), 164.



alism does enable women to carve out new subjectivities and act on them in society and politics. While it sanctions the development of such subjectivities, however, it also yokes them to the demands of the larger national project. The assumption of a new feminine national identity often requires the repudiation of past cultural identities, for example, depriving the "new woman"—and the national culture she helps create—of a potentially vital source of self-knowledge.<sup>2</sup> At the same time, the prioritization of the nation as the most meaningful context for feminine self-definition can result in the rejection of crucial social solidarities. Unraveling the complex relationship between nationalisms and female subjectivities in a particular historical context highlights the cultural and social contradictions that underlie specific nationalisms. It also provides insights into the vexed question of how subjectivities are constituted, with what degree of agency and what degree of discursive determination.<sup>3</sup>

I will explore the relationship between nationalisms and female subjectivities by examining the experience and writings of the first Chinese women to address the issue of nationalism directly, a group of overseas students in Japan in the early twentieth century. These students were active at a time when China's national survival had become a national obsession. As one of them explained in 1903, "for our generation"—the generation that came of age following a half-century of foreign subjugation and domestic unrest—"China's survival is a matter of life and death."<sup>4</sup> While national survival was the most powerful mobilizing idea at this historical juncture, the precise meaning of Chinese nationalism had not yet been overdetermined by an imposing state ideology. The Chinese nation and the Chinese national subject were still in the process of being invented.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>2</sup> In his analysis of Walter Benjamin's ideas on art and politics, Richard Wolin writes that, "as history has demonstrated only too brutally in recent times, the political instrumentalization of the aesthetic faculty has deprived many 'successful' revolutions of a vital source of self-knowledge whose existence might have somewhat mitigated their Thermidorian proclivity to devour their own children." Wolin, *Walter Benjamin: An Aesthetic of Redemption* (Berkeley, Calif., 1994), 134. This observation is pertinent to the denial of the cultural self on the part of radical Chinese female nationalists discussed in this article.

<sup>3</sup> On the constitution of female subjectivities, see the exchange among Seyla Benhabib, Judith Butler, Drucilla Cornell, and Nancy Fraser in *Feminist Contentions: A Philosophical Exchange* (New York, 1995). A longer version of Benhabib's intervention is published as "Feminism and the Question of Postmodernism," in her *Situating the Self: Gender, Community and Postmodernism in Contemporary Ethics* (New York, 1992), 203–41. See also Julia Kristeva, "A Question of Subjectivity: An Interview," *Women's Review* 12 (October 1986): 19–21, for a discussion of the fluidity of subjectivities, or, in Kristeva's terms, "the subject in process."

<sup>4</sup> Hu Binxia, "Hu Nüshi Binxia yanci (yuzuo)" [Ms. Hu Binxia's speech (to the left)], *Jiangsu* 2 (May 27, 1903): 149 [rpt. p. 0381].

<sup>5</sup> Nationalism is defined here as the movement by which national identity is politicized. National identity only becomes available as a salient cultural concept at certain historical conjunctures—such as the early twentieth century in China—characterized by a widespread perception that not everyone in the country embodies its national virtues. See Mary Poovey, "Curing the 'Social Body' in 1832: James Phillips Kay and the Irish in Manchester," in "Special Issue on Gender, Nationalisms and National Identities," 196. On conceptions of Chinese nationalism in this period, see Prasenjit Duara, *Rescuing History from the Nation* (Chicago, 1995); Jonathan Unger, ed., *Chinese Nationalism* (Armonk, N.Y., 1996), in particular the essays by Duara, "De-constructing the Chinese Nation," 31–55, and John Fitzgerald, "The Nationless State: The Search for a Nation in Modern Chinese Nationalism," 56–85; Stein Tønnesson and Hans Antlöv, "Asia in Theories of Nationalism and National Identity," in Tønnesson and Antlöv, eds., *Asian Forms of the Nation* (Richmond, Surrey, 1996); Torbjörn Lodén, "Nationalism Transcending the State: Changing Conceptions of Chinese Identity," in *Asian Forms of the Nation*, 270–96.

The figure of Woman and the energies of women were central to this process of national invention. Unlike Western societies, where women's rights were not fully addressed until almost a century after modern conceptions of the nation were put forward, in early twentieth-century China "the national question" and "the women's question" were confronted simultaneously.<sup>6</sup> Notions of nation and Woman were inextricably connected, and divergent prescriptions for China's national future were reflected in corresponding precepts for female roles. Conservative monarchists who were intent on adopting new national institutions to bolster, rather than replace, the centuries-old imperial order promoted a vision of nationalist patriarchy. In ways characteristic of conservative nationalists, they appealed to the figure of Woman to help conceal the aporia in the national project, using her as a spatial and temporal bridge between home and the world, past national values and an uncertain global future.<sup>7</sup> Constitutional monarchists who advocated the establishment of a hybrid national regime—a dynastic government limited by parliamentary institutions—promoted a correspondingly ambiguous notion of womanhood. They simultaneously placed women at the margins and at the source of the nationalist project, indirectly linking them to the nation as "mothers of citizens" (*guomin zhi mu*)—a notion reminiscent of the postrevolutionary French and American ideal of republican motherhood.<sup>8</sup> Radical nationalists and revolutionaries who called for the end

<sup>6</sup> The nature of the relationship between women and the state remained largely unexamined in the main texts of the Enlightenment in France, England, and their colonies. Linda Kerber, "The Republican Mother: Women and the Enlightenment—An American Perspective," in *Toward an Intellectual History of Women: Essays by Linda Kerber* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1997), 42. In the case of France, it was not until the Republic that officials confronted the contradiction between the universal equality of individuals and the exclusion of women from citizenship. In 1870, Jules Ferry made a passionate plea for girls' education, and it was not until 1880 that the Camille Sée law regarding girls' high schools was passed. Mona Ozouf, *Women's Words: Essay on French Singularity* (Chicago, 1997), 260–61. The situation in China was different largely because the Chinese imported the entire trajectory of Western thinking on rights at once and at a time of profound national crisis. In the anti-colonial context, feminist programs were generally deferred, often permanently, by the cause of national liberation. Andrew Parker, Mary Russo, Doris Sommer, and Patricia Yaeger, eds., *Nationalisms and Sexualities* (New York, 1992), 7.

<sup>7</sup> Duara describes nationalist patriarchy as the ideology that made it possible for elites to modernize China while conserving the truth of their regime in the bodies of women. "Regime of Authenticity," 298–99. In spatial terms, women were represented in certain modern nationalist discourses as signifiers of interiority. This made it possible for Indian nationalists, for example, selectively to assimilate elements from the West without damaging the Indian "inner" self. Partha Chatterjee, *The Nation and Its Fragments: Colonial and Postcolonial Histories* (Princeton, N.J., 1993), 116–57; and Chatterjee, "The Nationalist Resolution of the Women's Question," in Kumkum Sangari and Sudesh Vaid, eds., *Recasting Women: Essays in Indian Colonial History* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1990), 238–39. In temporal terms, Woman became the site of the unchanging essence and purity of the nation in the face of an uncertain future, making it possible for nationalist elites to manage nationalism's anomalous relation to time as a natural relation to gender. McClintock, "No Longer," 92; Duara, "Regime of Authenticity," 289–96. These uses of the figure of Woman reflected a common tension between modernist and anti-modernist aims in nationalist projects. Kandiyoti, "Identity and Its Discontents," 379.

<sup>8</sup> At the core of the ideal of republican motherhood was the notion articulated by Mary Wollstonecraft in *A Vindication of the Rights of Women*, 1792: "If children are to be educated to understand the true principle of patriotism, their mother must be a patriot." Joan B. Landes, *Women and the Public Sphere in the Age of the French Revolution* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1988), 129. On the meaning of republican motherhood in France, see Landes, 129–38; Lynn Hunt, *The Family Romance of the French Revolution* (Berkeley, Calif., 1992), 122–23. For the United States, see Kerber, "Republican Mother," 41–64, 94. On political constructions of motherhood in England, see Anna Davin, "Imperialism and Motherhood," *History Workshop* 5 (Spring 1978): 9–65. On the more general connection between motherhood and the nation, see Nira Yuval-Davis and Flora Anthias, "Introduction," in Yuval-Davis

of imperial rule and the establishment of a Chinese republic alone posited a direct link between women and the polity. They considered full female political participation to be crucial to the modern nation and the modern nation to be the key referent in defining new feminine roles. For the Chinese female overseas students who identified with this radical form of nationalism, the national present—rather than the cultural past or the progeny of the future—was the most meaningful context for feminine self-definition.<sup>9</sup>

The subjectivities of women and the representations of Woman that emerged out of these various imaginings were not exclusively the product of new nationalist discourses but also of the articulation between these new discourses and existing cultural forms.<sup>10</sup> In the early twentieth century, it was impossible to separate China's national destiny from its cultural tradition: the struggle for China's survival was as much a struggle to protect its cultural integrity as it was to defend its territorial integrity. While different degrees of attachment to China's centuries-old Confucian tradition were implicit in the various formulations for the Chinese nation, these diverse national imaginings were all infused with cultural meaning. This included their gendered dimensions: the figure of Woman central to the conservative vision embodied longstanding cultural norms, and women activists who struggled to realize radical national ideals acquired new cultural—as much as new political—identities. While nationalism enabled women to reposition themselves (or to be repositioned) in preexisting webs of cultural relations, this prior cultural matrix in turn shaped new national feminine identities.

IN EARLY TWENTIETH-CENTURY CHINA, the cultural matrix central to new conceptions of the feminine was the dichotomy between virtue (*de*) and talent (*cai*). Dating from antiquity and originally ungendered, this dichotomy expressed the Confucian cultural partiality for sound morality over flashy talent.<sup>11</sup> From the late sixteenth century, as increasing numbers of women became literate, however, this fundamental cultural construct was used to define the parameters of respectable womanhood. The saying “A man with virtue is a man of talent, a woman without talent is a woman of virtue” (*nanzi youde bian shi cai, nüzi wucai bian shi de*) was popularized at this time, defining male talent as the highest form of public service and essential

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and Anthias, eds., *Women-Nation-State* (New York, 1989), 7–9. On the notion of *guomin zhi mu*, see Joan Judge, “Citizens or Mothers of Citizens? Gender and the Meaning of Modern Chinese Citizenship,” in Elizabeth Perry and Merle Goldman, eds., *Changing Meanings of Citizenship in Modern China* (Cambridge, Mass., forthcoming).

<sup>9</sup> Poovey, “Curing the ‘Social Body,’” 196, discusses how differentiation within the nation is a process by which individuals embrace the nation as the most meaningful context for self-definition.

<sup>10</sup> The relationship between nationalism and culture has been well established. As Benedict Anderson has pointed out, there is not one “nationalism” but a plurality of conceptions of the nation. It is therefore more like a religion than an ism. See *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (New York, 1983), 15. Parker, *Nationalisms*, 5, describes nationalism as a “variable cultural artifact that is neither reactionary nor progressive in itself.”

<sup>11</sup> According to Confucius, “A man of virtue is sure to be a man of words, but a man of words is not necessarily virtuous.” D. C. Lau, trans., *The Analects* (New York, 1979), Bk. 14: 124. Quoted in Kang-i Sun Chang, “Ming-Qing Women Poets and the Notions of ‘Talent’ and ‘Morality,’” in Theodore Huters, R. Bin Wong, and Pauline Yu, eds., *Culture and State in Chinese History: Conventions, Accommodations, Critiques* (Stanford, Calif., 1997), 240.

to the reproduction of the political order, while female talent was a distraction from familial service and inimical to the reproduction of the social order.<sup>12</sup> The virtue/talent binary continued to be used to structure disputes over the scope and objectives of women's learning from the late sixteenth through the early twentieth century, but the terms of the debates shifted over time. Initially, opponents of female education claimed that talent and virtue were mutually exclusive for women. By the eighteenth century, however, the debate was no longer focused on whether or not women should develop their talents but on how publicly they should be displayed.<sup>13</sup>

In the context of early twentieth-century nationalism, the public uses of feminine talent continued to be a source of contention. While female talent and virtue were now both understood in relation to the nation, it was the publicness or privateness of this relation that generated the most controversy. At the two poles of the debate were proponents of nationalist patriarchy and radical nationalists. The former indirectly linked women to the nation through their private virtue. Privileging the domestic sphere as the crucial context for feminine self-definition, they represented the woman's national role in terms of the production of morally upright and biologically fit male offspring. In contrast, radical nationalists directly linked women to the nation through their public talents. Defining the nation as the only meaningful context for the development of new female subjectivities, they valorized the establishment of new public and political feminine roles. The overseas female students rearranged the private/public, virtue/talent nexus and challenged the notion that "only a woman without talent was virtuous" by asserting that a woman's private virtues could only become nationally relevant through the public expression of her talents. They used new and previously forbidden public forums to assert their new talents, and the very idea of publicness—of making a place for themselves in national history—was essential to their new sense of self.

While there was little agreement between conservative and radical nationalists on whether a woman's talents should be operative in the private or public spheres, there was a general consensus that new female talents had to be cultivated in the age of nationalism. Even conservatives believed that female learning had to be "modernized" if China's women were to raise a superior citizenry. This politicization of motherhood opened up new educational opportunities for Chinese women. While elite Chinese females had been instructed in the home for centuries, by the late nineteenth century the only formal schools for girls and women in China were run by Western missionaries.<sup>14</sup> In the last years of the century, Chinese reformers

<sup>12</sup> Chang, "Ming-Qing Women Poets," 239.

<sup>13</sup> Proponents of women's learning in these early debates did not consider talent and virtue to be mutually exclusive but did consider talent to be the highest female virtue. On views from the mid to late seventeenth century and the early eighteenth, see Clara Wing-Chung Ho, "The Cultivation of Female Talent: Views on Women's Education in China during the Early and High Qing Periods," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 38 (May 1995): 191–223; Liu Yongcong [Clara Wing-Chung Ho], "Qingchu sichao nüxing cai ming guan guankui" [A glance at views on women's talent and fate during four Qing dynasty reigns], in Bao Jialin, *Zhongguo funü shi lunji sanji* [Materials on the history of Chinese women, vol. 3] (Taipei, 1988), 121–62. On the eighteenth century, see Susan Mann, *Precious Records: Women in China's Long Eighteenth Century* (Stanford, Calif., 1997), esp. 76–120. Wendy Larson explores the continued relevance of this dichotomy to definitions of women's writing in twentieth-century Chinese culture; *Women and Writing in Modern China* (Stanford, 1998).

<sup>14</sup> On the education of women in elite families in the tenth to thirteenth centuries, see Patricia



became convinced of the need to both mobilize the energies of women to serve the nation and nationalize Chinese female education by wresting the initiative from foreigners. In order to fulfill these two objectives, they began to open their own private women's schools in the late 1890s and the first years of the twentieth century. These private initiatives forced the Qing government—which had not included female education in its reform of the Chinese educational system initiated in 1901—to overcome its profound trepidation concerning women's learning. In 1907, for the first time in Chinese history, the government sanctioned the establishment of elementary-level and teachers' schools for girls and women.<sup>15</sup> The overseas students who are the subject of this article came of age at this critical juncture in Chinese women's history: the period after female education was recognized as a key component of national strengthening but before the government's 1907 regulations were either drafted or put into effect. They traveled to Japan to pursue a formal education that was not yet widely available in China.

Meiji Japan (1868–1912) became the prime destination for Chinese female overseas students for both cultural and political reasons. A part of the Confucian cultural universe, Japan was also China's most proximate model of successful nationalism. It had resisted Western aggression in the mid-nineteenth century and overwhelmingly defeated China in 1895 and Russia in 1905. With each of these military victories, the number of male Chinese overseas students traveling to Tokyo to learn the lessons of modern nationalism increased, from 200 in 1898 to 13,000 in 1906.<sup>16</sup> While Japan became the locus of the Chinese reformist and radical movements in this period—the home not only of overseas students but exiled publicists and revolutionaries—it was also a model for the development of female education.<sup>17</sup> By 1904, 90 percent of Japanese females were enrolled in school,

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Ebrey, *The Inner Quarters: Marriage and the Lives of Chinese Women in the Song Period* (Berkeley, Calif., 1993), 120–24; on the seventeenth century, see Dorothy Ko, *Teachers of the Inner Chambers: Women and Culture in Seventeenth-Century China* (Stanford, Calif., 1994); on the eighteenth, see Mann, *Precious Records*, 79–120. For an overview of the history of missionary schools for girls and women in China, see Luo Suwen, *Nüxing yu jindai Zhongguo shehui* [Women and modern Chinese society] (Shanghai, 1996), 113–67.

<sup>15</sup> As part of a program of “New Policy” reforms designed to strengthen the nation, the Qing government began restructuring the educational system in 1901, abolishing the centuries-old civil service examination system in 1905. On developments in female education at this time, see Liao Xiuzhen, “Qingmo nüxue zai xuezhi shang de yanjin ji nüzi xiaoxue jiaoyu de fazhan, 1897–1911” [Late Qing women's education in the context of the evolution of the educational system and the development of women's elementary education, 1897–1911], in Li Yu-ning and Chang Yü-fa, eds., *Zhongguo funü shilun wenji* [Historical essays on Chinese women's history] (Taipei, 1992), 2: 224–27. On the importance of the regulations of 1907, see Taga Akigorō, comp., *Kindai Chūgoku kyōiku shi shiryō—Shinmatsu hen* [Historical materials for modern Chinese education—late Qing] (Tokyo, 1972), 73. For the regulations themselves, see “Xuebu zouding nüzi shifan xuetang zhangcheng zhe” [The Ministry of Education's memorial on the enactment of regulations for women's normal schools], *Da-Qing Guangxu xinfaling, dishisance* [New laws under Emperor Guangxu of the Great Qing Dynasty], vol. 13, 1907 3.8: 35–40, rpt. in *Zhongguo jindai xuezhi shiliao* [Historical materials on the modern Chinese educational system], hereafter, *XZSL*, in *Jiaoyu kexue congshu* (Shanghai, 1989), 2: 668.

<sup>16</sup> The phenomenon of male overseas study in Japan has already been well studied. See Sanetō Keishū, *Chūgokujin Nihon ryūgaku shi zōho* [A history of Chinese students in Japan, enlarged edn.] (Tokyo, 1970); Huang Fu-ch'ing, *Qingmo liu-Ri xuesheng* [Chinese students in Japan in the late Qing period] (Taipei, 1975), also transl. by Katherine P. K. Whitaker as *Chinese Students in Japan in the Late Qing Period* (Tokyo, 1982); Paula Harrell, *Sowing the Seeds of Change: Chinese Students, Japanese Teachers, 1895–1905* (Stanford, Calif., 1992).

<sup>17</sup> On the Chinese revolutionaries in Japan, see Marius Jansen, “Japan and the Revolution of 1911,”

whereas no more than 2 to 10 percent of Chinese females were considered literate in approximately the same period.<sup>18</sup> Most important from the perspective of conservative Chinese nationalists, this Japanese success was grounded in a gender ideology, the ideology of good wives and wise mothers (in Japanese, *ryōsai kenbo shugi*, in Chinese, *liangqi xianmu zhuyi*), which merged ancient Chinese female ethical principles with contemporary nationalist concerns.<sup>19</sup> These supporters of nationalist patriarchy were convinced that China could use the Japanese ideology to both sanction and control the inclusion of women in its own national project, to validate the female contribution to the new global order without tainting the Chinese way of Womanhood with the unnatural behavior of the “modern Western woman.”<sup>20</sup> They traced the rise of Western feminism to the decline of the ideology of good wives and wise mothers in the West following the introduction of John Stuart Mill’s ideas of natural rights and equality of the sexes. As the last bastion of this gender ideology in the world—and a Confucianized version of it at that—Japan presented conservatives with the only appropriate model of feminine modernity for China.<sup>21</sup>

Chinese radical nationalists were, in contrast, highly critical of the Japanese notion of good wives and wise mothers, which perpetuated many of the traditional gender assumptions their own political program sought to overcome, foreclosing the option of direct female political participation by indirectly linking women to the nation through their domestic roles. Because the Japanese ideology integrated domesticity and politics, however, it also marked new possibilities for women by

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in *The Cambridge History of China*, Vol. 11: *Late Ch’ing, 1800–1911*, part 2, John K. Fairbank and Kwang-ching Liu, eds. (Cambridge, 1980), 339–74; and Jansen, *The Japanese and Sun Yat-sen* (Cambridge, Mass., 1954). On the reform press in exile, see, for example, Joan Judge, *Print and Politics: ‘Shibao’ and the Culture of Reform in Late Qing China* (Stanford, Calif., 1996), 24–27.

<sup>18</sup> From 1872, female Japanese students attended coeducational and compulsory elementary schools, and in 1899 it was mandated by law that at least one higher school for women be opened in every prefecture. Sharon H. Nolte and Sally Ann Hastings, “The Meiji State’s Policy toward Women,” in *Recreating Japanese Women, 1600–1945*, Gail Lee Bernstein, ed. (Berkeley, Calif., 1991), 151–74. On female literacy in Japan, see Katayama Seiichi, “Meiji shoki no joshi kyōiku ron” [The discussion of female education in the early Meiji period], *Meijiro gakuen joshi tanki daigaku kenkyū kiyō* 4 (December 1967): 94; for China, see Evelyn Rawski, *Education and Popular Literacy in Ch’ing China* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1989), 140.

<sup>19</sup> The ideology of good wives and wise mothers represented the official Japanese position on women from the early 1890s. On the history of the ideology, see Katayama Seiichi, “Meiji 40 nendai no joshi kyōiku ron 1” [The discussion of female education in the period of the Meiji 40s, part 1], *Meijiro gakuen joshi tanki daigaku kenkyū kiyō* 12 (December 1975): 1–12; Kathleen S. Uno, “The Origins of ‘Good Wife, Wise Mother’ in Modern Japan,” in Erich Pauer and Regine Mathias, eds., *Japanische Frauengeschichte(n)* (Marburg, 1995), 31–46; Sechiyama Kaku and Kihara Yōko, “Higashi Ajia ni okeru ryōsai kenbo shugi” [The ideology of good wives and wise mothers in modern East Asia], *Chūgoku shakai to bunka* 4 (June 1989): 277–93; Takamura Itsue, *Josei no rekishi* 2 [The history of women, vol. 2] (Tokyo, 1966), 555. I would like to thank Kazuki Satō and Barbara Satō for bringing a number of these sources to my attention. For an analysis of the ideology and its relevance to China, see Joan Judge, “The Ideology of ‘Good Wives and Wise Mothers’: Meiji Japan and the Formulation of Feminine Modernity in Late Qing China,” in Joshua A. Fogel, ed., *Sagacious Monks and Bloodthirsty Warriors: Chinese Views of Japan in the Ming-Qing Period* (Armonk, N.Y., forthcoming).

<sup>20</sup> For an example of the negative view of American women who had supposedly completely lost their “original female nature,” see Jia Fengzhen, “Ailiwote duiyu Riben jiaoyu zhi yijian” [(The president of Harvard University Charles) Elliot’s opinion on Japanese education], *Jiaoyu zazhi* 4, no. 10 (January 1913): 60–61.

<sup>21</sup> “Lun nüxue yi xianding jiaoke zongzhi” [Female education should first set its course objectives], *Dongfang zazhi* 4, no. 7 (July 1907): 131–32.

legitimizing the development of female education in the service of national consolidation.<sup>22</sup> Ultimately, for even the most radical Chinese female activists, the real opportunities that studying in Tokyo opened up for women more than compensated for the ideological restrictions that the discourse on good wives and wise mothers attempted to impose on them.

While Chinese of various political persuasions had practical, political, and cultural reasons for regarding Japan as the critical site for the development of Chinese female education, the Japanese had their own motivations for wanting to help China in this period. The most famous Japanese promoter of female education, Shimoda Utako (1854–1936), was both one of the leading proponents of the ideology of good wives and wise mothers and a pan-Asianist committed to establishing East Asia as a politically and culturally viable counterpart to the modern West. Trained in and devoted to the preservation of Chinese learning, Shimoda was also acutely aware that China's current state of national weakness could undermine the pan-Asian project.<sup>23</sup> She was determined to make her own contribution to a more unified and fortified China—and East Asia—by extending educational opportunities to Chinese women while preserving the traditional Confucian way of womanhood. Her objective was to train Chinese women to become the private foundation of a newly strengthened Chinese nation, good wives and wise mothers with the practical skills, the moral understanding, and the physical vigor necessary to ensure the revitalization of the Chinese race. Shimoda's combined commitment to a strengthened China and virtuous womanhood earned her the trust of Chinese educators and politicians who shared her traditional cultural and modern global concerns. Their support made it possible for Shimoda to play the single most important role in educating Chinese female overseas students in Japan.

Shimoda and the Chinese authorities who supported her attempted to define both the conceptual and the physical context for female self-definition. They limited the overseas students' formal education to the private arts of virtuous womanhood, and they attempted to construct the space the students inhabited in Tokyo as private space, insisting they reside either with male relatives or in closely supervised dormitories. Border crossings are always inherently destabilizing, however, and the boundaries between Shimoda's school and the highly politicized milieu of the overseas student community in Tokyo proved impossible to patrol.<sup>24</sup> Beyond the

<sup>22</sup> Kerber, "Republican Mother," 41–62, discusses how the similar ideology of republican motherhood both expanded and constrained possibilities for women.

<sup>23</sup> On pan-Asianism, see Prasenjit Duara, "The Discourse of Civilization and Pan-Asianism," *Journal of World History* 12 (Spring 2001): 99–130. Duara describes how certain Japanese pan-Asianists believed that because "it 'belonged' to Asia, the Japanese nation could bring to modernity the timeless sacrality of Asia, and because it had mastered Western Civilization, it could bring material modernity to Asia" (p. 110). It was precisely these kinds of convictions that animated Shimoda's project. On Japanese fears that the disintegration of China would lead to Japan's own vulnerability vis-à-vis the West, see Hosono Kōji, "Shinmatsu Chūgoku ni okeru 'Tōbun Gakudō' to sono shūhen: Meijimatsu Nihon no kyōikukun shūdatsu no ronri o meguru sobyō" ["Japanese Schools" in late Qing China and their environment: A sketch of late Meiji Japanese arguments to usurp educational rights in China], in Abe Hiroshi, ed., *Nit-Chū kyōiku bunka kōryū to masatsu: Senzen Nihon no zai-Ka kyōiku jigyō* [Sino-Japanese educational and cultural exchange and conflict: Japanese educational activities in pre-war China] (Tokyo, 1983), 53–54.

<sup>24</sup> On border crossing and the reconfiguring of the inner and outer spheres, see Hu Ying,

dormitories and the classroom, the Chinese students had access to political experiences and publishing opportunities that made it possible for them to establish a competing context for the enactment of feminine selfhood. Defined by the nation, not the family, this context sanctioned the expression of public talents rather than private virtues and demanded the cultivation of political rather than domestic skills.

The struggle between Shimoda and the overseas students to define the appropriate context for female subjective development underlines fundamental tensions between conservative and radical nationalism, and exposes familiar contradictions between constructions of Woman and the aspirations of women. The overseas experience in Tokyo also highlights less-explored paradoxes inherent in female nationalism itself. While the appeal to nationalism creates the conditions of possibility for the unfolding of female subjectivities—allowing women to establish new sites for the development of the feminine self—it also constrains these very conditions of possibility, limiting what women can imagine as individuals and as “feminists,” and marginalizing other possible forms of identity.<sup>25</sup> Ultimately, it was not only the conservative discourse on Woman that restricted the emergence of new female subjectivities in early twentieth-century China but the radical nationalist discourse that attempted to de-aestheticize the feminine and efface the individual.

SHIMODA UTAKO PLAYED A CENTRAL ROLE in establishing both the discursive and the practical link between female virtue and the nation in early twentieth-century China. She used a number of different strategies to inform the Chinese of the crucial relationship between female education—the modern means of reproducing traditional feminine virtues—and nationalism. In 1901, she founded a publishing house, the Society for Renewal (Zuoxin She) in Shanghai, with the assistance of Ji Yihui, one of China’s first overseas students in Japan.<sup>26</sup> Between December 9, 1902, and January 1906, the Society for Renewal published a journal entitled *The Continent (Dalu)*, which was widely read not only in Shanghai but also in the Chinese provinces. The majority of the journal’s staff writers and editors were young Chinese who had been overseas students in Japan and who shared Shimoda’s interest in educational issues. Shimoda herself wrote a number of articles for the journal promoting her pedagogical philosophy.<sup>27</sup> The Society for Renewal also

“Re-configuring *Nei/Wai*: Writing the Woman Traveller in the Late Qing,” *Late Imperial China* 18 (June 1997): 72–99.

<sup>25</sup> Judith Butler describes how the category of woman is produced and restrained through the very structures of power through which emancipation is sought. *Gender Trouble: Feminism and Subversion of Identity* (New York, 1990), 2. When I use the term “feminist” in referring to the Chinese female activists, I am using it literally as “of or pertaining to women,” not in the sense of modern Western feminism. In Kandiyoti’s words (“Identity and Its Discontents,” 378), women participate in, and become hostages to, national projects. Poovey (“Curing the ‘Social Body,’” 196) discusses how the embrace of the nation as the most meaningful context for self-definition results in the marginalization of other rubrics that could potentially provide a sense of identity.

<sup>26</sup> Ji Yihui was also Shimoda’s teacher of modern Chinese. Liu Mei Ching, *Forerunners of Chinese Feminism in Japan: Students Fighting for Freedom in Japan* (Leiden, 1988), 154.

<sup>27</sup> *The Continent (Dalu)*, which ran for forty-seven issues, was distributed in Sichuan, Hubei, Hunan, Guangdong, and Fujian provinces. Jissen joshi gakuen hachijū nenshi hensan iinkai, ed., *Jissen joshi gakuen hachijū nenshi* [The eighty-year history of the Practical Women’s School] (Tokyo, 1981), 101; Ko





FIGURE 1: The young Shimoda Utako, founder of the Practical Women's School. Photograph courtesy of the Practical Women's University Library, materials related to Shimoda Utako.

published Chinese translations of Japanese books on female education. These included Shimoda's own *Domestic Science* (in Japanese, *Kasei gaku*, in Chinese,

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Shimoda kōchō sensei denki hensanjo, ed., *Shimoda Utako sensei den* [Biography of Professor Shimoda Utako] (Tokyo, 1943), 428. Huang Mo, "Dalu" [The continent], in *Xinhai geming shiqi qikan jieshao 1* [An introduction to periodicals from the period of the 1911 Revolution], hereafter, *QKJS*, Ding Shouhe, ed. (Beijing, 1982), 2: 115–44. Huang does not mention that this journal was founded by Japanese.

*Jiazheng xue*) and Naruse Jinzō's (1858–1919) *Women's Education* (J., *Joshi kyōiku*, C., *Nüzi jiaoyu lun*), both of which became foundational texts in Chinese discussions of female education.<sup>28</sup>

Shimoda's views on female education were also featured in various publications available in China. These included Japanese-owned and operated journals published in Chinese by individuals who shared Shimoda's commitment to pan-Asianism. The most important of these was the *Shuntian Daily* (*Shuntian shibao*), founded in 1901 by Nakajima Masao (1859–1943), a journalist and activist in the East Asia Common Culture Association (Tō-A Dōbunkai). Overseas student journals published in Japan but widely read in China also included discussions of Shimoda's theoretical views and practical accomplishments, and provided translations of lectures she delivered (via interpreters) to Chinese audiences in Japan. Finally, early twentieth-century Chinese educational journals—all of which closely followed educational developments in Meiji Japan—also played a crucial role in disseminating Shimoda's ideas. The earliest and most important of these was the *Educational World* (*Jiaoyu shijie*), founded in Shanghai in May 1901 by Luo Zhenyu (1866–1940). The *Eastern Miscellany* (*Dongfang zazhi*) and the *Educational Review* (*Jiaoyu zazhi*), published by the Commercial Press (Shangwu Yinshu Guan) from 1904 and 1909 respectively, also informed Chinese audiences about the Japanese ideology of good wives and wise mothers and of Shimoda's contributions to the development of female education.<sup>29</sup>

The central idea Shimoda sought to convey to her Chinese audience was that female education was crucial to the survival of both China and East Asia. The level of female education in China would determine the quality of Chinese women's minds, bodies, and children, and, ultimately, the strength and vitality of China's citizenry. Shimoda's discussion of this topic was infused with the Social Darwinian concerns and biological metaphors that characterized contemporary East Asian and Western treatments of the relationship between women and the nation. Shimoda's formulation of the link between healthy mothers and strong citizens was conceivably derived from the British eugenics movement, which she would have had exposure to during a visit to England in 1893–1895. Social Darwinian ideas were already prevalent in the Japanese social discourse of the time, however. In 1898, for example, Yoshimura Toratarō wrote, in an essay entitled “Contemporary Japanese

<sup>28</sup> Between 1894 and 1911, at least 512 books and textbooks were translated into Chinese from Japanese, 81 of them related to education, and a small number of these focused on women's education. Naruse's text, which was written in 1896, was translated into Chinese in 1901 by Yang Tingdong and Zhou Zupei. Abe Hiroshi, *Chūgoku no kindai kyōiku to Meiji Nihon* [Modern Chinese education and Meiji Japan] (Tokyo, 1990), 67.

<sup>29</sup> On Nakajima and the *Shuntian shibao*, see Iigura Shōhei, “Pekin shūhō to Junten jihō” [*Peking Weekly* and *Shuntian Daily*], in *Kindai Nihon to Chugoku* 1 [Modern Japan and China, vol. 1], Takeuchi Yoshimi and Hashikawa Bunzō, eds. (Tokyo, 1974), 342. The various overseas student journals are discussed more fully in the second part of this article. The *Educational World* appeared twice each month until 1908, with 166 issues in all. The more important essays and translations were collected annually and reprinted in the *Educational Miscellany* [*Jiaoyu congshu*]. Abe Hiroshi, *Chūgoku no kindai*, 46–49; Xu Wanmin, *Jiaoyu shijie* [*Educational World*], in *QKJS*, 1: 114–40. The Commercial Press, which was founded in 1897, became tied into the world of Japanese education from 1902. On the *Eastern Miscellany*, see Abe Hiroshi, *Chūgoku kindai gakkō shi kenkyū* [Studies in the history of modern Chinese schools] (Tokyo, 1993), 333–77; He Bingran, “Dongfang zazhi, 1904–1911” [*Eastern Miscellany*, 1904–1911], in *QKJS*, 3: 178–219. On the *Educational Review*, see Abe Hiroshi, *Chūgoku kindai gakkō*, 379–95.



Education,” that for Japan to hope to join the advanced nations of the world without educating the female half of the population was like expecting a “half-paralyzed” invalid to face strong and robust competitors.<sup>30</sup>

Shimoda’s invocation of Social Darwinism made it possible for her to achieve two of her paramount objectives: to tie the fate of China to Japan through a pan-Asian appeal to the survival of the “yellow race” and to link women to the nation indirectly through their biology rather than directly through their intellect. While female education was central to her pan-Asian vision, she did not consider it to be an end in itself but a means of improving the racial stock. In a lecture delivered to a Chinese audience in Tokyo in 1902, Shimoda claimed the “yellow race” was weak because—like all weak nations including Korea, Vietnam, Burma, and Turkey—it had failed to develop education for girls and women. In contrast, because the women of “the white race of Europe and America” were well educated and strong, their sons were knowledgeable and their race powerful. Shimoda encouraged the members of her (male) Chinese audience to “return home and promote female education as the basis of male education. This will not only enrich your nation,” she explained, “it will ensure that our Asia and our yellow race will flourish. Then we will be able to compete with the white race.”<sup>31</sup>

Shimoda put forward a number of proposals for strengthening the Chinese nation and, ultimately, the yellow race. In the inaugural issue of *The Continent* in December 1902, she advocated the establishment of study societies, journals, and schools for girls and women on the Chinese mainland.<sup>32</sup> Generally, she placed more emphasis on strengthening the bodies than on improving the minds of Chinese women, however, asserting that physical education and the abolition of footbinding were imperative if Chinese women were to fulfill their role as mothers of citizens.<sup>33</sup> In an essay published in an overseas student journal, she appealed to the authority of Napoleon to make her argument for female physical education. “In order to strengthen the nation,” she quoted the French emperor as saying, “one must first strengthen the mothers in the nation.” Shimoda concluded her discussion by remarking that, unlike the Japanese, the Chinese had not yet realized that the lack of women’s physical education was the source of male weakness in China.<sup>34</sup>

<sup>30</sup> Yoshimura Toratarō, “Ribei xianshi jiaoyu” [Contemporary Japanese education], Luo Zhenchang, trans., *Jiaoyu congshu* 3 (1903): 19. There were, however, important differences in the ways the eugenics movement was used in Britain and Japan. Whereas in Britain, feminists claimed that women’s racial responsibilities authorized their equality in the public sphere, Shimoda and others in Japan and China used racial arguments to emphasize the importance of women’s domestic roles. On the British case, see Antoinette Burton, *Burdens of History: British Feminists, Indian Women, and Imperial Culture, 1865–1915* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1994), 49.

<sup>31</sup> “Huazu nüxue xiao xuejian Xiatian Gezi lun xing Zhongguo nüxue shi” [The dean of the school for female nobles, Shimoda Utako, discusses the matter of promoting female education in China], orally translated by Zhang Yingxu, transcribed by Yang Du, *Hunan youxue yibian* 1 (1902), rpt. in Li Yu-ning and Chang Yü-fa, eds., *Jindai Zhongguo nüquan yundong shiliao: 1842–1911* [Historical materials on the early modern Chinese women’s rights movement: 1842–1911], hereafter, *NQYDSL* (Taipei, 1975), 1: 567–68.

<sup>32</sup> *Jissen joshi gakuen*, 101.

<sup>33</sup> “Ribei Dongya nüxue xiao fushu Zhongguo nüzi liuxuesheng sucheng shifan xuetao zhangcheng” [Regulations for the Chinese female overseas students’ short-term normal school, a branch of the Japanese East Asian Female School], *Dongfang zazhi* 2: 6, rpt. in *NQYDSL*, 2: 1266.

<sup>34</sup> Shimoda Utako, “Ou-Mi zhuguo nüzi zhi tiyu” [Female physical education in the nations of Europe and America], *Jiangsu* 1 (April 27, 1903): 90–92 [1016–18].

Although Chinese women were, according to Shimoda, physically feeble and intellectually deficient, they did possess one feminine quality that would help ensure the survival of China: moral strength. Shimoda invoked one of the most powerful images used to connect Woman to the nation—rape—to demonstrate this feminine moral power. In 1900, following the anti-foreign Boxer Uprising, the Joint Expeditionary Forces of the Western powers attacked Beijing, allegedly raping over 1,000 women. While the male residents of the city quickly surrendered following the attack, the women committed suicide. Rather than interpret this incident on the symbolic level as a violation of the Chinese national essence, Shimoda read it as a vindication of timeless Chinese values that were latent with patriotic potential. If the profound sense of personal pride these violated women exhibited could be transmuted into national pride, Shimoda claimed, if they could learn to “love their nation as they loved their own bodies,” they would become exemplary patriotic subjects.<sup>35</sup>

SHIMODA'S DUAL OBJECTIVE of preserving longstanding feminine virtues while transforming them into a nationally useful commodity earned her the respect of a wide range of Chinese educational and political authorities from the most conservative to the revolutionary. The former included the high officials Rong-qing (1854–1912), Zhang Baixi (1847–1907), and Zhang Zhidong (1837–1909), who drafted the first official Chinese document on formal education for girls and women. These officials were particularly concerned with limiting the degrading influence of Western feminism and upholding traditional Chinese values. They believed that it was too early for China to establish formal schooling for girls and women, warning against (unarticulated) dangers involved in allowing young girls to enter schools, walk freely on the streets, and read Western books. Instead, they proposed that female education be subsumed under the category of education in the family (*jiating jiaoyu*). In their memorial, they cited Shimoda as the only foreign authority whose work was “compatible with the Chinese way of womanhood.” They even suggested including portions of her *Domestic Science* in a textbook that would principally be a compilation of excerpts from traditional Chinese female didactic works.<sup>36</sup> The dowager empress, Cixi (1835–1908), who shared their views concerning schooling for girls and only reluctantly sanctioned the drafting of official regulations on female education in 1906, also had great respect for Shimoda.

<sup>35</sup> “Huazu nüxuexiao xuejian Xiatian Gezi,” 568–69. He Xiangning cites a Japanese source entitled “Hoku-Shin kanshen ki,” which recorded the suicide of 1,100 women in eastern Beijing alone after they were raped by Joint Expeditionary Force soldiers. He Xiangning, “Jinggao wo tongbao jiemei” [A warning for my sister compatriots], *Jiangsu* 4 (June 25, 1903): 144 [0762]. In China, the image of a woman raped by foreigners has otherwise been used to symbolize national purity defiled; see Duara, “Regime of Authenticity,” 297. In late nineteenth-century Egyptian writings, the defense of national honor was depicted as the defense of female purity; see Baron, “Construction of National Honor,” 246–47. And in early twentieth-century Iran, the nation was often depicted as a beautiful woman raped by foreigners; see de Groot, “Dialectics of Gender,” 262.

<sup>36</sup> Rong-qing, Zhang Baixi, and Zhang Zhidong, “Zouding mengyang yuan zhangcheng ji jiating jiaoyu fa zhangcheng” [Memorial on regulations for early training schools and for education on household matters] (January 13, 1904), in Chen Yuanhui, ed., *Xuezhi yanbian* [The evolution of the educational system], in the series *Zhongguo jindai jiaoyushi ziliao huibian* [Compendium of sources on the history of Chinese modern education] (Shanghai, 1991), 393–96.



Although Cixi died before the two women were able to meet, she had expressed the hope that Shimoda would establish a girls' school in the Summer Palace outside of Beijing.<sup>37</sup>

Shimoda was also highly regarded by less conservative individuals involved in private efforts to promote female education in China. Wu Huaijiu sought her advice when he founded one of the first private schools for girls and women, the Wuben Women's School (Wuben Nūshu), in Shanghai in 1901. Wu's objective in founding the school was to Asianize Chinese women's education by reducing the preponderant Western missionary role in this area. Wu modeled the Wuben curriculum on the Japanese elementary school curriculum, and, on Shimoda's recommendation, he hired one of her disciples, Kawahara Misako (1875–1945), in 1902 as the lone female among the school's nine teachers.<sup>38</sup> Women reformers in China also held Shimoda up as a model. In a speech given at the founding meeting of an anti-footbinding association in Hangzhou in 1903, for example, one of the association's leaders used Shimoda's accomplishments to justify the aims of the association. She credited Shimoda with educating all Japanese women and with making the crucial link between female education and the nation.<sup>39</sup> Shimoda's reputation as an able educator even extended to the Chinese revolutionaries who were ideologically opposed to the representation of women as "good wives and wise mothers." Sun Yat-sen (1866–1925), the founder of the early twentieth-century revolutionary movement, wrote to Shimoda requesting that she admit a patriotic young woman by the name of Fu Wenyu into her school.<sup>40</sup>

This reputation among official and unofficial, male and female, conservative and radical Chinese reformers enabled Shimoda to play the single most important Japanese role in educating young Chinese women in the early twentieth century. In addition to advocating female education in Chinese-language journals, overseeing the translation into Chinese of key Japanese works on women's education, and training female teachers to work in China, Shimoda was instrumental in establishing the Chinese female overseas study movement in Japan. In the first years of the twentieth century, she convinced the Chinese ambassador to Japan, Yang Shu (1844–1917), of the need to send overseas female students to Japan, thus helping to consolidate Chinese government support for this initiative.<sup>41</sup> She was also

<sup>37</sup> Hattori Unokichi, who was well placed in Chinese official circles and a friend of Shimoda's, recorded these details about the dowager empress's interest in Shimoda. It was Hattori's private hope that the two women would meet, and he even encouraged his wife Shigeko to learn Chinese so that she could serve as translator at the prospective meeting of the two "heroic women." Ko Shimoda, *Shimoda Utako*, 415–16.

<sup>38</sup> On Wuben Nūshu, see Wu Xin, "Wuben Nūxue shilüe" [Outline of the history of the Wuben Women's School], rpt. in *XZSL*, 2: 2: 589–90; Abe Hiroshi, *Chūgoku no kindai kyōiku*, 192.

<sup>39</sup> "Zhang gongsi diyisi Fangzu hui yanshuo" [The first meeting of the Anti-footbinding Association at the Zhang clan temple], *Zhejiang chao* 2 (March 18, 1903): 177–78.

<sup>40</sup> Sun made contact with Shimoda via Seitō Kōshichirō's sister, Seitō Akiko; see Ko Shimoda, *Shimoda Utako*, 418–20.

<sup>41</sup> Sun Shiyue, *Zhongguo Jindai nüzi liuxue shi* [The history of overseas study by Chinese women] (Beijing, 1995), 97–98. Shimoda was not the only Japanese educator encouraging Chinese female overseas study. The head of the Maeyama Yōjogakkō, Mochizuki Yosaburō, for example, encouraged Wu Rulun, head teacher at the Chinese Imperial University (Jingshi Daxue Tang) who visited Japan in 1902, to send young Chinese women to Japan to study. Guo Changying and Su Xiaohuan, "Jindai Zhongguo nüzi liuxue tanxi" [An analysis of modern Chinese overseas study], *Shixue yuekan* 3 (1991): 59.

personally responsible for the education of hundreds of Chinese female students—both private and government-sponsored—at the Practical Women's School (Jissen Jogakkō), which she founded in Tokyo in 1899.<sup>42</sup>

As the school's name indicates, Shimoda's pedagogical philosophy emphasized the development of practical domestic virtues rather than intellectual talents. Shimoda was convinced these more practical objectives were particularly well suited to the needs of her Chinese students. "These women have traveled a great distance," she explained, "and cannot be given a frivolous education."<sup>43</sup> The curriculum she devised for the young Chinese women, therefore, emphasized the cultivation of moral virtues and concrete skills over the ability to read books and recite texts. Shimoda personally taught all classes in moral instruction, using a textbook she had written herself, *Lectures on Ethics for Chinese Overseas Students* (*Shina ryūgakusei no tame no shūshin kōwa*). This text expounded on lofty issues such as loyalty and filiality—the foundations of Chinese and Japanese conceptions of morality—and explained practical, quotidian matters such as health maintenance.<sup>44</sup>

The original school curriculum included three programs: a basic two-year course and two special one-year short-term courses, one in teacher training, the other in handiwork. The basic program taught fundamental literacy skills, the teachers' classes focused on family education as the basis of school education, while handiwork classes taught the Confucian value of women's work. Each of these three programs included Japanese language instruction and classes in physical education. Graduates of the school would thus become able-bodied wise mothers and good wives, or teachers capable of maintaining the livelihood of their families and ensuring the health of the nation's future citizens. Many of the students did not expect much more out of their course of study themselves, realizing that there could be "little progress in terms of overall knowledge after one year" in Japan. What they could expect was to improve their conduct by becoming self-conscious of bad habits and learning to eliminate them. They would also broaden their experience of the world.<sup>45</sup>

Japanization was central to this globalizing experience for Chinese women at the

<sup>42</sup> According to Sechiyama Kaku and Kihara Yōko, "Higashi Ajia," 281, Shimoda educated more than 210 Chinese female students between 1901 and 1905. This number includes many students who left the program before graduating, since we know there were only 94 graduates of the Practical School between 1904 and 1911. Because the years 1901–1905 were the years with the least graduates (2 in 1904 versus 40 in 1909, for example), we can conclude that at least twice Sechiyama and Kihara's figure of 210 students attended the Practical School over the ten-year period from 1901 to 1911. The figure of 92 graduates from 1904–1911 is given in *Jissen joshi gakuen*, 118–19, but Zhou Yichuan and others make a strong case for 94 graduates. See Zhou, "Shinmatsu-Minkoku shonen ni okeru Nihon ryūgaku Chūgokujin joshi gakusei zō no henshen" [Changes in the pattern of Chinese female overseas study in Japan in the late Qing–early Republican period], *Ochanomizu joshi daigaku ningen bunka kenkyū nenpo* 19 (1995): 2–67.

<sup>43</sup> "Shu jiaoyu Zhongguo funü shi" [Description of Chinese female education (in Japan)], *Shuntian shibao* (January 12, 1906), rpt. in *NQYDSL*, 2: 1270.

<sup>44</sup> Jissen joshi daigaku toshokan, Shimoda Utako kankei shiryō [Practical Women's University Library materials related to Shimoda Utako], file no. 181.

<sup>45</sup> "Gongai hui tongren quan liuxue qi" [Members of the Humanitarian Association encourage overseas study], *Jiangsu* 6 (September 1903): 161. The Practical Women's School curriculum was outlined in regulations published in 1905, which were translated into Chinese in "Ribei Dongya nüxue xiao." On the content of the various programs, see *Jissen joshi gakuen*, 104, 113–16. The Practical School's educational aims were no different from most women's schools in Tokyo at this time, few of

Practical Women's School. While the school taught fundamental Confucian feminine virtues, these Chinese virtues were mediated by the Japanese ideology of good wives and wise mothers. And although Shimoda linked this ideology to contemporary nationalism, the sense of nation she hoped to instill in her Chinese students was one that would bolster, rather than undermine, the Japanese vision of a pan-Asian order. These pan-Asian ideals were integrated into the minutest details of the daily lives of the Chinese students. They were required to put up their hair in the Japanese style and to wear kimonos: a number of them were even photographed, awkwardly posed, in Japanese dress. Most important, however, these young Chinese women were expected to gain a certain degree of proficiency in the Japanese language.<sup>46</sup>

The school's first student, Qian Fengbao, had already been in Japan with her father and brother for over a year when she entered the school in 1901, and she knew Japanese well enough to take courses with the Japanese students. The next year, when four students who did not know Japanese wanted to enroll, however, language became the school's first priority. By 1904, students who entered the school were required to have a certain level of competence in Japanese. Shimoda also demanded that a number of teachers at the school, including Sakaki Mitoko, Matsumoto Haruko, and Kimura Yoshiko, learn Chinese so that they would be better able to teach the students Japanese. Sakaki and Matsumoto both lived with the students in the dormitories where they continued instruction in Japanese after school hours.<sup>47</sup>

There were sound practical reasons for requiring the Chinese students to learn Japanese. From a pedagogical perspective, it was cumbersome to use interpreters in the classroom, and from a social perspective, it was important to have a common language shared among teachers, dormitory heads, and even Chinese students, who often spoke mutually unintelligible dialects.<sup>48</sup> And these young women were, after all, living in Japan, even if they were expected to lead relatively sequestered lives in school dormitories or in private residences headed by senior male relatives. Beyond these reasons, however, Japanese language instruction was also a way for Shimoda and her teachers to nativize the Chinese students. Shimoda's disciple, Kawahara Misako, wrote of her experience teaching young Chinese: "as the little girls sang songs from the standard Japanese songbook and became proficient in speaking

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which provided instruction in the methods of seeking pure knowledge. Takamure Itsue, *Josei no rekishi*, 554.

<sup>46</sup> Instruction in the Japanese language became more thorough after 1908, when the length of the various programs was extended. *Jissen joshi gakuen*, 113–16.

<sup>47</sup> On Japanese language training as a priority at Shimoda's school, see *Jissen joshi gakuen*, 97; Ishii Yōko, "Shingai kakumei ki no ryū-Nichi joshi gakusei" [Female overseas students in Japan at the time of the 1911 Revolution], *Shiron* 36 (1983): 32, 35. Qiu Jin, the famous revolutionary martyr, was accepted into the Practical Women's School in 1904 but was required to return to the Japanese language training center established by the Surugadai Overseas Student Hall (Surugadai Ryūgakusei Kaikan) for more language instruction before she could start classes in 1905. Zhou Yichuan, "Qingmo liu-Ri xuesheng zhong de nüxing" [Females among late Qing overseas students to Japan], *Lishi yanjiu* 6, no. 102 (1989): 55; Sun Shiyue, *Zhongguo Jindai*, 81–82. On the Japanese teachers, see *Jissen joshi gakuen*, 97, 102.

<sup>48</sup> Ishii Yōko, "Shingai kakumei," 34. For the first eight months after twenty government students from Hunan entered the school in 1905, the lectures were translated from Japanese by Chinese interpreters, including Fan Yuanlian. *Jissen joshi gakuen*, 102; Ishii Yōko, 35.





FIGURE 2: Zhu Jingyi, one of thirteen students from Hunan to enter the teacher's program at the Practical Women's School in 1905, age seventeen. Photograph courtesy of the Practical Women's University Library, materials related to Shimoda Utako, file 1132.

Japanese, I naturally felt increasing affection for them and more and more enthusiastic about my work."<sup>49</sup> This is the same kind of pride Shimoda felt when Chen Yan'an, one of the first two Chinese women to graduate from the school in 1904, gave a speech at her graduation ceremony in fluent (in fact, highly literary) Japanese. It is perhaps not surprising that Chen would remain loyal to Shimoda

<sup>49</sup> Kawahara Misako, *Karachin ōhi to watakushi* [The queen of Karachin and I] (Tokyo, 1969), 31–32. I would like to thank Paula Harrell for bringing this quotation to my attention.





FIGURE 3: Zhu Xiusong, one of thirteen students from Hunan to enter the teacher's program at the Practical Women's School in 1905, age twenty-five. Photograph courtesy of the Practical Women's University Library, materials related to Shimoda Utako, file 1132.

until the latter's death in 1936—corresponding with her and visiting her in later years—and that she would marry a man who would become a pro-Japanese Chinese official in the Republican period.<sup>50</sup>

The women who attended Shimoda's school, particularly in the early years, would

<sup>50</sup> On Chen's speech, see *Jissen joshi gakuen*, 101; Ko Shimoda, *Shimoda Utako*, 401. For evidence of her continued relationship with Shimoda, see *Jissen joshi daigaku*, file no. 743 (letter from Chen Yan'an to Shimoda Utako), file no. 753 (interview with Chen Yan'an).

have had little concern for what we may now view as insidious cultural imperialism, however, grateful as they were finally to have access to the formal education that had been denied them in China. The number of Chinese students at the Practical Women's School continued to increase, from 1901 when Qian Fengbao enrolled, through 1904 when Qian and Chen Yan'an became the school's first graduates; in July of 1905, Shimoda opened a special branch school for the Chinese students.<sup>51</sup> In April 1908, with the number of Chinese female overseas students traveling to Japan rising even higher and the Chinese student community—including females—becoming increasingly radicalized, Shimoda revised the school's curriculum and imposed stricter school regulations. This did not deter further enrollments, however. In 1907, there were close to 100 female overseas students in Japan, most at Shimoda's school; in 1908, 126; in 1909, 149; and in 1910, a slight drop to 125. In 1909 and 1910, considered the peak years for Chinese overseas students in Japan, 67 Chinese students graduated from the Practical School, 40 in 1909, and 27 in 1910. By 1911, out of 116 Chinese graduates from the five main schools for females in Japan, 94 were from the Practical Women's School.<sup>52</sup>

THE RELATIVE SMALLNESS OF THESE NUMBERS belies the disproportionate role these women would play in the early twentieth-century Chinese nationalist and women's movements. The overwhelming majority of Chinese women who would become publicly and politically engaged in this period had studied in Japan, most in the classrooms of Shimoda's school.<sup>53</sup> A number of them became leading figures in the late Qing (1895–1911) revolutionary movement that brought an end to dynastic rule in 1911. They included the revolutionary martyr Qiu Jin (1875–1907), perhaps Shimoda's most famous student, and He Xiangning (1872–1972), the first woman to join Sun Yat-sen's Revolutionary Alliance (Tongmeng Hui) in 1905 and a close collaborator of Sun's through the 1920s.<sup>54</sup> Others—Lin Zongsu, Tang Qunying,

<sup>51</sup> The branch school was established in the Akasaka section of Tokyo. Sun Shiyue, *Zhongguo Jindai*, 67; Abe Hiroshi, *Chūgoku no kindai kyōiku*, 100–01.

<sup>52</sup> Sun Shiyue, *Zhongguo Jindai*, 99–101. Of the 1909 graduates, twenty were from the handicrafts course, fourteen from the teacher's course, and six from the middle school. Of the 1910 graduates, thirteen were from the teacher's course, four from the middle school, six from the handicrafts course, and four from the short-term nursemaid course. On other schools that had special programs for Chinese students, see Ishii Yōko, "Shingai kakumei," 38–40; Zhou Yichuan, "Qingmo," 55; Sun Shiyue, 98, 101; Abe Hiroshi, *Chūgoku no kindai kyōiku*, 105.

<sup>53</sup> Future female activists who were not educated at the Practical Women's School include He Xiangning, who enrolled in the Meiji Girl's School (Meiji Joshi Daigaku) in early 1903, and Chen Xiefen, who studied at the Yokohama Christian United Women's School (Yokohama Kurisutokyō Kyōritsu Gakkō), also from 1903.

<sup>54</sup> On Qiu Jin, see Taijun Takeda, *Shūfū Shūu hito o shūsatsu su* [Autumn gales, autumn rains, anguish overwhelming mankind] (Tokyo, 1968); Bao Jialin, "Qiu Jin yu Qingmo funü yundong" [Qiu Jin and the late Qing women's movement], in Bao Jialin, ed., *Zhongguo funüshi lunji sanji* [Materials on the history of Chinese women, vol. 3] (Taipei, 1997), 346–82; Mary Backus Rankin, "The Emergence of Women at the End of the Ch'ing: The Case of Ch'iu Chin," in Margery Wolf and Roxane Witke, eds., *Women in Chinese Society* (Stanford, Calif., 1975), 39–66. On He, see Sun Shiyue, *Zhongguo Jindai*, 62, 75–78, 118–19; Zhou Yichuan, "Qingmo," 50, 62; Christina Kelly Gilmartin, *Engendering the Chinese Revolution: Radical Women, Communist Politics, and Mass Movements in the 1920s* (Berkeley, Calif., 1995), 222–23.



Zhang Hanying, and Wang Changguo—were at the forefront of the nascent women's movement in the early Republican period following the 1911 Revolution.<sup>55</sup>

These women had arrived in Tokyo via one of three trajectories: as companions to male family members, as envoys of their provincial governments, or as independent, self-supporting students. Some were predisposed to radical politics before coming to Japan; most were transformed by their experience there. All came from elite Chinese families. This was indicated by a 1905 set of guidelines that instructed overseas female students to limit the number of their suitcases, to wear simple clothing and no make-up, and to leave their maids at home.<sup>56</sup>

The young women who accompanied male family members to Japan were among the earliest female overseas students. They generally came from wealthy families and had already received some education at home in China. They became temporary students while their husbands, brothers, or fathers—who were all involved in politics as either government officials or, more commonly, radical reformers—studied.<sup>57</sup> He Xiangning was married to Sun Yat-sen's close collaborator Liao Zhongkai; Lin Zongsu, the future head of the Women's Suffrage Alliance, was the sister of the Fujianese revolutionary Lin Baishui; Chen Xiefen, the editor of one of the first women's journals, was the daughter of *Jiangsu Journal* (*Subao*) editor Chen Fan; and Fang Junying was the older sister of Revolutionary Alliance member Fang Shengtong. Students who were related or married to officials in the late Qing or early Republican governments included Cao Liyun (Rujin), younger sister of Cao Rulin, famed for his diplomacy with Japan in the 1910s; and Chen Yan'an, one of the first graduates of Shimoda's school (noted above for her linguistic abilities), and future wife of Zhang Zhongxiang (Zhonghe), a graduate of Tokyo University Law Faculty, a future cabinet minister in the Republican government, and, from August 1916, China's ambassador to Japan.<sup>58</sup>

Women began to travel unaccompanied by spouses or relatives to study in Japan from 1903. In 1904, when the first students graduated from the Practical Women's School, a number of Chinese educators approached Shimoda about taking on

<sup>55</sup> Lin headed the Women's Suffrage Alliance (Funü Canzheng Tongmeng Hui) founded in March 1912. Tang Qunying established a national association for women's participation in politics, the Female Suffrage Alliance (Nüzi Canzheng Tongmeng Hui). Zhang Hanying became the head of the Nanjing branch of this organization in 1914. Wang Changguo reaped the benefits of this movement and became a deputy to the Hunan Provincial Assembly in the early Republican period. On Tang, Zhang, and Wang, see Zhou Yichuan, "Qingmo," 63; on Tang, see Sun Shiyue, *Zhongguo Jindai*, 83–85, 111, 119–21.

<sup>56</sup> "Nüzi youxue xuzhi" [What female students should know concerning overseas study], *Dongfang zazhi*, quoted in Sun Shiyue, *Zhongguo Jindai*, 71–72.

<sup>57</sup> On the early overseas students, see *Jissen joshi gakuen*, 100–01; Sun Shiyue, *Zhongguo Jindai*, 62, 71; Xie Zhangfa, "Qingmo de liu-Ri nüxuesheng" [Overseas female students in Japan in the late Qing], *Jindaishi yanjiu* 2, no. 86 (1995): 273. Ishii Yōko, "Shingai kakumei," 41; Zhou Yichuan, "Qingmo," 51.

<sup>58</sup> Other women related to future revolutionaries included Li Ziping, the wife of the future famous historian of the 1911 Revolution, Feng Ziyou; Wang Zhenhan, the wife of the revolutionary martyr Xu Xilin; Chen Xiangfen, the concubine of Chen Fan; Liao Yongyun, younger sister of Liao Zhongkai; Wang Ying, wife of Revolutionary Alliance member Fang Shengtong; Hu Lingyuan, younger sister of revolutionary Hu Hanmin; and Chen Bijun, wife of the revolutionary Wang Jingwei. Others related or married to officials in the late Qing or early Republican governments include the official Yang Du's daughter, Yang Zhuang. Xie Zhangfa, "Qingmo de liu-Ri," 276; Zhou Yichuan, "Qingmo," 63. On Chen Yan'an and Zhang, see *Jissen joshi gakuen*, 101; Ko Shimoda, *Shimoda Utako*, 432. On Zhang himself, see Joshua Fogel, *Nakae Ushikichi in China: The Mourning of Spirit* (Cambridge, Mass., 1989), 22–41.

officially sponsored students. This new trend of government-sponsored overseas study was initiated in November 1904 when Hunan province, through the intermediacy of the (male) overseas student Fan Yuanlian, requested that the Practical Women's School accept twenty young Hunanese women, prompting Shimoda to establish the Chinese branch of her school. In the second half of 1905, the Chinese government formally approved the female overseas study initiative, and in late July of that year the twenty Hunanese students—including Wang Changguo and Zhang Hanying—enrolled in Shimoda's school. Liaoning, Jiangxi, and Jiangsu provinces also began to send government-sponsored female students to Japan at approximately this time.<sup>59</sup> Both provincial and central officials had begun to recognize the need to train China's own female teachers, a need that would become even more pressing after the publication of the 1907 regulations for schools for girls and women, which stipulated that men could not serve as teachers in female schools.

Among women in the third group, those who traveled to Japan on their own, Qiu Jin is the best known, and her experience is perhaps the most extraordinary. In 1903, she left her husband and two children, and, encouraged by Hattori Shigeko, the wife of a prominent Japanese professor teaching in Beijing, traveled to Japan to pursue her own education.<sup>60</sup> Other women who went to Japan on their own included Tang Qunying and Wang Lian, whose writings and organizational activities were central to the female nationalist movement in Japan and later in China.<sup>61</sup>

Each of the three trajectories that led these women to Tokyo would have brought them into contact with the highly contested issue of Chinese nationalism. Those who lived with male relatives entered a milieu charged with debates over the most effective way to ensure China's national survival. Envoys of provincial governments were made to understand that their education abroad was one component in a larger nation-building project. And independent female students who sought a sense of community in native place organizations and student clubs in Tokyo found themselves at the epicenter of the radical Chinese nationalist movement.<sup>62</sup> This exposure to the Chinese nationalist movement in Japan convinced the female overseas students of the need for their contribution to the national struggle. Sharing Shimoda's conviction that there was an intimate connection between women and the nation, they nonetheless developed a radically different view of the terms and the meaning of that connection. Whereas Shimoda drew an indirect link between female *virtue* and the nation, privileging the domestic sphere as the prime context for feminine self-definition, the overseas students posited a direct relation between female *talent* and the nation, embracing nationalism as the only meaningful context for the development of female subjectivity. Ironically, it was the students' lived experience in Japan that convinced them Chinese women had to do more than

<sup>59</sup> On the Chinese government approval for the overseas initiative, see Xie Zhangfa, "Qingmo de liu-Ri," 274. On the Hunanese students, who ranged in age from fourteen to fifty-three, see Sun Shiyue, *Zhongguo Jindai*, 67; Abe Hiroshi, *Chūgoku no kindai*, 100–01. On students sent by the other provinces, see Sun Shiyue, 99–101, 66–71.

<sup>60</sup> Abe Hiroshi, *Chūgoku no kindai*, 103.

<sup>61</sup> Tang went to Japan as an independent student in 1904 but was sponsored by the Hunan provincial government from 1906. Wang Lian arrived in Japan from Hubei in September 1902.

<sup>62</sup> On Japan as a key center of the Chinese nationalist movement, see Sanetō Keishū, *Chūgokujin Nihon*; Huang Fu-ch'ing, *Qingmo*; Harrell, *Sowing the Seeds*.





FIGURE 4: Qiu Jin, revolutionary martyr and student at the Practical Women's School. Photograph taken in 1904 in Japan.

cultivate their private skills if they were to fulfill their national roles. In order to become effective national actors, they also had to develop their public abilities as organizers, orators, educators, and writers.<sup>63</sup>

The students legitimized the cultivation of these new public talents by repudiating the longstanding Chinese notion on which Shimoda's ideology was implicitly based: "only a woman without talent is virtuous." Every essay, speech, or poem these women produced addressed this statement, either to disprove its premises,

<sup>63</sup> I associate talent with subjectivity in my analysis because it was through the expression of their new talents, from public speaking to writing, that the overseas students were able to constitute their new subjectivities. This is subjectivity in the sense of historical agency and political and social entitlement. See, for example, Braidotti, *Nomadic Subjects*, 416.

explain the circumstances that had led to its popularization, or describe how it had limited the development of other female subjectivities. Wang Lian, a student at the Practical Women's School, attributed the debasement of women's rights to the belief that only a woman without talent was virtuous. When this belief was shattered, she declared, then would "the seeds of enlightenment" be scattered and the women of China awakened to the possibility of freedom.<sup>64</sup> Another female overseas writer equated the devastating impact this longstanding maxim had on the development of female subjectivity with the most violent act of cultural annihilation in Chinese history: the burning of the books and the burying alive of Confucian scholars by the despotic Qin emperor in the third century BCE.<sup>65</sup>

While these women vehemently rejected the notion that female talent and virtue were mutually exclusive, they did not necessarily deny that there was a link between feminine virtue and the modern nation. A number of them argued that the Chinese woman's devotion to her family was a form of national service, and even Qiu Jin, who had abandoned her own husband and children, affirmed the national relevance of the woman's roles as wife and mother.<sup>66</sup> However, the overseas students went significantly beyond Shimoda's position, which linked women to the nation exclusively through their virtue in arguing that private feminine virtue could only become relevant to the nation through the public expression of female talent. In their view, it was possible for the female national subject to be both virtuous Woman and public woman: to mobilize the timeless qualities of female virtue in order to actualize her role in the national future. In order for this to happen, however, it was necessary that women be recognized as members of humankind worthy of the same rights and capable of assuming the same duties as men: rights to develop their talents through education and duties to use those talents to serve the nation.<sup>67</sup>

The education that the overseas students claimed Chinese women had a right to differed from the kind of education Shimoda offered at the Practical Women's School. According to the overseas female nationalists, female learning would not be merely *for* the nation, as Shimoda Utako maintained, but *of* the nation. It was not a necessary precondition for the education of China's future male citizens but a means of empowering women to participate personally in the national struggle.

<sup>64</sup> Wang Lian, "Zagan qishou" [Random thoughts, seven verses], *Hubei xuesheng jie* 1 (January 29, 1903): 105 [0116].

<sup>65</sup> Chubei Yingci, "Zhina nüquan fenyan" [Indignation at the state of women's rights in China], *Hubei xuesheng jie* 2 (February 27, 1903): 95 [0268].

<sup>66</sup> This merging of radicalism and traditional female roles is not unique to China. Lynn Hunt, *Family Romance*, 123, points out that even the most militant women at the time of the French Revolution subscribed to the ideal of republican motherhood. For examples of Chinese overseas writers who linked devotion to family and nation, see Cao Rujin, "Aiguo ziai" [Love of nation and love of self], *Jiangsu* 3 (June 25, 1903): 158 [0588]. According to Qiu Jin, women must encourage their husbands to benefit the community, their sons to study abroad, and their sons and daughters to get an education. "Jinggao Zhongguo erwanwan nü tongbao" [Advice for the two hundred million women of China], rpt. in *Qiu Jin xianlie wenji* [The writings of the national martyr Qiu Jin] (Taipei, 1982), 134–35. These links between distinctively feminine qualities and patriotism are made even more forcefully in an essay entitled "Zhina nüzi zhi aiguo xin" [The patriotic spirit of Chinese women], *Hubei xuesheng jie* 3 (March 29, 1903): 65–67 [0383–85], but the article is anonymous and thus probably written by a man.

<sup>67</sup> On the argument of females being members of humankind, see, for example, Chen Yan'an, "Quan nüzi liuxue shuo" [Exhortation for female overseas study], *Jiangsu* 3 (June 1903): 155 [0585]; He Xiangning, "Jinggao wo tongbao jiemei," 144 [0762]; Gong Yuanchang, "Nannü pingquan shuo" [On equal rights for men and women], *Jiangsu* 4 (June 25, 1903): 145 [0763].

This new nationalist epistemology required a radical reorientation of past Chinese traditions of women's learning, which Shimoda sought, in part, to perpetuate. As the overseas writer Yi Qin explained, "the world today is very different from the world of ancient times . . . Therefore contemporary learning cannot resemble past learning but must import the ideas which are the newest and the most enlightened." Whereas ancient texts such as the "Domestic Regulations" (*Neize*), which described the woman's practical and ritual responsibilities in the home, were traditionally used to instruct women, the first objective of this contemporary learning was to provide women with knowledge of the outside world.<sup>68</sup> "Women are ignorant," Chen Yan'an wrote, "because they are isolated in the inner chambers. Just as one cannot realize the height of Mount Tai without first climbing a mountain, or the depth of the sea without physically going to the ocean, without exposure to the world and education women have no way of knowing how strong the foreign nations are and how weak China is."<sup>69</sup> For Chen and the other female overseas students, their experience in Japan provided the first valuable lesson in national and global politics. Wang Lian described how her life in Tokyo had opened her eyes to the meaning of nationalism and the inextricable link between women and the nation. Back in China, Wang wrote, "I did not understand what a nation was or what the importance of female education was. Then when I came to Japan, I often heard people talk about the nation. After asking several questions I finally began to understand . . . when people unite they form a family, when families unite they form a nation. All people belong to a nation, and all must make the nation their own." If women don't understand national matters, Wang asserted, "they must study books and read newspapers. If their bodies are weak they must unbind their feet and become active. If women become stronger and more intelligent, then the nation will become more powerful and more advanced."<sup>70</sup>

Physical education, as Wang suggested, was crucial to both the new female education and the national program. Again, there was apparent convergence but actual divergence between the students' and Shimoda's views on this subject. Both Shimoda and members of the overseas female student community agreed that there was a fundamental connection between the female and national bodies. The demands of nationalism no longer made it possible to uphold the traditional Chinese practices of feminine virtue that restricted, mutilated, and even effaced the body.<sup>71</sup> At Shimoda's school, young female students were encouraged to unbind their feet, strengthen their bodies through physical education courses, and learn about health and hygiene. Shimoda nonetheless considered female physical education to be an extension of feminine virtue, a means of preparing young women to serve the nation indirectly as mothers of citizens. In contrast, the overseas students linked physical education to the cultivation of new female talents that would enable them to function as thinking national subjects. They drew a direct connection

<sup>68</sup> Yi Qin, "Lun Zhongguo nüzi zhi qiantu, xu" [The future of Chinese females, continued], *Jiangsu* 5 (August 23, 1903): 130 [0940]. The "Domestic Regulations" is a chapter of one of the five Confucian classics, the *Record of Rites* (*Liji*).

<sup>69</sup> Chen Yan'an, "Quan nüzi," 155 [0585].

<sup>70</sup> Wang Lian, "Zagan qishou," 115.

<sup>71</sup> Wendy Larson discusses how virtue had traditionally been a physical, self-sacrificing trial for women; *Women and Writing*, 2, 43, 65.

between the physical practices Chinese women engaged in, such as footbinding and ear piercing, and female ignorance, representing the illiterate female as a dolled-up toy with bound feet and pierced ears. These women juxtaposed footbinding and education as the defining experiences in the lives of young girls and boys respectively, explaining that boys enrolled in school, embarking on their intellectual and public careers, at the same age as girls bound their feet in a symbolic retreat from public life.<sup>72</sup> Chen Yan'an explained that, while it was the norm for "young boys to be educated even if they were poor," females of all social classes were expected to "pierce their ears, bind their feet, and make up their faces to look like playthings."<sup>73</sup> Wang Lian identified pierced ears and bound feet as the prime impediments to female education, forms of physical mutilation that were like "torture meted out to criminals," debilitating women to the point that they lacked the energy and the will to study.<sup>74</sup>

The overseas women writers exposed not only what they described as the cruelty of the practice of footbinding but, for the first time in Chinese history, the physical reality of the practice itself. Wang Lian provided what is at once a personal, physical, and an objective, scientific account of the actual process involved in unbinding her feet. She explained how the school's doctor who was called in to help her used carbolic acid and warm water to wash the unbearably tender and swollen feet three times every day before wrapping them in cotton. After several days of this treatment, Wang's toes gradually relaxed. Reconnected with her own physicality, she was then able to pursue learning for the nation. Wearing Western socks and leather shoes, she was finally able to walk "the twelve or thirteen *li* [about four miles] to and from school a day with no trouble at all."<sup>75</sup>

Students like Wang who had enjoyed the benefits of unbound feet and physical education in Tokyo would attempt to integrate these new physical practices into the education of girls and women in China. The overseas female students were avid promoters of female education, and one of their primary collective objectives was to establish educational facilities for girls and women in all provinces of China. Shimoda's Practical Women's School, despite its emphasis on family-oriented manual labor, provided the initial context for the development of this new objective. Shimoda recognized that female teachers were needed to disseminate the principle of domestic virtue, and so she included a teacher-training program in her school curriculum. While the classes offered in this program were originally at the elementary level and focused on family education and the formation of wise mothers, they did sanction teaching as a respectable profession for Chinese women. This helped to nationalize female education in China by preparing overseas students to assume the responsibilities of school teachers, founders, or principals upon their return to the mainland. Whereas, until the early twentieth century, missionaries and other foreigners had been solely responsible for the education of girls and women in China (in 1909, there were still twenty-three Japanese women

<sup>72</sup> See Ko, *Teachers*, 149; Larson, *Women and Writing*, 77.

<sup>73</sup> Chen Yan'an, "Quan nūzi," 155 [0585].

<sup>74</sup> Wang Lian, "Zagan qishou," 114.

<sup>75</sup> Wang Lian, "Zagan qishou," 115. On the hiddenness of the act of footbinding, see Dorothy Ko, "The Body as Attire: The Shifting Meanings of Footbinding in Seventeenth-Century China," *Journal of Women's History* 8 (Winter 1997): 8–27; Larson, *Women and Writing*, 119–20.



teachers in China, for example), by 1912, returning female students had become prominent in the fields of elementary or middle school education, with some of them specializing in physical education. Of the twenty students from Hunan who were accepted into Shimoda's Practical Women's School in 1905, three of the nine who returned directly to China after graduating founded their own schools.<sup>76</sup>

While Shimoda played an instrumental role in providing these teachers with fundamental pedagogical skills, she was unable to control the ideological ends to which these skills would be put. Qiu Jin, for example, not only taught Japanese language, science, and hygiene at the Xunqi Girls' School in Nanxun, northern Zhejiang, shortly after her return to China in 1906, she also founded a physical education school for women in Shaoxing in February 1907 (later known as the Datong Physical Education School), where her primary objective was to train future female revolutionaries in the military arts.<sup>77</sup> Later that year, Qiu would be arrested and beheaded for her own role in a revolutionary conspiracy to overthrow the Qing government.

As Qiu Jin's example demonstrates, the implications of Shimoda's and the overseas students' differing views on the purpose of female education were ultimately political: whereas, for Shimoda, female learning was indirectly related to the nation, for the overseas students it was directly tied to political action. According to these women, new national knowledge implied new female responsibilities. It was not enough for Chinese women to acquire a passive understanding of political affairs, they also had to put their new knowledge into practice as active citizens. The statutes of one of the most important Chinese female organizations in Japan, the Humanitarian Association (Gongai Hui), explained that its objective was to educate women so that they would be capable of assuming their national responsibilities.<sup>78</sup> Hu Binxia, one of the founders of the association and a student at the Practical Women's School, pleaded with her Chinese sisters to devote mind, soul, and body to the national cause. After apprehending the gravity of the national situation, they must internalize it, making "China's suffering their own personal suffering," she declared. Finally, they must act before "the land of our ancestors is divided like a melon and its people enslaved."<sup>79</sup> The overseas activists were

<sup>76</sup> On the role of foreign teachers in China, see Sun Shiyue, *Zhongguo Jindai*, 323–26; Guo and Su, "Jindai Zhongguo," 63. On the participation of the overseas students in education in various parts of China, see Luo Suwen, *Nüxing yu jindai*, 141–42; Guo and Su, 63; *NQYDSL*, 2: 1127, 1151; "Ribei liuxue nüxuesheng Gong'ai hui zhangcheng" [Regulations for the female overseas students' Humanitarian Association in Japan], *Jiangsu* 2 (May 27, 1903): 155–56 [0387–88]. A returned student named Tang Linren became a teacher at the School of Physical Education for Girls and Women (Nüzü Ticao Xuexiao), which was founded in Shanghai in 1908. Luo Suwen, 153. On the returned Hunanese students, see Ko Shimoda, *Shimoda Utako*, 405. One of these was Li Qiaosong, a graduate of the Practical School's Normal Program. Li later became the principal of a private women's school in Pingjiang county, the Enlightenment Girl's School (Qimeng Nüxuetang). Ko Shimoda, 431.

<sup>77</sup> Bao Jialin, *Zhongguo funü*, 371–73. Qiu also served as principal of the Mingdao Girls' School, which was close to the Datong School. Rankin, "Emergence of Women," 55, 59; Larson, *Women and Writing*, 112.

<sup>78</sup> "Ribei liuxue nüxuesheng," 155 [0387]. The Humanitarian Association's objectives (published in the sixth issue of *Jiangsu*) included destroying longstanding gender assumptions, recovering women's rights, and teaching women to assert their national duties. "Zhu Gong'ai hui zhi qiantu" [Celebration of the future of the Humanitarian Association], *Jiangsu* 6 (September 1903): 162–63 [1150–51]; Sun Shiyue, *Zhongguo Jindai*, 107–08; Xie Zhangfa, "Qingmo de liu-Ri," 273.

<sup>79</sup> Hu had arrived in Japan in June 1902 from Jiangsu province at the age of fourteen. Hu Binxia,

convinced that, given the opportunity, women would prove themselves to be the equals of men in their “ambition and their ardor,” and in their ability to “bear daggers to defend the nation.”<sup>80</sup>

While the female overseas writers frequently represented their new national responsibility as equal to men’s, implicit in many of their writings was the suggestion that it was now time for Chinese women to secure China’s future themselves and overcome the past errors of male civilization. As Qiu Jin explained, “we all know the nation is about to perish, and men are incapable of saving it. Can we still think of relying on them?”<sup>81</sup> Wang Lian warned that, if women passed responsibility for the nation off on their male compatriots, this would be the beginning of national disaster. These men would in turn pass responsibility off on the emperor, and the emperor on the officials, who would be forced to exploit the people. Only women had the power to prevent the further deterioration of the social and political situation.<sup>82</sup> In order to fulfill this national obligation, the overseas students developed new political talents, which included public speaking, debating, petitioning, and organizing. They did not learn these skills in the classrooms of the Practical Women’s School but in the student clubhouses and political meetings of the overseas community in Tokyo. Qiu Jin, who frequently delivered lectures at the weekend discussion sessions of the Chinese Students’ Clubhouse in Tokyo, was the most skilled female orator and one of the more effective speakers—male or female—in the revolutionary movement. She was also a great promoter and theorist of the power of oratory. In 1904, she wrote an essay entitled “The Advantages of Public Speaking” (*Yanshuo de haochu*) and, shortly thereafter, founded a public-speaking training society.<sup>83</sup> Other overseas students, including Wang Lian and Tang Qunying, also made noted public addresses to male and female student audiences in Japan.<sup>84</sup>

It was important for women like Wang, Tang, and Qiu to establish their voices within the broader overseas student community in Japan. What was most crucial to fostering their communal sense of identity as female nationalists, however, was their participation in politically focused women’s organizations. The Humanitarian Association, which played a central role in promoting female solidarity and patriotism within and beyond the overseas community in Japan, served as an important nexus for the female overseas students’ involvement in nationalist issues. On April 29, 1903, for example, when male students opposed to the Russian

“Lun Zhongguo zhi shuairuo nüzi bude ci qi zui” [Concerning the weakness of China, women must not dismiss its suffering], *Jiangsu* 3 (June 25, 1903): 157 [0587]; “Hu Binxia yanci,” 148–49 [0380–81].

<sup>80</sup> Yi Qin, “Lun Zhongguo, xu,” 130 [0940].

<sup>81</sup> Qiu Jin, “Jinggao Zhongguo,” 134–35.

<sup>82</sup> Wang Lian, “Zagan qishou,” 115.

<sup>83</sup> Qiu Jin, “Yanshuo de haochu,” in *Qiu Jin xianlie*, 141–42. On female orators in this period, Qiu and Tang Qunying in particular, see David Strand, “Citizens in the Audience: Politics at the Podium in Early Twentieth Century China,” in Perry and Goldman, *Changing Meanings of Citizenship in Modern China* (forthcoming).

<sup>84</sup> The transcript of a speech Wang Lian gave to a native place association in Tokyo was published in “Tongxiang hui jishi: Hubei zhi bu” [Record of same-place association meeting, section on Hubei], *Hubei xuesheng jie* 2 (February 1903): 115. Tang Qunying would go on to develop her oratory skills, giving an impassioned speech before the parliament in Nanjing shortly after the founding of the Republic in 1912. Strand, “Citizens in the Audience,” 23.

advance in Manchuria announced the founding of the Volunteer Corps to Resist Russia (Ju-E Yiyong Dui) at a general meeting of overseas students, members of the Humanitarian Association responded with a call to organize a parallel women's organization. Hu Binxia, the association's founder, first took the podium, followed by eight other students—Chen Yan'an, Wang Lian, Qian Fengbao, Lin Zongsu, Cao Rujin, Fang Junji, Hua Gui, and Gong Yuanchen—all of whom pleaded "with tears in their eyes" for their female compatriots to devote themselves to the national struggle against Russia. Together with four other women, these nine joined a wing of the Japanese Red Cross, the Association of Determined Nurses (Tokushi Kangofu Kai). Highly self-conscious of their new identity as an independent political constituency, these women worked to transform their tiny grouping in Japan into a broader national movement. They attempted to mobilize women in China by sending a telegram to students of the Shanghai School for Girls and Women that proclaimed, "women are also a part of the nation, members of the universe."<sup>85</sup> They also remonstrated with the central Chinese authorities by sending a petition to one of the Manchu imperial princes, Zai-zhen, imploring him to support the establishment of a Red Cross Society in China. The petition criticized China for being the one country in the world not to have joined the International Red Cross, a sign, the drafters of the petition claimed, that the Chinese were only interested in destroying life, not sustaining it.<sup>86</sup>

Members of the Humanitarian Association became increasingly radicalized the following year, perhaps out of frustration over the ineffectiveness of these more conventional political tools such as the petition and the telegram. In 1904, Qiu Jin became the head of the association, which she renamed the Humanitarian Association for Practical Action (Shixing Gong'ai Hui) to emphasize its new, more activist stance. Chen Xiefen served as director. The society called for Chinese women to come to Japan both to study and to participate in the growing Chinese revolutionary movement. A number of association members were already involved in radical activities. He Xiangning assisted in making preparations for uprisings in China, and association members Qiu Jin, Chen Xiefen, and Lin Zongsu received training at a weapons factory in Yokohama.<sup>87</sup>

As the association members became increasingly militant, their radical nationalism targeted not only the moribund Manchu government and distant foreign powers, it also came into direct confrontation with the Japanese authorities. During the fall of 1905, these female students participated in protests against the Japanese government's November 2, 1905, "Restriction Regulations," which the Chinese student community interpreted as a paternalistic attempt to control the activities of Chinese students in Tokyo. Qiu Jin, who was appointed as the female student representative for the protest, together with other women at the Practical School, called for a general student strike, and female students at a number of other women's schools in Tokyo immediately responded to their call. On December 8, a young Chinese male student and renowned revolutionary activist, Chen Tianhua,

<sup>85</sup> "Liuxue jilu" [Record of overseas students' activities], *Hubei xuesheng jie* 4 (April 27, 1903): 125 [0575].

<sup>86</sup> "Nüxuesheng shangzhen beizi shu" [Female students offer a petition to a Manchu noble], *Hubei xuesheng jie* 5 (May 27, 1903): 136–38 [728–30]; Sun Shiyue, *Zhongguo Jindai*, 114–15.

<sup>87</sup> Sun Shiyue, *Zhongguo Jindai*, 108, 116–19; Ishii Yōko, "Shingai kakumei," 41–44.

threw himself into the sea, expressing the despair of the overseas student community at having been humiliated not only by the Japanese government but by the Japanese press. Following Chen's highly publicized suicide, some 2,000 Chinese students left Japan, including thirty women led by Qiu Jin. In 1906, following Qiu's departure, the Humanitarian Association disbanded.<sup>88</sup> A number of fledgling groups succeeded the Humanitarian Association and attempted to fulfill its mandate to unite overseas female students in a struggle for national salvation and women's education. In the months leading up to the 1911 Revolution, when being a radical Chinese nationalist came to mean becoming a violent revolutionary, the students took part in increasingly militant activities.<sup>89</sup>

The involvement of overseas female students in these various organizations helped establish a new relationship between gender and the nation and a new context for the development of female subjectivities. It not only likened women to men in their mode of national service, but it distinguished women from Woman. Whereas the idealized Woman served the nation indirectly and discreetly, reproducing sons and timeless moral virtues, the overseas students fought for the nation directly and publicly, playing an active role in the unfolding of China's national history. The disparity between these two versions of the relationship between women and the nation brought the overseas students into their most direct conflict with Shimoda. In 1903, when members of the Humanitarian Association supported the movement to resist Russia by joining the Japanese Red Cross, Shimoda did everything in her power to stop them. Although these young women were expanding rather than defying the codes of female virtue by assuming distinctly feminine roles as nurses—"the responsibility of women under Heaven," in their words—Shimoda was outraged to see so many of her students engaged in the first broad-based movement of overseas students in Japan. She reacted even more unfavorably when young women at her school challenged her vision of pan-Asian harmony by joining the student strike against the Japanese government in 1905, and she announced that any of her students who participated in the strike would have to leave the Practical

<sup>88</sup> On Chen's suicide, see Huang Fu-ch'ing, in Whitaker, *Chinese Students in Japan*, 235. On the departure of the female students after this incident, see Sun Shiyue, *Zhongguo Jindai*, 108, 116–19; Ishii Yōko, "Shingai kakumei," 41–44.

<sup>89</sup> Groups that succeeded the Humanitarian Association included the Association of Chinese Female Overseas Students in Japan (*Zhongguo Liu-Ri Nüxuesheng Hui*), founded in September 1906 (Yan Bin, Tang Qunying, and Wang Changguo, among others, were members); and the Association of Female Overseas Students in Japan (*Liu-Ri Nüxuesheng Hui*), founded in 1910. Sun Shiyue, *Zhongguo Jindai*, 108–10, 119–20; Xie Zhangfa, "Qingmo de liu-Ri," 273, 278; Ishii Yōko, "Shingai kakumei," 42–45. There were militant and even violent women's organizations formed earlier, most associated with the anarchist movement. They included the Association to Recover Women's Rights (*Nüzi Fuquan Hui*), founded in 1907, linked to the anarchist journal *Natural Justice* (*Tianyi*) and committed to the use of violence. Concerning militant female activities just prior to the 1911 Revolution, in 1910 Fang Junji, who had been in Tokyo from September 1902, originally as a student at the Practical Women's School, traveled to Hong Kong, where she joined a women's organization set up to smuggle arms into China. After the Wuchang Uprising on October 10, which marked the beginning of the 1911 Revolution, eight females in Japan including Tang Qunying organized a Women's Red Cross Army. On October 19, 1911, they left Japan, and joined forces with the Cantonese woman doctor and revolutionary Zhang Zhujun to form the Shanghai Red Cross Society. A number of women also joined non-gender specific groups active at the time of the 1911 Revolution. Lin Zongsu, Cao Rujin, Chen Yan'an, Hu Binxia, Fang Junying, and Qian Fengbao—almost all Practical Women's School students—for example, joined the Student Army (*Xuesheng Jun*). Sun Shiyue, 108–10, 119–120; Xie, 273, 278; Ishii, 42–45.



School. Qiu Jin and seventeen others immediately moved out of the dormitory.<sup>90</sup> Increasingly frustrated in her efforts to control the activities of her Chinese students, Shimoda enacted stricter school regulations in 1908. All applicants were now required to have the support of a Japanese guarantor and an introduction from the embassy, and student activities outside of the school were more closely controlled.<sup>91</sup> Shimoda also extended the length of the various programs offered at the Practical School, following a general trend in Japanese schools aimed at deterring would-be Chinese revolutionaries from applying. Shimoda would do everything in her power to ensure that her pupils were passively and privately nation-minded, not nationalist activists.

THE EXPLICIT AND IMPLICIT TENSIONS between Shimoda's objectives and the students' aspirations provide insights into how these first female Chinese nationalists struggled to establish their own context for the development of feminine selfhood. Their new subjectivities were most directly constituted, however, through the act of writing.<sup>92</sup> It was in their essays and poems that the overseas students defined themselves in relation to their Others, both abhorrent and desirable, and asserted their new sense of self. It was also in these writings that the paradoxes within radical female nationalism were most sharply revealed.

The overseas students considered writing—the most highly esteemed of Chinese cultural practices—to be an essential talent of the new Chinese women. By inscribing their nationalist aspirations on the written page, they subverted the longstanding notion that a woman of virtue must only use her hands to serve her family. And they challenged the traditional construction of public writing as exclusively masculine by using the printed word to constitute new feminine subjectivities. Members of the Humanitarian Association lamented how the traditional privileging of manual over intellectual feminine labor had deprived Chinese women of the power of self-expression. “Chinese emphasize the importance of women learning handicrafts and deemphasize the importance of knowledge,” they wrote. As a result, their own generation of women had been left voiceless. “Although we have the ambition to write, we have great difficulty making our brushes express our meaning,” they mourned. “And although we have the ambition to lecture, our mouths are incapable of uttering what is at the bottom of our hearts.”<sup>93</sup> In order to overcome this legacy and develop the writing skills appropriate to their new nationalist purpose (skills that Shimoda's Practical School would not teach them), these women formed their own study groups and became

<sup>90</sup> Sun Shiyue, *Zhongguo Jindai*, 108, 116–19; Ishii Yōko, “Shingai kakumei,” 41–44.

<sup>91</sup> *Jissen joshi gaku*, 104–06; Sun Shiyue, *Zhongguo Jindai*, 100–01.

<sup>92</sup> The act of writing and the use of language more generally have been recognized as crucial to the formation of subjectivities. In the words of the linguist Emile Benveniste, “It is in and through language that man constitutes himself as a subject.” *Problems in General Linguistics*, Mary Elizabeth Meek, trans. (Coral Gables, Fla., 1971), 224. For a discussion of writing and subjectivity in the modern Chinese context, see Lydia Liu, *Translingual Practice: Literature, National Culture, and Translated Modernity; China, 1900–1937* (Stanford, Calif., 1995), esp. 150–79.

<sup>93</sup> “Zhu Gongai hui,” 162.

active participants in the writing and reading community of radical overseas nationalists.

These students were not the first women in Chinese history to defy the injunction “against words from the inner quarters reaching the outside world” (*neiyuan buchū*)—women had been writing and even publishing in China for centuries.<sup>94</sup> They were, however, the first to establish their own political journals, a new print genre that they used even more effectively than their male counterparts. Whereas there was only one female overseas student to every forty males in Japan, there was one women’s journal to every ten men’s journals. Convinced of the power and influence of this new medium, the Humanitarian Association required that four of its members publish one or two essays every month to encourage all of the women of China to join in the national struggle.<sup>95</sup>

The first of these women’s journals was Chen Xiefen’s *Journal of Women’s Studies* (*Nüxue bao*), which appeared from February to November 1903. Chen’s journal, which was originally published in Shanghai as a supplement to her father Chen Fan’s newspaper, *Jiangsu Journal*, was printed in Tokyo from the fourth issue in October 1903, following Chen Fan’s exile to Japan.<sup>96</sup> A number of other journals followed, all published in Tokyo and most edited by women. They include Qiu Jin’s *Vernacular Journal* (*Baihua bao*), a monthly published from August 1904 to 1905 for six issues; the *Feminine Soul* (*Nüzi hun*), a monthly edited by Pan Po in 1904; *Chinese Women of the Twentieth Century* (*Ershi shiji zhi Zhongguo nüzi*), whose editor used the pen name Henhai (Sea of Regret), from 1907; the *Chinese Women’s Magazine* (*Zhongguo funü jie zazhi*), edited by the Tokyo Society for the Chinese Women’s Magazine in 1907 and 1908; the *Magazine of the New Chinese Women* (*Zhongguo xin nüjie zazhi*), a monthly published between February 1907 and July 1909 for six issues and run almost single-handedly by a female medical student at Waseda University, Yan Bin; *Women’s Journal* (*Nübao*), edited by Chen Yiyi, a close male friend of Qiu Jin’s, for one issue in 1909; and the *Magazine for Female Overseas Students in Japan* (*Liu-Ri nüxuehui zazhi*), founded as a quarterly by Tang Qunying with only one issue published in May 1911.<sup>97</sup> These journals were generally both socially and politically radical, and their relatively short runs were due, in part, to Japanese censorship. After Yan Bin’s journal published an article urging women

<sup>94</sup> Chang, “Ming-Qing Women Poets,” 239. On women writers in earlier periods, see, for example, Ebrey, *Inner Quarters*, 120–24; Ko, *Teachers*; Mann, *Precious Records*, 79–120.

<sup>95</sup> Ishii Yōko, “Shingai kakumei,” 43. On the number of female journals, see 46.

<sup>96</sup> The *Journal of Women’s Studies* was originally published under the title *Women’s Journal* (*Nübao*). From 1903, it was independently printed and renamed *Journal of Women’s Studies*. Sun Shiyue, *Zhongguo Jindai*, 110; Charlotte L. Beahan, “Feminism and Nationalism in the Chinese Women’s Press, 1902–1911,” *Modern China* 1 (October 1975): 389–90.

<sup>97</sup> Ishii Yōko, “Shingai kakumei,” 45–49; Sun Shiyue, *Zhongguo Jindai*, 11–12; Jacqueline Nivard, “Bibliographie de la presse féminine chinoise, 1898–1949,” *Etudes chinoises* 5 (Spring–Autumn 1986): 185–236. Chen Yiyi is misrepresented in some secondary writings as a female (for example, Nivard, 222). I thank Amy Dooling for first questioning my assumption that Chen was female. *Natural Justice*, a bimonthly that appeared in 1907–1908, was also edited by a woman, the female anarchist He Zhen. I am not including an analysis of its contents here as it was more of an anarchist’s than a woman’s magazine. On Tianyi, see Ono Kazuko, *Chinese Women in a Century of Revolution, 1850–1950*, Joshua Fogel, ed. (Stanford, Calif., 1989), 66–69; Peter Zarrow, “He Zhen and Anarcho-Feminism in China,” *Journal of Asian Studies* 47 (November 1988): 796–813.

to become involved in assassination plots, for example, the Japanese authorities forced its closure.<sup>98</sup>

In addition to publishing their own journals, female overseas students in Japan also contributed articles to the main overseas student organs. These included the following, all monthlies and all published in Tokyo: *Hubei Students* (*Hubei xuesheng jie*), founded by overseas students from Hubei province in January 1903, with a run of eight issues (the name of the journal was changed to *Voice of the Han* [*Hansheng*] from the sixth issue); *Tides of Zhejiang* (*Zhejiang chao*), published for ten issues between February and December 1903; and *Jiangsu*, which appeared from April 27, 1903, to May 15, 1904, for twelve issues. *Jiangsu* ultimately became the most important platform for female overseas students, in part because the Humanitarian Association used it as their forum.<sup>99</sup> When the overseas female students wrote for those journals that were run and edited by men, they used a number of strategies to mark their gender. Because Chinese names do not necessarily indicate maleness or femaleness, they inserted the characters signifying a woman or a woman of learning (*nüshi*) between their surname and given name, following the practice of women writers or men posing as women writers in the past. They also tended to group their writings together in journals under gender-explicit headings. Finally, and most innovatively, they often used characters denoting femaleness as pseudonyms.<sup>100</sup>

The overseas female students mostly wrote essays but also some poems. They composed competently in the classical style but were also among the earliest and most effective practitioners of the vernacular (*baihua*). In some instances, they combined the classical and vernacular languages, though generally their choice of style depended on their projected audience. In their efforts to communicate with their fellow elites, particularly when they were writing in the male overseas journals, they used literary Chinese. In articles aimed at informing their less literate compatriots—the Humanitarian Association's announcement of its objectives, for example—or in journals written to uplift poorly educated women in China—Qiu Jin's *Vernacular Journal*, for instance—they used the demotic language.<sup>101</sup>

The students used these journals publicly to constitute a new identity for themselves as committed female activists. They invoked nationalism as both the

<sup>98</sup> Liu Mei Ching, *Forerunners*, 299.

<sup>99</sup> Ishii Yōko, "Shingai kakumei," 43.

<sup>100</sup> The grouping of women's writings was not new (although they were now being grouped in a new print medium, the political journal), since anthologies of women's writings were published in the past. The practice of using pseudonyms with gender explicit characters is, to my knowledge, new in this period, however. The pseudonym Chubei yingci ("A Heroine from Northern Chu") is an example of this last strategy. The author created a new two-character compound signifying heroine by replacing the masculine second character of the commonly used compound for hero with one that was distinctly feminine (*yingci* instead of *yingxiong*, with the *ci* of *yingci* denoting female birds or animals). In the essay itself, "Zhina nüquan fenyang," the author laments the way language coded females as weak and subservient; p. 95 [0268]. See Liu Mei Ching, *Forerunners*, 240, for a discussion of this essay.

<sup>101</sup> Qiu Jin published another vernacular journal in China in 1907, the *Chinese Women's Journal* (*Zhongguo nübao*). Qiu explicitly explained that her objective in using the vernacular in this particular journal was to make her message more accessible to a broader segment of the female population. "Jinggao jiemeimen" [Advice for my sisters], *Zhongguo nübao* 1, rpt. in *Qiu Jin wenji*, 144. Hu Shi, who is recognized as the founder of the vernacular movement in China, received his training in writing in the vernacular during 1906–1908 at a school that Qiu Jin helped establish in Shanghai, the *Zhongguo Gongxue*. Liu Mei Ching, *Forerunners*, 298.

objective of their activism and the source of legitimation for their new identity. Allowing and even demanding the cultivation of subjectivities commensurate with this new political and cultural role, this appeal to nationalism also bound these new subjectivities to the demands of the larger national project. As a close reading of the overseas students' writings demonstrates, radical nationalism limited what these women could imagine as individuals and as feminists, forcing them to reject other possible forms of identity and denigrate potential sources of social solidarity.

The overseas students self-consciously subordinated their appeals for women's rights to the goals of the nationalist project. They did not call for an end to the oppression of women because it was an evil in itself but because it was one of the sources of national decline. "The Chinese race has been weakened," one woman wrote, because of the perpetuation of such sayings as "the husband regulates the wife" and by the continuation of such practices as women taking their husbands' surnames. The social fabric of a country in which "men are their wives' representatives, and wives their husbands' appendages" would, she argued, inevitably be weak.<sup>102</sup> The overseas writers further contended that the promotion of women's rights—in particular, the right to education—would directly benefit the nation. If parochial, uneducated, and dependent women represent half of the nation's population, Chen Yan'an asked, "how can the country but perish? . . . The relationship between female education and national survival is crucial."<sup>103</sup>

All of these women were circumspect in their criticism of patriarchal institutions and masculine culture. They realized that they could not afford to offend male activists if they wanted to be recognized as national actors, and they understood that transgender alliances were crucial to national salvation. Even women writers who were so bold as to criticize men for their tendencies to "enslave women" and "hinder their aspirations" enlisted male support in restoring women's rights and, ultimately, China's greatness.<sup>104</sup> Qiu Jin did not vilify men for their oppression of women; rather, she blamed women for having allowed this oppression to continue. She appealed to her female compatriots to liberate themselves from male dependency not for their own sake but for the sake of the nation. "If we do not rouse ourselves," she declared, "once the nation is lost it will be too late."<sup>105</sup>

Despite any implicit criticism of masculine culture in these writings, the overseas students' greatest aspiration was to make a place for themselves in male national history. All the exemplars they held up as desirable role models had earned historical recognition for their intellectual abilities or political talents. While a few of these exemplars were Chinese, the vast majority were Western. The overseas students celebrated this heroic foreign Other for talents rooted in historicity, marking her as the foil of the archetypal Chinese Woman heralded for virtues grounded in timelessness. The revered foreign Woman did not embody essentialized, self-contained feminine qualities; instead, she represented the projection of the feminine self into the narrative of national history.

The few Chinese exemplars whom the overseas writers invoked were not

<sup>102</sup> Chubei Yingci, "Zhina nūquan fenyuan," 96 [270].

<sup>103</sup> Chen Yan'an, "Quan nūzi," 156 [0586].

<sup>104</sup> Yi Qin, "Lun Zhongguo nūzi zhi qiantu" [The future of Chinese females], *Jiangsu* 4 (June 25, 1903): 141–46 [0759–64].

<sup>105</sup> Qiu Jin, "Jinggao Zhongguo," 135.



unqualified heroines. While they did possess a certain greatness, this greatness had yet to be “nationalized” and historicized. Yi Qin explained what would be required for two of the most renowned women in Chinese history—Ban Zhao (ca. 48–ca. 120) and Ti Ying (ca. 167 BCE)—to qualify as heroines in the age of nationalism. In order for Ban Zhao—a famous literata who had served the emperor by completing her father and brother’s work, *Han History* (*Han shu*)—to be celebrated today, Yi Qin wrote, “she would have to transfer her love of the sovereign to love of the nation.” And if Ti Ying—a devoted daughter who had saved her father from a cruel punishment by offering her services to the Han emperor—were to come to life again, she would have to “transmute her love of her father into love of her compatriots.”<sup>106</sup> The Chinese woman who came the closest to being a national heroine was Hua Mulan (ca. 500 CE), a legendary warrior first celebrated in a sixth-century Chinese poem. Mulan had disguised herself as a man and fought for twelve years in her father’s place. Despite her exemplary courage and ability to operate within male martial culture, however, she did not qualify as a true heroine precisely because she had not been recognized as such. The overseas writers lamented that Mulan’s valiant spirit, which was celebrated in songs and poems, “had not been accorded a place among China’s national heroes.” Unrecognized in national time, her power had “vanished into the great void.”<sup>107</sup> Radical nationalists such as Chen Yiyi attempted to recover this power from oblivion and grant Mulan the status of national heroine in order to discredit Shimoda’s model of female national service. Chen questioned why women should only be indirectly linked to the nation through their private virtue when there were women like Hua Mulan in China’s past who had fought as bravely, and as publicly, as men.<sup>108</sup>

In contrast to these Chinese women who were either unrecognized in national history or insufficiently nation-minded, a number of Western women had, according to the overseas writers, left an indelible mark in the chronicles of the modern world. Hu Binxia, like many, praised generic “Western women” for their willingness to sacrifice themselves for the nation and shed blood for the people, thus “leaving their trace in history.”<sup>109</sup> Others focused on specific historical figures, most consistently citing Madame Roland as the ideal Woman. He Xiangning glorified Roland for her devotion to the nation, which had made her a “great figure in history,” Wang Lian poetically celebrated the flowing of her “crimson blood in the revolution,” and Chen Yan’an praised her as a woman whose achievements had surpassed those of men.<sup>110</sup> A number of American women were also singled out. Wang Lian praised Harriet Beecher Stowe, excessively perhaps, for changing the

<sup>106</sup> Yi Qin, “Lun Zhongguo, xu,” 130 [0940].

<sup>107</sup> “Zhina nūzi,” 66 [0384]; Yi Qin, “Lun Zhongguo,” 142 [760]. These women had no way of knowing that Mulan would finally make her mark in global culture in the late twentieth century. In 1998, Disney produced a Hollywood animated movie for children, celebrating her story.

<sup>108</sup> Chen Yiyi, “Nanzun nūbei yu xianmu liangqi” [The view that males are superior to females and “good wives and wise mothers”], *Nūbao* 1, no. 2 [1909], rpt. in *XZSL*, 2: 2: 681.

<sup>109</sup> Hu Binxia, “Lun Zhongguo,” 156 [0586].

<sup>110</sup> He Xiangning, “Jinggao,” 144 [0762]; Wang Lian, “Zagan qishou,” 106 [0116]; Chen Yan’an, “Quan nūzi,” 155 [0585]. For a detailed description of the place of Madame Roland in the late Qing cultural imaginary, see Hu Ying, *Tales of Translation: Composing the New Woman in China, 1898–1918* (Stanford, Calif., 2000), 153–96.

course of history by freeing the slaves.<sup>111</sup> Yearning for this same historical visibility and social recognition, the overseas students implored their female compatriots to learn from the West. "In the future, education for East Asian females will hasten to follow the ways of Europe and America," members of the Humanitarian Association wrote. "Only then will we be able to release a resplendent light throughout the world."<sup>112</sup>

Emulation was thus crucial to the constitution of new female subjectivities in the early twentieth century. But so was exclusion. The overseas students' new sense of self emerged not only from the attempted mirroring of the foreign Other but also from an almost violent confrontation with the cultural self.<sup>113</sup> The abhorrent Other against whom the overseas students defined themselves was the Other within themselves: the talented woman of China's cultural past and the ignorant plaything of its conflicted present. Rather than attempt to redeem the lives of these Chinese women, past and present, in the name of a "feminist" project, the overseas women denigrated all alternative forms of Chinese femininity in the service of the national project.

The students' commitment to uplifting their less fortunate sisters was apparent in their efforts to write in the vernacular language and promote female education in China. While their nationalist rhetoric proclaimed their commitment to the exploited and illiterate women of China, their first priority was to establish themselves as national subjects who were as ardent and as worthy as men. This required distancing themselves from their less privileged female compatriots, whom they dismissed as perversely feminine and politically ignorant—"dolled-up toys with pierced ears and bound feet." Hu Binxia held these "maimed, useless, foolish, and ignorant" women responsible for China's current state of weakness because they contributed nothing to the nation. Given their selfishness, dullness, and vanity, "it was not at all strange that they were considered to be inferior beings."<sup>114</sup> He Xiangning invoked the same incident Shimoda had made reference to in one of her speeches—the suicide of over 1,000 Chinese women after they were raped by Western soldiers in 1901—to demonstrate the Chinese woman's repugnant lack of nation-mindedness. Whereas Shimoda used this incident as an illustration of the profound sense of honor that Chinese women only had to channel toward the nation, He held it up as damning evidence of their extreme selfishness. According to He, her female compatriots were incapable of responding to national tragedy unless it touched their own bodies.<sup>115</sup>

The overseas writers frequently critiqued the sorry state of Chinese womanhood by unfavorably comparing Chinese women not only to famous Western heroines but to Japanese women they observed in Tokyo as well. Chen Yan'an contrasted Chinese women, who, she claimed, were indifferent to foreign affairs, apathetic about study, dependent on others, and ignorant of their own national responsibility.

<sup>111</sup> Wang Lian, "Zagan qishou," 106 [0116].

<sup>112</sup> "Zhu Gongai hui," 162.

<sup>113</sup> Judith Butler argues that "subjects are constituted through exclusion, that is through the creation of a domain of deauthorized subjects, presubjects, figures of abjection, populations erased from view." "Contingent Foundations: Feminism and the Question of Postmodernism," in *Feminist Contentions*, 47.

<sup>114</sup> Hu Binxia, "Lun Zhongguo," 156 [0586].

<sup>115</sup> He Xiangning, "Jinggao," 144 [0762]. See n. 35 on the account of the rape.

ities, with highly literate Japanese women who devoted themselves to the pursuit of specialized education and professional careers.<sup>116</sup> A certain Tai Gong, writing in the *Tides of Zhejiang*, expressed admiration for the ease with which Japanese women were integrated into public society. Tai asked how Japanese female students who walked on the streets of Tokyo “holding book bags” could “be compared to females in our country who doll themselves up in the inner chambers, and wriggle about all their days like playthings on exhibit in a zoo?”<sup>117</sup>

The overseas students’ harshest criticism was reserved not for benighted women of the present, however, but for talented women (*cainü*) of the past. Because women had been excluded from studying for the civil service examinations, which had defined Chinese political culture from the seventh century, women’s writing had developed as an emotional alternative to rigid and often formulaic male scholarly prose.<sup>118</sup> This coding of female talent as self-consciously emotional and purposefully apolitical posed a direct threat to the students’ efforts to construct their own public talents as nationally beneficial and politically legitimate. As they struggled to establish their own authority as writing subjects, these radical nationalists self-consciously disassociated themselves from the legacy of past women writers, deriding their literary forbearers as selfish traitors to the pursuit of a collective good. In constituting their own national subjectivity, they rejected the language—the “feeling and flowery diction”—that had been the medium for female subjectivity in the past. Claiming that the sentimental and solipsistic *cainü* was personally responsible for the longstanding belief that only untalented women were virtuous, they made her a metonym for all that was weak and degraded within the Chinese cultural tradition.<sup>119</sup>

He Xiangning denounced literate women of the past for indulging their emotions rather than serving the nation. “Upper-class women would wallow in their own compositions of sentimental prose-poems set to music [*ci*] and descriptive prose interspersed with verse [*fu*],” and the sound of lamentation would fill the inner chambers. While their poems on the spring flowers and the fall moon yielded nothing but confusion, “these women did not know what the nation was.”<sup>120</sup> Literate women of the past with poetic sensibilities were, according to the overseas women writers, no different from the illiterate. Historically, Chinese women were either unlettered and as “stupid as beans,” the members of the Humanitarian Association wrote, or literate and capable of nothing more than “discoursing on the spring flowers and the autumn moon, chanting poems in a sing-song voice and

<sup>116</sup> Chen Yan’an, “Quan nǚzi,” 155–56 [0585–86].

<sup>117</sup> Tai Gong, “Dongjing zashi shi” [Poems on various topics concerning Tokyo], *Zhejiang chao*, 2 (March 18, 1903): 162.

<sup>118</sup> Susan Mann, “The Feminist Turn in Confucian History,” paper for the colloquium “Rethinking Chinese Women’s History” (UCLA, November 1993), 15; Dorothy Ko, “Pursuing Talent and Virtue: Education and Women’s Culture in Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century China,” *Late Imperial China* 13 (June 1992): 21.

<sup>119</sup> This phenomenon of female activists critiquing other women for engaging in frivolous pursuits is not unique to China. Mary Wollstonecraft criticized women writers of her day for their false enthralment and vanity; Landes, *Women and the Public Sphere*, 130–33. Perhaps because the political stakes were higher in China, however, the critique was more virulent. For a discussion of the disparagement of the *cainü* in the writings of an influential male publicist of this period, Liang Qichao, see Hu Ying, *Tales of Translation*, 6–8.

<sup>120</sup> He Xiangning, “Jinggao,” 144 [0762].

writing poetry in order to express and find comfort in their own feelings.”<sup>121</sup> Women who had devoted their talents to the non-lyrical tradition were considered to be equally ridiculous and irresponsible. Wang Lian described how motivated women of the past “read the classics when they were young and perused novels or Tang poetry when they were older,” and were thus deemed to be exceptional individuals. But such learning lacked all relevance. “In these Chinese classics, and novels,” Wang asked, “besides the depiction of loyal subjects, filial sons, hated husbands, and spurned wives, where is there any discussion of patriotism? What is the value of a literary tradition that only offered rejected and tragic figures as models, like the character Cui Yingying from a Tang tale of marvels or Lin Daiyu of the *Dream of the Red Chambers*? If these are literate women, how can China claim it has ever had any kind of female education?” In the end, Wang maintained, “our literate sisters are the same or even worse than illiterate ones.” This had given rise to the common saying that “only a woman without talent is blessed.”<sup>122</sup>

THE OVERSEAS STUDENTS’ EFFORTS to dictate the acceptable parameters for the expression of female talent signify the many paradoxes latent in the relationship between nationalisms and subjectivities. While nationalism provides a social, political, and cultural context beyond the self within which subjectivities can develop, it also constrains the conditions of possibility for subjective development. This paradox is particularly marked in the case of female subjectivities. Because of the historically unstable nature of the relationship between women and the nation, the link between women and nationalism has either been overdetermined by the objectification of Woman as national symbol, which leaves no room for feminine subjecthood, or underdetermined by ambiguous formulations like Republican Motherhood or good wives and wise mothers, which tie the feminine self directly to the domestic and only indirectly to the national sphere. In modern China, this unstable relationship was further compounded by the historical confluence of the national and women’s questions and the prevailing sense of national crisis, which both demanded and restricted a new role for women in political life. The experience of the Chinese female overseas students thus exemplifies many aspects of these broader paradoxes. While these women were able to liberate themselves from conservative nationalism, they remained constrained by radical nationalism. Repudiating the relationship between Woman and the nation that Shimoda and the Chinese authorities promoted, they ultimately replaced nationalist patriarchy with an equally confining patriotic femininity. Opening up new physical spaces where female subjectivities could develop—from the printed page to the public meeting-house—they nonetheless sharply limited the conceptual sphere within which new female subjectivities could unfold.

This analysis of Chinese radical female nationalism also sheds light on the question of how subjectivities are constituted, autonomously from within or discursively from without. The obsession with national survival in early twentieth-

<sup>121</sup> “Gongai hui tongren,” 160.

<sup>122</sup> Wang Lian, “Zagan qishou,” 114.



century China made it possible for the female overseas students to use nationalism as the authorizing discourse that would allow them to enact new modes of feminine selfhood. These women were not purely autonomous agents, instrumentally appropriating nationalist rhetoric to promote their own personal or feminist agendas, however.<sup>123</sup> This is evident in their insistence on subordinating their own individual or collective ambitions to the struggle for national survival. At the same time, their actions were not completely conditioned by a nationalist discourse that left them without agency or intentionality. The distinctly new and feminine identities the students assumed as patriotic nurses, impassioned orators, and physical education instructors merged personal and national meanings. More than just another position in language, their subjectivities were structured by the symbolic codes of existing narratives but not determined by them.<sup>124</sup>

These structuring narratives were cultural as well as nationalist. Despite the overseas students' commitment to a project that was premised on a profound cultural rupture, their national and personal imaginings were anchored in cultural continuities. Their efforts to mark a new path for Chinese women in history and in the footsteps of Western heroines were shaped by many of the same forces that defined the trajectory of the vilified talented women of the past. Both the early twentieth-century activists and their literate predecessors invoked the dominant discourse of the time—nationalism and Confucianism, respectively—as the source of moral authority that would legitimize the pursuit of their own talents. And in both cases, their talents were in turn limited by the terms of these discourses. While the parameters circumscribing the acceptable sphere of female utterances had shifted from the family to the nation in the early twentieth century, the cultural value that set these parameters—feminine service—remained constant. The realm of possibility for the development of female subjectivity was consistently defined in relational rather than individual terms: while a virtuous Confucian woman would only use her talents to benefit her family, an early twentieth-century female patriot would exclusively use hers to benefit the nation.<sup>125</sup>

The overseas students did rearrange the existing cultural matrix and infuse it with significant new meanings. They did not, however, challenge its premises. Rather than overturn the age-old dichotomy between talent and virtue, they merely recast it in a new nationalist idiom, replacing the already discredited maxim that “only a woman without talent is virtuous” with the unspoken dictum that only a woman who did not indulge her private talents was patriotic. This would lead to the ultimate paradox within radical Chinese female nationalism in the early twentieth century. While the students' deepest desire was to leave their own mark in national history, they would become complicit in efforts to erase the feminine aesthetic from national culture. Leftist critics in the 1920s and 1930s and Communists in the following decades would follow their lead in condemning the woman of talent as a

<sup>123</sup> This is very different from the situation in Britain, for example, where Burton, *Burdens of History*, 210, describes female political engagement being as much about the public exercise of women's moral and cultural authority as it was about nationalism.

<sup>124</sup> For a fuller articulation of this understanding of subjectivity, see Benhabib, “Feminism and the Question of Postmodernism,” 203–41.

<sup>125</sup> On the requirement that women in the eighteenth century only put their learning to use in order to better perform their family duties, see Mann, *Precious Records*, 17.

source of China's degradation. Associating national weakness with the literary woman's excessive individualism, lack of social commitment, realism, and patriotic fervor, these later critics would base their own visions of a revitalized Chinese polity on the elimination of her lyrical traces.<sup>126</sup> Ironically, the overseas students whose formative experience abroad resulted from efforts to expand the sphere of female talent in the early twentieth century were the first to subject China's "new woman" to a moralistic regime of patriotic virtue. Having found their own voice within the multiple registers of early Chinese nationalism, they became the unwitting forebears of an increasingly unified cultural critique that would attempt to silence all future expressions of the feminine.

<sup>126</sup> On the leftist critique of the 1920s and 1930s, see Larson, *Women and Writing*, 140–46, 165, 170–72.

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*AHR Forum*  
**World War II and National Cinemas**

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*How have cinematic representations of World War II reflected and helped to shape national memories of that traumatic event, and how have filmic treatments of the battles of the late 1930s and early to mid-1940s changed over time? These are among the main questions taken up in a trio of essays that look in turn at the United States, Britain, and the Soviet Union. The first contributor, **John Bodnar**, a leading scholar of the history of immigration and commemoration in the United States, is particularly attentive to shifting ideas about democracy and individualism. The second, **Geoff Eley**, a prominent specialist in the study of Western Europe who has worked on the social and cultural history of both Germany and Britain, concentrates more directly on the ways representations of war register and help us trace changes in the political landscape. **Denise J. Youngblood**, the only contributor best known for her work on films per se, contributes an essay that complements the first two by looking at Russian movies of different decades that portray the war as an event that caused great suffering yet also provided opportunities for great heroism. Following their essays comes a commentary by **Jay Winter**, a well-known historian of World War I, that places these discussions into a broader temporal framework and takes issue with the ways that Bodnar, Eley, and Youngblood define or fail to define slippery concepts such as collective memory.*

*The questions addressed in this AHR Forum are obviously ones that might just as easily have been posed about other countries, especially perhaps Japan and Germany. There is, however, a value to comparing and contrasting the treatment of the war in the particular national cinemas that are the focus here. This is because the United States, Britain, and Russia share one important trait: many within each country look back proudly on the role their country played in defeating the Axis powers. In light of this common point of departure for cinematic treatments of the war as a source of pride as well as a traumatic event, the diverging ways that it has been represented on screen in each nation is particularly striking. Coming at a time when World War II films are once again making news—thanks to the appearance of new cinematic treatments of everything from Pearl Harbor to the Battle of Stalingrad—the discussions of Bodnar, Eley, Youngblood, and Winter have the potential to provide not just a new perspective on the past but also food for thought when thinking about how movies currently in theaters are shaping the images that a new generation has of this conflagration.*

*Saving Private Ryan* and Postwar Memory in America

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JOHN BODNAR

THE RELEASE IN 1998 OF *Saving Private Ryan* by Hollywood director Steven Spielberg has revived again the debate over war and remembering. In this case, audiences have flocked to see a story of American troops, led by a dedicated captain, John Miller (Tom Hanks), attempt to rescue a young private from the field of battle just after the Allied invasion of Normandy in 1944. Some reviewers have stressed how Spielberg's film is the first to truly show the horror of battle, especially in its opening scenes, which depict the American landing on Omaha Beach, June 6, 1944. Modern technology has allowed the filmmaker to reproduce the frightening sound of German gunfire and the brutal reality of exploding body parts. American soldiers are shattered and maimed on the beachhead, and some fall apart emotionally from the stress of battle. As many reviewers have suggested, the movie counters images of heroic warriors by disclosing the real terror of combat and is in many ways an antiwar story.<sup>1</sup>

Ironically, while the Spielberg film reveals the brutality of war, it preserves the World War II image of American soldiers as inherently averse to bloodshed and cruelty. The war was savage; the average American GI who fought it was not. American men in this story are destroyed by war, and only a few actually enjoy killing Germans. At its rhetorical core, the story's argument would have seemed very familiar to audiences in the 1940s: the common American soldier was fundamentally a good man who loved his country and his family. He went to war out of a sense of duty to both, and he wanted to get it over with as quickly as possible. Rather than being a natural-born killer, he was a loving family man who abhorred the use of extreme force but could inflict it when necessary. This point is made well in the figure of John Miller. A high school teacher and part-time baseball coach from Pennsylvania, he disdains brutality and says that every time he kills another man he feels "farther from home." Traumatized himself at times by battle, this common man still has heroic potential and is always up to the task of taking on the German war machine. It is a model found in dozens of wartime films that depicted

<sup>1</sup> See Jeanine Basinger, "Translating War: The Combat Film Genre and *Saving Private Ryan*," *Perspectives* 36 (October 1998): 1, 43–47. Basinger suggests that Spielberg meant to speak to the "me" generation when Ryan asked his wife at the end of the film if he had earned the life that those who sacrificed themselves for him gave him. For Basinger, the film asks if one individual is worth the effort it took to save him (p. 47). See also Phil Landon, "Realism, Genre, and *Saving Private Ryan*," *Film and History* 28, nos. 3–4 (1998): 58–63. Landon calls the film a "morality play" because it raised the question of what obligations war survivors and subsequent generations have to the soldiers who gave their lives.



average guys from Brooklyn or Texas who loved their everyday life in America or the girl next door. Miller is ultimately a representation of the brand of common-man heroism that infused the culture of wartime America. Without a doubt, a platoon of men like him could save Private Ryan and win the war. Norman Corwin's famous radio broadcast of May 8, 1945, on the occasion of Germany's surrender, makes the case for the courageous possibilities of the ordinary person. "Take a bow, GI. Take a bow, little guy," Corwin told his listeners. "The superman of tomorrow lies at the feet of you common men this afternoon."<sup>2</sup>

Although anguish and bravery share narrative space in this film, they do not do so on an equal basis. The pain of the American combat soldier is revealed but is ultimately placed within a larger frame of patriotic valor. Some American soldiers in this story question the war effort and their superiors' decisions, but in the end the nation and its warriors are moral and honorable. The fact that combat was so frightening serves mainly to reinforce our admiration for these soldiers and their gallantry. The entire narrative, for that matter, is immensely "reverent" toward the nation and its warriors, attempting to uphold its patriotic architecture with opening and closing scenes at an American military cemetery in Europe. The very design of these sites of remembering was originally driven by the desire to proclaim the unity of the American nation, with their rows upon rows of white crosses, and to serve as "permanent reminders to other nations of the sacrifices made by the United States." If other nations were expected to recall their debt to America, Spielberg's film makes the additional claim that survivors of the war (like Ryan) and subsequent generations of Americans need to recognize their obligations to these brave combatants. Thus, at the film's end, Ryan can only look back over his life and the graves of the heroic dead and express the hope that he lived a life that merited the sacrifice his comrades made for him, one that consisted of devotion to family and country. In this veneration of patriotism and self-denial, the story takes us back to dominant political and moral values of the 1940s, which advocated collective goals over individual ones.<sup>3</sup>

But, as Spielberg remembers, he also forgets. Forties' calls to patriotic sacrifice were contingent on assurances of a more democratic society and world. Government leaders such as Franklin D. Roosevelt took pains to make democratic promises in pronouncements like "The Four Freedoms." And the Office of War Information (OWI) told Hollywood producers to make films that not only helped win the conflict but reminded audiences that it was "a people's war," which would bring about a future with more social justice and individual freedom. The democracy for which "the people" fought, in fact, was a cultural blend of several key ideas: tolerance, individualism, anti-totalitarianism, and economic justice. The representation of open-mindedness was aimed particularly at reducing ethnic

<sup>2</sup> Norman Corwin, "On a Note of Triumph," audiocassette available from Lodes Tone, 611 Empire Mill RD, Bloomington, IN 47401.

<sup>3</sup> The term "reverent" is taken from Stephen J. Dubner, "Steven the Good," *New York Times Magazine* (February 14, 1999): 38; *USA Today* (May 22, 1998): 7A. On the planned role for American military cemeteries in Europe, see G. Kurt Piehler, *Remembering War the American Way* (Washington, D.C., 1995), 129; see James Jones, "Phony War Films," *Saturday Evening Post*, March 30, 1963, for an argument that the depiction of war as a site for the realization or development of character is misleading.

tensions at home. American individualism was venerated in the call for personal freedoms and even in the rhetoric of military recruiters. They promised that army life would not destroy a man's self-interests but would preserve the same balance between individualism and teamwork that Americans experienced in their sporting endeavors. Frank Capra's series "Why We Fight" (1942–1945) was a vivid example of the use of anti-totalitarian images to encourage support for the war. And slogans like "Freedom from Want" acknowledged the popular desire for economic security after the 1930s.<sup>4</sup>

Spielberg's turn to the moral individual in heroism and in pain at the expense of the moral or democratic community, however, suggests just how much this film is a product of the late twentieth century and not of the 1940s. The attainment of democracy rested in the 1940s on a sense of reciprocity between individuals and the institutions that governed their lives. In a totalitarian state, government and institutions dominated individuals; in a democracy, a relationship of mutual respect existed between citizens and institutions. People served the nation because they believed the nation would serve their democratic interests in return. Narratives that endorsed this relationship, such as those found in many wartime films, effectively linked the fate of the individual with the fate of the nation. Today, however, narratives and images about the destiny of individuals command more cultural space than those about the fortunes of nations. As a result, both political speech and commemoration have more to say about victims or people who have met tragic fates. Spielberg's memory narrative of moral men represents very much the late twentieth century's concern with the singular person in the past, present, and future. Cohesive narratives that effectively link personal stories to collective desires for progress are harder to find. Those that exist are disrupted by images of victims. Heroism and patriotism remain, but they must fight for cultural space with the claims of those who have sorrowful tales from the past or those who insist on redress rather than self-denial. Many believe that, since Vietnam, it is harder to commemorate gallantry and victory or to suppress individual subjectivities at the expense of collective ones. Thus delineations of victims—from Vietnam, from the AIDS epidemic, from racism, from child abusers, from rapists, from drugs, even from World War II—now command more cultural space. Statements of what was lost now eclipse expressions of what was gained.<sup>5</sup>

This tension between the old patriotic narrative about the fate of the nation and the new expression of individual suffering and loss is expressed clearly on the Washington Mall, a central site of American cultural memory. In recent times, the process of nationalizing the representation of emotional shock and private pain appears arrested. The images of the old public history, dominated by powerful statesmen who were devoted to the nation, have been substantially modified by the appearance of victims. Names (and possessions) of dead soldiers constitute the

<sup>4</sup> Benjamin L. Alpers, "This Is the Army: Imagining a Democratic Military in World War II," *Journal of American History* 85 (June 1998): 129–63; Robert B. Westbrook, "I Want a Girl Just Like the Girl That Married Harry James: American Women and the Problem of Political Obligation in World War II," *American Quarterly* 42 (1990): 587–614.

<sup>5</sup> On the declining cultural power of narratives of nationalism to efface realities of loss and tragedy, see Pierre Nora, ed., *Realms of Memory: Rethinking the French Past*, Arthur Goldhammer, trans., 3 vols. (New York, 1996–98), 1: xxiii, 5–7.

1982 Vietnam Veterans Memorial, known simply as "The Wall." Statues of American troops reveal men moving cautiously through a battlefield scene from Korea (1995); they appear fearful that they could be killed or hurt at any moment. Figures standing in Depression-era bread lines or listening for words of hope command attention at the Franklin Delano Roosevelt Memorial (1997), and, nearby, thousands of images pertaining to Holocaust victims have been mounted for exhibit (1993). Explanations for this transformation remain elusive. Some attribute the change to the impact on American culture of the Vietnam War and traumatic events such as the AIDS epidemic. The overall effect of the Holocaust cannot be discounted. Certainly, the nation's ability to manage discourse about the past has withered, as many more voices—including the mass media—have joined in the production of culture.<sup>6</sup>

Contests over public remembering were certainly not pervasive in most nations after World War II. Many countries were able to limit the representation of war trauma and homegrown victimization in their societies for a very long time after the war. In Japan, a long-term effort to conceal that nation's culpability for atrocities in China or for starting the war in the Pacific has fallen apart only in recent years. To some extent, this campaign was sustained by silences in Japanese history books and by memorials to the Japanese dead that tended to remember them as innocent victims, not brutal warriors. In postwar Germany, the Holocaust was substantially denied in public; in many instances, Germans referred to themselves as "victims" of Nazi aggressors, denying the realities of German-sponsored brutality toward others. In France, for some two decades after the war, citizens tended to recall the conflict in terms of a patriotic narrative: brave French Resistance fighters under Charles de Gaulle waged an unrelenting campaign to free their captured nation from the Germans. This version of the war had elements that were true, but it failed to acknowledge completely the role of some French citizens who collaborated with the Nazis in sending French Jews to death camps. In much of the Western world, in fact, the contemporary memory of the Holocaust as an act of unparalleled barbarism did not emerge fully until the 1960s: publicity surrounding Adolf Eichmann's trial and the Arab-Israeli Six-Day War for a time recalled images of the death of Jews.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>6</sup> For an account of how the large loss of life from World War I challenged forms of heroic national memory in France, see Antoine Prost, "Monuments to the Dead," in Nora, *Realms of Memory*, 2: 307–30. On the popularity of the Roosevelt Memorial, see the *Baltimore Sun* (August 3, 1997): 2F; Marita Sturken, *Tangled Memories: The Vietnam War, the AIDS Epidemic and the Politics of Remembering* (Berkeley, Calif., 1997), 8–9.

<sup>7</sup> Haruko Taya Cook and Theodore F. Cook, *Japan at War: An Oral History* (New York, 1992); Henry Rousso, *The Vichy Syndrome: History and Memory in France since 1944*, Arthur Goldhammer, trans. (Cambridge, Mass., 1991); Omer Bartov, "Defining Enemies, Making Victims: Germans, Jews, and the Holocaust," *AHR* 103 (June 1998): 771–816; Peter Novick, "Holocaust Memory in America," in *The Art of Memory: Holocaust Memorials in History*, James E. Young, ed. (New York, 1994), 149–65; see also Sturken, *Tangled Memories*, 2–3. Julia A. Thomas, "Photography, National Identity, and the 'Cataract of Times': Wartime Images and the Case of Japan," *AHR* 103 (December 1998): 1475–83, suggests that Japan still has a difficult time in recalling certain traumatic aspects of the war. Claudio Fogu treats the managing of the memory of World War I in "Il Duce taumaturgo: Modernist Rhetorics in Fascist Representations of History," *Representations* 57 (Winter 1997): 24–29. For a discussion of how individual memory can challenge the goals of public forms of remembering to "tame the past," see Vera Schwarcz, *Bridge across Broken Time: Chinese and Jewish Cultural Memory* (New Haven, Conn., 1998), 92–93.

In this essay, however, I want to argue that the narrative of heroism, patriotism, and democracy that permeated wartime America—the story that *Saving Private Ryan* seeks to restore only partially—began to decompose immediately in the aftermath of World War II. This would not be so apparent if one looked only at official commemorations and public monuments, such as the one dedicated in 1954 to the costly American victory at Iwo Jima. Mass culture, however, was more responsive to the range of personal emotions and recollections that resided in the hearts and minds of the people, and it frequently challenged “reverent” narratives by the late 1940s. Although limitations of space prevent a full discussion of the impact of mass culture on society, the central point must be made that mass cultural forms undermined disciplinary institutions (such as governments or churches) in their goal of managing the public expression of human wants. Films, for instance, thrived because they were able to broadcast the full range of human desires and emotions.

LONG BEFORE *Saving Private Ryan* or even the Vietnam War, American mass culture was flooded with a torrential debate over the violence unleashed by war and, more importantly, over the turbulent nature of American society itself. Scholars have documented both political opposition to the American atomic build-up in the late 1940s and cultural expressions of anxiety over the possibility of world destruction by atomic weapons throughout the Cold War era. But this line of analysis is grounded too much in Cold War issues and fails to sufficiently appreciate the overall impact of World War II and the memory of violence and trauma that it generated. The war showed Americans that their fellow citizens were as capable of inflicting brutality as citizens of other nations, and it led them to search for the sources of such behavior within the home front itself. Public anxiety over victimization was as likely to be grounded in fears of dangerous impulses in the hearts and souls of fellow citizens as in fears about powerful weapons. The anxiety that linked popular nervousness over brute force in both wartime and peacetime America was articulated especially in the cinema and in literature. There, writers and directors challenged the sentimental views of the nation and the perspectives of the Office of War Information. In this oppositional view, American men and, for that matter, women were not inherently patriotic and loving but were domineering and ruthless. In its recognition of evil in the hearts and souls of “the people,” this construction of the nation and its citizens worked against the hope of a more democratic and prosperous future. Once it was demonstrated that violence could be homegrown and did not reside only in the visions of dictators, it followed that America itself could produce victims as well as patriots, treachery as well as loyalty.<sup>8</sup>

From its inception in the eighteenth century, the nation-state has been haunted by visions of degeneration, chaos, and anarchy. Those potentially responsible for

<sup>8</sup> On Cold War anxieties, see Paul Boyer, *By the Bomb's Early Light: American Thought and Culture at the Dawn of the Atomic Age* (New York, 1985); and Margot A. Henriksen, *Dr. Strangelove's America: Society and Culture in the Atomic Age* (Berkeley, Calif., 1997). See also Craig Calhoun, “Introduction: Habermas and the Public Sphere,” in Calhoun, ed., *Habermas and the Public Sphere* (Cambridge, Mass., 1992), 21–22. On the official ideology of World War II, see Clayton R. Koppes and Gregory D. Black, *Hollywood Goes to War: How Politics, Profits, and Propaganda Shaped World War II Movies* (1987; Berkeley, 1990), 168–69.



such destructiveness have been located both inside and outside national boundaries. Ideally, the nation was imagined as a united community that would protect its members, grant them rights, and foster their material progress. In the consciousness of nations, citizens entrusted powerful men with civic affairs and the defense of boundaries. Serving as statesmen, patriarchs, or dedicated warriors, these men merited the admiration and gratitude of females and others dependent on them. It was understood that leaders and warriors might sometimes need to suppress savages on the frontiers of the nation or even minorities within it. But hints that they themselves were bloodthirsty or cruel could not only weaken their elevated status but threaten the cultural stability of the nation itself.<sup>9</sup> Consequently, war always involves cultural risks even if the nation wins. Omer Bartov has observed that modern warfare and the massive trauma it generated incited feelings of anxiety in all participants and prompted a wide search for enemies and victims.<sup>10</sup> This is what happened in much of the domestic politics of Cold War America and in the aftermath of Vietnam.

Even more central to my argument is the point that, after 1945, recognizing the war's incredible scale of brutality caused ordinary Americans and probably people elsewhere to connect the cruelty of warfare with other forms of malevolence in their lives and society. Once war exposed how savage men could be, it did not take much of a cultural leap to see that everyone was threatened by warlike behavior wherever it was manifested. This process had distinct implications for remembering the war. Dominick LaCapra suggests that extremely traumatic events often force the imagination to employ extravagant metaphors, invoking terms such as in one's "wildest dreams or most hellish nightmares." In a sense, both the mind and the culture must find ways to confront the "unimaginable magnitude" of what took place. Thus the search for extraordinary models of enemies and victims displaced the wartime representations of a democratic nation and common-man heroism, and it undermined future attempts to represent the national society in a positive manner.<sup>11</sup>

This argument moves away from standard paradigms regarding the relationship

<sup>9</sup> On the relationship between gender and the construction of the idea of a nation, see George L. Mosse, *Nationalism and Sexuality: Middle-Class Morality and Sexual Norms in Modern Europe* (1985; rpt. edn., Madison, Wis., 1988); Richard Slotkin, *Gunfighter Nation: The Myth of the Frontier in Twentieth-Century America* (New York, 1992), 10–13, 627–55; Robert B. Westbrook, "Fighting for the American Family: Private Interests and Political Obligation in World War II," in *The Power of Culture: Critical Essays in American History*, Richard Wightman Fox and T. J. Jackson Lears, eds. (Chicago, 1993), 199–201. On the debate over the proper behavior of women in the British nation during World War II, see Sonya Rose, "Sex, Citizenship, and the Nation in World War II Britain," *AHR* 103 (October 1998): 1161–64; on the tendency of women and other German citizens to displace accounts of German-inflicted violence from their stories of World War II, see Elizabeth Heineman, "The Hour of the Woman: Memories of Germany's 'Crisis Years' and West German National Identity," *AHR* 101 (April 1996): 354–60; on the rise of a dominant form of white male supremacy in the early American nationalism, see Dana D. Nelson, *National Manhood: Capitalist Citizenship and the Imagined Fraternity of White Men* (Durham, N.C., 1998), 2–7. The problem of representing and taking responsibility for violence is discussed in Jill Lepore, *The Name of War: King Philip's War and the Origins of American Identity* (New York, 1998), 13–14.

<sup>10</sup> Bartov, "Defining Enemies, Making Victims," 771–816.

<sup>11</sup> Dominick LaCapra, *History and Memory after Auschwitz* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1998), 180–81. Daniel J. Sherman, "Bodies and Names: The Emergence of Commemoration in Interwar France," *AHR* 103 (April 1998): 443–66, explores the tension since World War I in European commemoration between collective and personal history.

between trauma and memory. It accepts and notes that trauma can lead to a “lapse or rupture” in the memory of emotional shock but contends that this form of repression is incomplete. The psychoanalytic study of trauma has revealed that the painful event usually returns against the victim’s will and only after an initial period of suppression or “absolute numbing”; the victim must first move away from the event before returning to it. This certainly appeared to happen to some extent in the public culture of the warring nations after 1945. But I will also offer evidence that a substantial amount of the trauma and anxiety, at least in the United States, was not restrained as much as it was displaced into the narratives of mass culture. One scholar has written that “the historical power of trauma is not just that the experience is repeated after its forgetting, but that it is only in and through its inherent forgetting that it is first experienced at all.” I would amend this position by claiming that, to a considerable extent, both the personal anxieties and the collective concerns over the violence of war never really left American culture at all.<sup>12</sup>

Some observers who have studied the impact of the Holocaust on postwar culture are impressed by the fact that the cultural suppression of trauma involved in “acting-out” the past in a nostalgic sense (something that suppresses the reality of pain) now appears to take place alongside the practice of working-through or confronting emotional disturbances. Nostalgia and mourning coexist. In looking at the films of postwar America and a modern feature like *Saving Private Ryan*, we clearly see what LaCapra calls “interaction, reinforcement, and conflict” between the need to forget and the desire to confront what happened.<sup>13</sup> In its opening scenes, *Saving Private Ryan* confronts the horror; in later scenes, when GIs go off on an adventure to save one individual, it often lapses into play acting and a desire to fight the war over again. The same sort of tension was noticeable in American films about the war in the decade after 1945, although the narrative resolution of contradictions was not always the same. In *Ryan*, patriotic sacrifice as a frame of remembrance stands above both trauma and democracy. But in the immediate postwar era, some films effectively contested patriotic ideals. They often displaced the representation of trauma from the combat zone to American society or to a distant past, but the discourse over the pain of war was real. Thus, between 1946 and 1949, hardly any *combat* films of the war were made. Many features, however, were issued about the devastating consequences of the war on Americans as well as the potential Americans had to inflict harm on others. Moreover, combat did not disappear completely but was often exiled into the genre of the Western. The most thoughtful of these latter films actually located savagery in the character of the American cavalymen and not Native Americans.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>12</sup> Cathy Caruth, “Introduction,” in Caruth, ed., *Trauma: Explorations in Memory* (Baltimore, 1995), 4–8. LaCapra, *History and Memory after Auschwitz*, 9–21, partially accepts the notion of repression but makes a more complex case for the idea that individual and collective memory exist within a dialogic framework, each testing and confronting the other. For insightful observations of how the scale of death in World War I and World War II prompted a search for an appropriate language of mourning, see Jay Winter, *Sites of Mourning: The Great War in European Cultural History* (Cambridge, 1995), 5–10.

<sup>13</sup> LaCapra, *History and Memory after Auschwitz*, 10–46.

<sup>14</sup> Jeanine Basinger, *The World War II Combat Film: Anatomy of a Genre* (New York, 1986), 153; Slotkin, *Gunfighter Nation*, 334.

Wartime films were not without their own set of contradictions, to be sure, although patriotism, unity, and democracy dominated the stories. In tales about the war and gender relations, women were assigned crucial roles of support for the men they loved with devotion. This point was made clear in films such as *Since You Went Away* (1944) and *Pride of the Marines* (1945). Ethnic cooperation was fostered in numerous depictions of American platoons, such as *Bataan* (1943). Hatred for authoritarian regimes was certainly prevalent in movies such as *Sahara* (1943), and patriotic sacrifice was venerated in films such as *Wake Island* (1942), which evoked memories of American heroism at Valley Forge and the Alamo. The grim reality of war, the random and unheroic nature of much death, and the sometimes futile plight of the common soldier broke through in creative stories such as *A Walk in the Sun* (1945), but its cynicism was rare. More common was a film like *Air Force* (1943), which effectively merged personal interests and collective needs. In this film, men love their mothers and wives, naturally want to defend their nation, kill the treacherous Japanese, and fight bravely in the Pacific. A tailgunner who feels that he has not been treated fairly in the past eventually lets go of his anger as he joins the fight. The entire film is framed by a preamble from Abraham Lincoln's Gettysburg Address, suggesting that the military struggle is ultimately about "a new birth of freedom" and the need to preserve "government of the people, by the people, and for the people." *Saving Private Ryan*, by contrast, invokes the memory of Lincoln as an expression of the ideal of patriotic sacrifice, not as a call to work for more democracy.<sup>15</sup>

Postwar films moved away from wartime censorship and immediately into a discourse over how the violence unleashed by the war could wreak havoc with the American future. The suggestion that dangerous impulses resided in the souls of Americans themselves was at the core of *film noir* features of the later 1940s. In both mood and story, these films countered sentimental and optimistic assessments not only about the future but about Americans themselves. The 1946 film *The Killers* made evident the "ubiquity" of viciousness and victimization in everyday American life. The central character, played by actor Burt Lancaster, is drawn into a life of crime, betrayed by a woman, and gunned down in the symbolic space of American democracy—the small town. So much for the potential of stable gender relations. Dana Polan has argued that the war was a "disciplinary moment" in which diverse discourses came together to "empower a particular social reality." But it was increasingly clear in the immediate postwar period that critical images of America and Americans could no longer be domesticated and that, as Polan writes, "discourses of commonality" had reached the limits of their persuasiveness.<sup>16</sup>

The productions of *film noir* did not always connect despair directly to the event of World War II, but the popular classic by William Wyler, *The Best Years of Our Lives* (1946), certainly did. In this story, servicemen return home with deep

<sup>15</sup> Basinger, *World War II Combat Film*, 34–37; Thomas Doherty, *Projections of War: Hollywood, American Culture, and World War II* (New York, 1993), 122–48. *Saving Private Ryan* invokes a letter (traditionally ascribed to Lincoln) to a mother whose five sons "died gloriously on the field of battle."

<sup>16</sup> Robert Jay Lifton and Greg Mitchell, *Hiroshima in America: Fifty Years of Denial* (New York, 1995), 238; Michael C. C. Adams, *The Best War Ever: America and World War II* (Baltimore, 1994), 12; Dana B. Polan, *Power and Paranoia: History, Narrative, and the American Cinema, 1940–1950* (New York, 1986), 70–71.

emotional and physical scars. One is haunted not only by the memory of flying bomber runs over Germany but by the realization that his wife had been unfaithful while he was away. In other words, he was victimized by events both abroad and at home. Another veteran, who drinks excessively upon his return, manages to advance the cause of a just society; through his job at a bank, he makes it easier for ordinary veterans to get loans that will help them rebuild their lives. Trauma is acknowledged; the hope of a democratic future still persists.<sup>17</sup>

The most powerful cultural attack on the sentimentality and heroic quality of wartime culture came in Norman Mailer's 1948 novel *The Naked and the Dead*. Mailer was a veteran himself who had served in the Pacific and had seen firsthand some of the destruction caused by the atomic bomb in Japan. His narrative is one that centers not so much on the war as on the nature of American society and the patterns of male behavior it engendered. Stationed on a fictional island in the Pacific, Mailer's GIs are not particularly capable of patriotism or virtue. Rather, they are consumed by personal quests of power and destructiveness. A minor character on the island expresses the Roosevelt administration's view that the conflict is a "people's war" that will lead to a more democratic world for all mankind, a point that the OWI worked assiduously to inject into wartime films. However, General Edward Cummings, a major character in the story, envisions a postwar world dominated not by democracy but by the "Right" and the "Omnipotent Men" who will lead America. Clearly, Mailer saw an innate drive for power and dominion in American men that Spielberg does not. For Mailer, this drive was realized not only in the massive retaliation against the Japanese but in the lives of domineering men like Cummings, whose father had been sent him to military school to make him "think and act like a man."<sup>18</sup>

Cummings's perspective frames the novel's unflattering portrayal of American manhood, and Mailer contends that the male drive for dominance could be found in democracies as well as dictatorships. When someone suggests to Cummings that men would fight out of love for their country, he dismisses the notion as a "liberal historian's attitude." For Cummings, it is not democracy that motivates American men to fight. Instead, they learned to be aggressive from living in a society of unequals in which most men were trying to climb upward from humble origins.

Mailer's story is important not only because it represents a critique of the official views of why America fought and of the romantic images of the American fighting men but because it connects narratives of victimization from the 1930s with those of the 1940s. That is to say, he suggested that both experiences, economic conflict and war, can destroy lives. American culture in the postwar era still reverberated with the aftershocks of the Depression and with notions that revealed the pitfalls of capitalism. In fact, many conservatives had attacked the OWI during the war precisely because of its liberal orientation, which connected the idea of a "people's war" to the need to respect labor as much as business in narrative films. Numerous films continued to reveal the manner in which the nation's fundamental economic system destroyed as many individuals as it rewarded. In *All My Sons* (1948), an industrialist decides to place profits before patriotism, resulting in the production

<sup>17</sup> See Kaja Silverman, *Male Subjectivity at the Margins* (New York, 1992), 77.

<sup>18</sup> Norman Mailer, *The Naked and the Dead* (New York, 1981), 174.



of planes with faulty parts. When American airmen lose their lives as the result of his decisions, the man is traumatized enough to take his own life. In *Champion* (1949), a man throws away relationships with people who care about him for a chance to become a boxing king. In this story, the boxing ring becomes a metaphor for the marketplace pursuit of wealth and fame.<sup>19</sup>

Remembering war as the progenitor of victims rather than heroes was central to a number of films in the late 1940s. In *Crossfire* (1947), soldiers bring their brutal ways back home. Some are described as capable of going “crazy” once there is no one around to give them orders. They engage in drunkenness and murder and even acts of anti-Semitism. In general, they do not seem to have the clear sense of purpose that soldiers in *Saving Private Ryan* exhibit regarding the desirability of resuming domestic arrangements or serving their country. Before *Crossfire* ends, one soldier even kills another.

Two years later, *Home of the Brave* (1949) connected the respective trauma-inducing abilities of war and society. In this tale, an African-American soldier, James Moss, suffers severe emotional distress due to the brutality of racism in the United States and the effects of combat. Moss undergoes treatment for what a military psychiatrist calls “traumatic shock.” (In reality, the discovery of psychiatric stress during the war had a profound influence on the way the military treated this problem. Entering the war, the common assumption was that emotional breakdowns in battle were the result of a weak or less than manly character.) Moss is depicted as deeply disturbed by the insults he received in civilian life and from racist soldiers in the military. When he hears his good friend being tortured by the Japanese on a secret mission and is forced to leave his partner to die on an island in the Pacific, he breaks down and cries. The psychiatrist gives him a drug that allows him to relive and, therefore, to come to terms with his combat experience. He realizes that war trauma is shared equally by people of all races. As he goes back home to open a bar with a white friend, we get a hint that the success of a postwar future will depend not only on putting the trauma behind us but on resolving inequality and prejudice as well.

Even more traditional war films of the period were reluctant to temper the anguish of battle with simple images of bravery and valor. In *Battleground* (1949), the point of view of the ordinary fighting man was stressed. War for these “battered bastards” was confusing and painful. Some are looking for a “good clean flesh wound” that will get them out of battle and back to a field hospital and, perhaps, home. As Private Holley, actor Van Johnson claims that the PFC, or private first class, in his military rank stands only for the fact that he is “praying for civilian” status. In this film, there is no cataclysmic battle or talk of democracy or patriotism, only an intent focus on fighting to stay alive or to take a small piece of ground. There is dogged determination on the part of American troops in this film against superior enemy forces and bitterly cold weather, but *Battleground* tries hard to say that the average GI was uninterested in putting any sort of political frame on an experience that he detested.

By 1950, a popular war film such as *The Sands of Iwo Jima* went a bit farther than

<sup>19</sup> See Koppes and Black, *Hollywood Goes to War*, on the OWI.

the cynical commentary articulated in *Battleground* by mounting a direct attack on some of the men who won the war, even as it sustained heroic notions about them. John Wayne starred as a dedicated Marine sergeant capable of training soldiers and leading them into battle. This film was supported extensively by the Marine Corps, which supplied it with an array of military hardware, and it is often seen as a pivotal representation of the heroic American war myth. But there is considerable irony in this narrative. Shots of brave American fighting men attacking the Japanese on Tarawa and Iwo Jima are countered by expressions of regret over the fact that men like Wayne (Sergeant Stryker in the movie) ultimately elect the ideals of military life over those of domestic life. Unlike John Miller in *Saving Private Ryan*, Stryker is a zealous soldier who has little interest in maintaining close ties to his wife and family. War is brutal in this film, and men get killed, although 1950s film technology could not achieve the sense of fear that Spielberg's does. *The Sands of Iwo Jima* also made a much more determined attempt to work through the impact of war on men and to address the concern that military life exacerbated natural impulses toward violence, which would have devastating consequences for American society. Unlike the Spielberg film, *The Sands of Iwo Jima* made a specific plea to American men to put the violence of wartime behind them. Audiences watched as a young marine tells Stryker that he wants to raise his son to read Shakespeare, not the Marine manual. And they saw Stryker come to regret the way he mistreated his wife and son. Film historians astutely note that when Stryker is killed near the end, the heroic and violent warrior of World War II is symbolically destroyed. *Ryan* only asks us to honor these men and "earn" the freedom they have left us. Presumably, pacifistic pleas are unnecessary because in Spielberg's world these men are not inherently violent.

By the middle 1950s, it was clear that a far-reaching contest over how to recall and forget the war was under way. At the dedication of the Iwo Jima Memorial, citizens gathered to venerate victory and the men who earned it. This was by no means a suppression of popular sentiment. The memorial represented well the belief that ordinary men fought gallantly, that the war was worth the sacrifice, and that the trauma could be put behind us. The same point is made in the film *To Hell and Back* (1955), which depicts a brave and decorated soldier who is close to his family. But members of the wartime generation continued to represent some veterans as brutes who had no place in peacetime America in films such as *A Streetcar Named Desire* (1951), *Peyton Place* (1957), and *No Down Payment* (1957). During the war, women had already expressed fears that military experiences incited men to misogynistic behavior. In 1954, Harriet Arnow articulated another critique by writing a novel, *The Dollmaker*, of how the war (and capitalism) destroyed the independence of a woman.

For a time in the 1960s and 1970s, Cold War pressures reinvigorated heroic images of American men and quelled some of the cultural divisions that had marked the immediate postwar era. In 1962's *The Longest Day*, the prowess of the American military and men of all ranks was validated. This movie of epic proportions lavished attention on the planning that went into the Allied invasion of Europe in 1944 and the extent to which the "biggest armada the world has ever known" was firmly under American leadership. A small amount of space was turned

over to the heroics of the British and the French resistance, but the “star” of the feature was the collective effort of the Americans. The Nazis in this feature were disorganized; the sons of democracy were eager and united in purpose. Heroism crowded out serious discussion here of personal trauma or the emotional and political longings of ordinary soldiers.

In 1970, the release of *Patton* again reaffirmed the brilliance of American military strategy and leadership, although this film also took an extended look at the psychological traits of a heroic leader as well. Neither *Patton* nor *The Longest Day* paid much attention to 1940s concerns about democracy or the potential for brutality of Americans themselves. For General George Patton, war was less an act to save democracy than it was an opportunity to realize his dream of becoming a brave combatant—a certain type of man. “All real Americans love the sting of battle,” he reportedly told his men. He was famous for his intolerance of subordinates who were traumatized by battle, who failed to relish killing the enemy as he did, and who lacked the fighting spirit to be a brave warrior. That is why he loved so much leading the triumphal parades of victors into liberated towns in Europe. Cheering crowds reaffirmed his sense of what war and men were all about.

*Catch-22* (1970) appeared at the same time *Patton* did, however, and it suggested that the cultural effort to laud the World War II experience of Americans was in deep trouble. Certainly, the impact of Vietnam was crucial here, but it should be recalled that the story was drawn from a novel authored by a World War II veteran (Joseph Heller), as was the film of *The Naked and the Dead* (1958). This cynical view of the American military in World War II Italy completely debunked not only the integrity of military leadership but any effort to look at the war in heroic or sentimental terms. In this story, American soldiers use their spare time looking for cash or sex and actually question orders to drop bombs on innocent civilians. One U.S. serviceman kills and rapes an Italian woman. The central premise of the narrative is an antiwar statement, pure and simple. Captain Yossarian, the central figure, wants doctors to declare that he is insane so he can get out of the war completely. The “catch” is that the wish to escape from war is a perfectly sane idea and, therefore, cannot be a basis for judging someone to be insane.

Today, stories of glorious rises and tragic falls dot the landscape of American cultural memory. The celebration of personal dreams is discussed more widely than collective destinies. Images of a proud nation are contested by those of a society capable of inflicting pain and suffering. In this culture of contradictions and silences, cultural memory is subjected, in the words of Griel Marcus, to “an anarchy of possibilities” and, in the terms of Pierre Nora, to a “series of initiatives with no central organizing principle.”<sup>20</sup> But that “anarchy” is fiercely contested in the Spielberg film, not to restore the vision of a democratic nation but to rehabilitate traditions of good fathers, patriotic men, and self-sacrifice. Miller and Ryan do not challenge moral conventions, are not inherently violent, and are willing to relinquish personal dreams. They recognize that the fortunes of the nation take

<sup>20</sup> Griel Marcus, *Dead Elvis: A Chronicle of a Cultural Obsession* (New York, 1991), xvii; Pierre Nora, “The Era of Commemoration,” in Nora, *Realms of Memory*, 3: 615; Antoine Prost, “Verdun,” in *Realms of Memory*, 2: 377–401. Prost demonstrates how a “national memory” repressed a “veterans’ memory” for a time after the bloody battle of Verdun in 1916. Ultimately, the pain and tragedy of the veterans, however, came to reassert itself in French culture.

precedence over their own futures. The film *Saving Private Ryan* does not say that personal sacrifice is glorious as does *Patton* or that wars are free of death and trauma as does the Iwo Jima Memorial. Distinct boundaries between cultural categories, like the tropes of heroic soldiers and personal pain, have generally been difficult to maintain since 1945. But the film chooses to take sides in the modern culture of opposites by protecting a sentimental view of American men that was seriously disrupted by both World War II and Vietnam. In fact, it basically suppresses a critical view of American society as well, preferring to suggest that the American future will best be fashioned by moral individuals rather than by democratic reforms.

Postwar films tended to treat the American warrior and American society in a more evenhanded way. They shared with *Saving Private Ryan* a tendency to remember the turmoil and stress. This is not an invention of the 1990s. Postwar films and culture actually went further, however, in exploring the consequences of the war, which is exactly what Bartov argued when he claimed that the acknowledgment of victims impelled individuals to find reasons for the suffering.<sup>21</sup> Because the Spielberg film attempts to preserve the memory of patriotic sacrifice more than it desires to explore the causes of the trauma and violence, however, it is more about restoring a romantic version of common-man heroism in an age of moral ambivalence than about ending the problem of devastating wars.

The failure of *Saving Private Ryan* to evoke the memory of "a people's war," moreover, reveals the film's conservative politics. Past, present, and future are now contingent on standards of individual behavior rather than on democratic ideals such as the quest for equality, a just capitalism, or citizen participation in political life. Spielberg's film about trauma and patriotism suggests why the contemporary turn to memory, anguish, and the testimony of victims is about more than the demise of the cultural power of the nation. It also has a great deal to do with a sense of disenchantment with democratic politics and with turning political life over to "the people." Visions of a democratic community are feeble in this story, which remembers individuals in a more exemplary way than they were understood by their own generation.<sup>22</sup>

<sup>21</sup> Bartov, "Defining Enemies, Making Victims," 775.

<sup>22</sup> Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, rev. edn. (London, 1991), 144. LaCapra, *History and Memory after Auschwitz*, 15, discusses the relationship between memory and a loss of faith in democratic politics.

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*AHR Forum*  
Finding the People's War: Film,  
British Collective Memory, and World War II

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DURING THE SPRING AND EARLY SUMMER OF 1995, 1945 festooned the television screens of Britain. In late April and early May, the BBC re-presented the events of the ending of World War II in the most literal way, narrating them as a nightly newscast, introduced by a current presenter, but composed from documentary footage for the relevant date fifty years before, told as though the events were happening today. This device was brilliantly carried off, a small masterpiece of popular history, in fact, with its self-conscious imbricating of the present with the past, entertainment with history, gimmickry with earnestness, color with black-and-white. For any viewer older than forty, it evoked layers of recognition. It placed us inside the grand narrative, the presenter's poker-faced gravitas securing our pleasures in the didacticism while polishing the BBC's own aura of high-mindedness, its confident performance of national pedagogy. It positioned us immediately in a realm of nostalgia, not only for the lost reassurances of "1945" but for a particular form of historical narration, the hectoring newsreel modalities of "You Are There," and their generic documentary authenticity.

This duality, in which both a particular history and a more generalized discourse of pastness were engaged, was a striking feature of the 1945 celebrations and their commemorative excess. It described an important difference of usage, between history as the past and history as a sign in the present—on the one hand, an actually existing history, a relation to something that really happened, the remembering of 1945 itself and its contested political construction, and on the other hand, history as a container of meaning, a representational project, a field of disorderly interaction between a finished *then* and an active *now*.

"Remembering" World War II requires no immediate experience of those years. This is especially true of the immediate postwar generation (born between 1943–1945 and the mid-1950s), who grew up suffused in the effects of the war years but whose "memory" of them came entirely after the fact. During that generation's

I would like to thank Jeffrey Wasserstrom for conceiving the forum that originally prompted this essay. My interest in the legacies of World War II is linked to a continuing project on changing constructions of the national past in British and German cinema. Its ideas owe a huge debt to discussions with Lauren Berlant and a number of my Ann Arbor colleagues, including especially Becky Conekin, Kali Israel, Karl Pohrt, and Sonya Rose. Penny Summerfield also gave me a valuable reading at the final stage. Most of all, I would like to acknowledge Gina Morantz-Sanchez, whose readings and arguments shaped my thinking from the start.

formative years (say, until the mid-1960s), official and popular cultures were pervaded by the war's presence, via citations, evocations, stories, and commentaries, quite apart from the traces and indentations of everyday life and the private marks of families and personal histories. Consciously and unconsciously, this field of connectedness to the war became worked into public discourse in inspiring, insidious, and enduring ways, making an active archive of collective identification. Beyond the set pieces of anniversaries, speeches, sermons, retrospectives, and the honoring of the dead, entertainment cultures became a rich arena of such memory production. War heroics afforded obvious material—from the staples of British cinema, such as *The Wooden Horse* (directed by Jack Lee, 1950), *The Cruel Sea* (Charles Frend, 1952), *The Dam Busters* (Michael Anderson, 1954), *The Colditz Story* (Guy Hamilton, 1955), *Reach for the Sky* (Lewis Gilbert, 1956), *Carve Her Name with Pride* (Lewis Gilbert, 1958), or *Dunkirk* (Leslie Norman, 1958), to the epic television documentary of Winston Churchill's war premiership, "The Valiant Years" (Jack Le Vien, BBC, 1961), which, together with David Lean's *Bridge on the River Kwai* (1957), brought World War II nostalgia to a monumentalized apotheosis.<sup>1</sup> But beyond such overt reverence, wartime also permeated the forms, conventions, and thematics of television drama, documentary, and comedy; popular fiction; comic books; and so on.

By 1995, this memorializing was itself becoming remembered. In the huge repertoire of the BBC's orchestration of the fiftieth anniversary, not only the events themselves were being explicitly celebrated, so were the richly sedimented popular cultural representations in which they had been shaped between the 1940s and the present. Not only the improvised national defense formations of the wartime Home Guard were being invoked but also the successful 1960s situation comedy "Dad's Army"; not only the war against Japan and the defense of the Raj but also the post-imperial nostalgia of another 1960s-vintage sitcom "It Ain't Half Hot Mum" (1974); not just the war's military chronicle but the cinematic stiff upper lips of Jack Hawkins, John Mills, Alec Guinness, and Kenneth More. This was the popular-cultural repertoire through which 1945's solidarities and complacencies had become increasingly performed. In this fashion, the public remembering in 1995 performed an insidious postmodern gesture, because not only history per se, already an incorrigibly contested term, but also its intervening forms of representation were being restaged for our benefit, with the effect (one might argue) that history was erased in the very act of its recuperation.

History enters popular circulation at the beginning of the twenty-first century through such confusions of mass-mediated meanings. They construct the national past via a compulsive simultaneity of connotations, in a promiscuous mélange of imagery and citation, creating a dense palimpsest of referentiality. Symbolic capital accumulates thickly around national history's grand events in this manner, encumbering our access to their meanings. This is nowhere stronger than in popular culture's teeming archive of visual representations in film, television, advertising, magazines, and the daily press.

<sup>1</sup> For a good overview, see Neil Rattigan, "The Last Gasp of the Middle Class: British War Films of the 1950s," in Wheeler Winston Dixon, ed., *Re-Viewing British Cinema, 1900–1992: Essays and Interviews* (Albany, N.Y., 1994), 143–53.

Kenneth Branagh's choice of *Henry V* (1989) to launch Renaissance Films excellently showed this effect, signifying history not only through its surface depictions of Shakespeare's play and the Battle of Agincourt, Tudor-Stuartness and the fifteenth century, but also through a much wider chain of associations. While Branagh worked at modernizing the canon and enlightening through entertainment, renewing Shakespeare's potential for national pedagogy, a recharged patriotic discourse was also being necessarily purveyed. Branagh's own primary interest may have been the popularizing of Shakespeare, a Shakespeare where the nationalist trumpeting of an aggressive and Francophobic Englishness was powerfully muted by the consciousness of the horrors of war. But it was the film's status as a *remake* that mattered more in the end, its lineage with Laurence Olivier's earlier version of 1944, where the relationship to wartime patriotism was clear enough. Successive representations were being folded into one another in the manner suggested above, so that Branagh's film inevitably inherited the Olivier version's iconic and allegorical charge. Of course, between Thatcherism's high tide in the mid-1980s and the Majorite detritus ten years later, Branagh himself was fashioned fleetingly into a contemporary icon, in self-conscious emulation of Olivier's earlier status.<sup>2</sup>

All this made the circulation of representational energy extremely complex. The Churchillian resonance from the 1940s radically exceeded the new film's purposes, conspiring in English nationalism's renewal behind the director's back. Branagh ventriloquized Thatcherist rhetoric in spite of himself. *Which* history exactly ended up being represented accordingly becomes a conundrum. Was it the expansionist exploits of medieval kingship and the Elizabethan triumphalism of Shakespeare's history cycle? Was it the more generalized archive of cultural associations Shakespeare signifies for the Anglo-British popular imagination? Or was it the Thatcherist reinscription of Churchillian "greatness" in the little-Englander animus against "Europe," licensed by the Falklands-Malvinas War, so that Shakespeare now stood in for the direct and explicit appropriation of World War II?<sup>3</sup>

In other words, at issue were competing mythologies of the recent past. After 1945, patriotism—British national feeling—was not straightforwardly conservative but, on the contrary, contained powerful inflections to the left. Pride in being British implied the egalitarianism of World War II, the achievement of the welfare state, and a complex of democratic traditions stressing decency, liberalism, and the

<sup>2</sup> In Alison Light's insightful account, Branagh "speaks for modern middle England," "equally at home in Hollywood as with the classics." See "The Importance of Being Ordinary," *Sight and Sound* 3 (September 1993): 16. Also: "The politics of Branagh's appeal could be read in a number of ways. It might suggest a white middle-class England wanting to free itself from older forms of identification. It could remind us that, like the theater, such an England—in the villages, the suburbs, and the dormitory towns, as well as in the city—was always the site of intense mobility, or enormous diversity, of heterogeneous histories which all, like that of the Reading Irish [Branagh's own provenance], need their own attention. Or it might seem more at one with the conservatism that retreats from such a recognition into a bland, meritocratic decency and accessible classlessness, what Stuart Hall has called the 'low-powered motor' of Majorism" (Light, 19).

<sup>3</sup> For useful discussions of the context of Olivier's earlier film, see Imelda Whelehan and Deborah Cartmell, "Through a Painted Curtain: Laurence Olivier's *Henry V*," in Pat Kirkham and David Thoms, eds., *War Culture: Social Change and Changing Experience in World War Two* (London, 1995), 49–60; and Cartmell, "The *Henry V* Flashback: Kenneth Branagh's Shakespeare," in Deborah Cartmell, I. Q. Hunter, Heidy Kaye, and Imelda Whelehan, eds., *Pulping Fictions: Consuming Culture across the Literature/Media Divide* (London, 1996), 73–84.

importance of everyone pulling together, in a way that honored the value and values of ordinary working people. More elaborately, it evoked images of the Depression and its social misery, which a broad consensus believed should never be repeated, and here the patriotic comradeship of the war was reworked into a social democratic narrative of suffering and social justice. The benign qualities of such patriotism can be exaggerated. The democratic romance of 1945 also contained huge complacencies, in relation both to Europe, the United States, and "other countries," and to themes of empire and race, organized around insidiously embedded assumptions of Englishness. Moreover, the postwar consensus came not only positively from reconstruction but also from repressive disciplinary structures of the Cold War. Enduring sources of conflict and new forms of divisiveness likewise remained, as the Suez Crisis, the rise of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, and other social movements soon would attest. By the later 1950s, dissidence in the arts, new patterns of consumption, and stylistic rebellions of youth were already corroding the stable conformities that otherwise marked the time. But the consensus—as a field of shared memories and identifications—marked a crucial threshold of disagreement, holding conflicts to a unifying and resilient hegemonic frame.

Thus for a long time after 1945, World War II provided a template for the popular political imagination. To form the rhetorical binding of the postwar consensus, it entered British cultural memory as a narrative of popular democratic accomplishment, requiring elaborate and extensive dissemination. In that process, greater material security and rising living standards remained sutured to the political values of common sacrifice, egalitarianism, and democratic expectation accompanying the victory over fascism—so that subsequent evocations of the "Dunkirk spirit" were elided into what Churchill on V-E Day had called simply "the victory of the cause of freedom in every land."<sup>4</sup> But, by the same argument, any replacement of this consensus by a new and different set of political claims—the overturning and reconstruction of its political common sense—would require a new vision of contemporary British history, which repositioned World War II in popular understanding.

This was the complex transition occurring between the 1960s and the present decade. It locked the left-wing iconoclasm of the 1960s and the right-wing modernizers of Thatcherism into a complex dialectic of enablement, confrontation, and disavowal. The cultural radicalisms of the 1960s and 1970s first thoroughly destabilized the postwar settlement, angrily and exuberantly exposing its deficiencies and denouncing its congealing of values into a normalized resistance to change. But then a right-wing culturalist backlash ensued. The political transformation of the late twentieth century hinged on the Margaret Thatcher government's escalating radicalism of 1982–1985 (through the Falklands-Malvinas War, the 1983 elections, confrontation with the Greater London Council, and the Miners' Strike), which brutally delegitimized the labor movement in its national institutional credibility. But behind this party-focused confrontationism of 1973–1987, and the

<sup>4</sup> Winston S. Churchill, Victory in Europe speech, May 8, 1945, in Judy Giles and Tim Middleton, eds., *Writing Englishness 1900–1950: An Introductory Sourcebook on National Identity* (London, 1995), 134.



leading anti-socialist edge of the attacks on the Labour Party, was a deeper cultural disorder.<sup>5</sup> An accumulation of national anxieties pressed insistently on public consciousness in the 1970s and 1980s—the question of Europe, violence in Northern Ireland, the growth of Scottish and Welsh nationalisms and the “break-up of Britain,” crisis in the schools, fears of sexual minorities, and panics over immigration and race. The resulting controversies exposed far-reaching confusions in the discursive economy of national identification.<sup>6</sup>

This disordering of the stable consensus that coalesced after the war—the decentering of Britishness as a cultural formation, with older solidarities in dissolution and no new languages of comparable resonance emerging to take their place—was one effective legacy of the 1960s. The cultural iconoclasm of that decade, which disparaged the postwar settlement’s complacencies without ever fully capturing the political initiative in national-popular terms, opened a further space for the Right to regroup. Populist backlash against “permissiveness,” the collapse of received authority, and a generalized discourse of moral decline were as vital in fueling the Thatcherized Conservative Party from the mid-1970s as the attack on unions and the monetarist revivalism of the free market. But beyond these immediate conflicts, the architecture of popular identifications with World War II also became transformed. By 1983, Thatcherism was evoking the other Churchill of late imperial militarism and racialized cultural superiority, exchanging ideals of social justice for a patriotism straight and pure.<sup>7</sup> In that sense, Thatcherism and the postwar settlement—“1979” and “1945”—signified hostile counterversions of patriotic consensus, whose confrontational opposition presupposed “1968” as a necessary third term.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Beyond partisan offensives against the “enemy within,” which explicitly mobilized patriotic values against democratic activism of many kinds (in unions, new social movements, and Labour Party local government initiatives), a broader agitating of national culture and its prevailing assumptions took place. The new discourse of national “heritage” and its unifying properties was one major example, in the first instance through the National Heritage Acts (1980, 1983) and the Heritage Educational Trust (1982), but then through an extraordinary proliferation of activity, driven both by the commercial development of heritage sites, historical theme parks, and the economics of tourism in deindustrializing Britain, and by grass-roots enthusiasms and hobbies. Debates over the national curriculum, particularly for the subjects of History and English, focused similar contests over national identity, reaching an important climax in 1989–1990. The most panoramic and insightful analyses of this reconfiguring of the landscape of Britishness can be found in the work of the late Raphael Samuel (1934–1996), *Theatres of Memory*, Vol. 1: *Past and Present in Contemporary Culture* (London, 1994); and *Theatres of Memory*, Vol. 2: *Island Stories: Unravelling Britain* (London, 1998). An early brilliant set of reflections may be found in Patrick Wright, *On Living in an Old Country: The National Past in Contemporary Britain* (London, 1984), followed by Wright, *A Journey through Ruins: The Last Days of London* (London, 1991). See also Tom Nairn, *The Enchanted Glass: Britain and Its Monarchy* (London, 1988); and the three volumes edited by Raphael Samuel, *Patriotism: The Making and Unmaking of British National Identity* (London, 1989).

<sup>6</sup> See also Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, ed., *The Empire Strikes Back: Race and Racism in 70s Britain* (London, 1982); and Paul Gilroy, “There Ain’t No Black in the Union Jack”: *The Cultural Politics of Race and Nation* (Chicago, 1987).

<sup>7</sup> Margaret Thatcher used the first Conservative Party political broadcast after the landslide victory of the 1983 elections to attack the Clement Attlee years directly, establishing rhetorical equivalence between the patriotisms of the Falklands-Malvinas War and the war against Adolf Hitler, and attacking the Labour government of 1945–1951 as a misuse of the peace, which the new victories of 1982–1983 could now undo. See Peter Hennessy, “Never Again,” in Brian Brivati and Harriet Jones, eds., *What Difference Did the War Make?* (London, 1993), 6.

<sup>8</sup> This analysis was pioneered in the essays of Stuart Hall, collected as *The Hard Road to Renewal: Thatcherism and the Crisis of the Left* (London, 1988). Aspects of the cultural backlash may be tracked

Taking this period between the 1960s and 1990s as a whole, therefore, something like a renegotiation of national culture has been taking place—a recasting of the most axiomatic assumptions of British public life, or its political common sense. This view of Thatcherism, as an aggressive reimagining of British identity, which re-centered political desires around far less generous constructions of the national interest and the national character, became a distinctive orthodoxy in cultural studies by the 1990s.<sup>9</sup> To allow Thatcherism's success, such accounts have argued, an existing story of the nation's progress and health needed to be dislodged from its dominance in the consensual languages of public life. Ambitious and concerted renarration of the national past was entailed, through which the terms of popular identification with Britishness—the meanings of citizenship, of loyalty to the British state, and of the British “way”—might be redrawn. This reading of the present has also inspired vital discussions of the earlier twentieth and later nineteenth-century pasts, among which some pioneering analyses of race, gender, and empire have been especially exciting.<sup>10</sup>

FILM IS A VERY GOOD WAY OF exploring these effects. During the last two decades, British cinema has been systematically mining the national past for settings and stories. But—by contrast with the nineteenth century, the Edwardian years, the 1950s, and lately the Great War—World War II itself seldom appears. The British combat film has entirely vanished. The economics of big budget production are one

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in Hall, “Reformism and the Legislation of Consent,” in National Deviancy Conference, ed., *Permissiveness and Control* (London, 1980), 1–44; Martin Durham, *Moral Crusades: Family and Morality in the Thatcher Years* (New York, 1991); Hall, Chas Critcher, Tony Jefferson, John Clarke, and Brian Roberts, *Policing the Crisis: Mugging, the State, and Law and Order* (London, 1978); Anne Marie Smith, *New Right Discourse on Race and Sexuality: Britain, 1968–1990* (Cambridge, 1994). For the reworking of popular memories of the period 1918–1945 through popular fiction and visual culture, see Roger Bromley, *Lost Narratives: Popular Fictions, Politics and Recent History* (London, 1988).

<sup>9</sup> For many professional historians, in contradistinction, refusing this “culturalist” analysis became *de rigueur*, attributing it to the “un-historical” preoccupations of cultural studies, as opposed to history in a formally credentialed sense. See the revealing “Comments” by (I) Peter Catterall and (II) Tony Mason, Jim Obelkevich and Nick Tiratsoo, and James Vernon’s “Reply,” *Social History* 23 (October 1998): 325–30, prompted by Vernon’s earlier conference report, “The Mirage of Modernity”: A Report on the “Moments of Modernity? Reconstructing Britain, 1945–64,” conference held at the University of Portsmouth, July 9–10, 1996, *Social History* 22 (May 1997): 208–15. In the meantime, proceedings of the latter were published as Becky Conekin, Frank Mort, and Chris Waters, eds., *Moments of Modernity? Reconstructing Britain, 1945–1964* (London, 1999). The emblematic text criticized by Vernon was James Obelkevich and Peter Catterall, eds., *Understanding Post-War British Society* (London, 1994). Recent works include Kevin Foster, *Fighting Fictions: War, Narrative and National Identity* (London, 1999); and Kevin Davey, *English Imaginaries: Six Studies in Anglo-British Modernity* (London, 1999).

<sup>10</sup> See especially Robert Colls and Philip Dodd, eds., *Englishness: Politics and Culture 1880–1920* (London, 1986); and Mary Langan and Bill Schwarz, eds., *Crises in the British State 1880–1930* (London, 1985). More recently, see the companion volumes, Mica Nava and Alan O’Shea, eds., *Modern Times: Reflections on a Century of English Modernity*; and Bill Schwarz, ed., *The Expansion of England: Race, Ethnicity and Cultural History* (London, 1996). For race and empire, see especially Catherine Hall, *White, Male and Middle Class: Explorations in Feminism and History* (Cambridge, 1992); Antoinette Burton, *Burdens of History: British Feminists, Indian Women, and Imperial Culture, 1865–1915* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1994); Simon Gikandi, *Maps of Englishness: Writing Identity in the Culture of Colonialism* (New York, 1996). For an interesting overview, see Leighton Andrews, “New Labour, New England?” in Mark Perryman, ed., *The Blair Agenda* (London, 1996), 125–46.

explanation for this, because large-action war films exceed the British industry's capability, whether for restaging the epic events of Dunkirk, the Battle of Britain, El Alamein, and D-Day, or for telling more generic stories of experience under fire. British versions of *Saving Private Ryan* (directed by Steven Spielberg, 1998) or *The Thin Red Line* (Terrence Malick, 1998) are out of the question. But human stories of soldiering on a non-epic scale, such as *A Midnight Clear* (Keith Gordon, 1992), which placed a U.S. Army unit in the Ardennes at Christmas 1944, are also missing. At most, British films have occasionally used World War II for purposes only tangentially related to the war itself—as in *Chicago Joe and the Showgirl* (Bernard Rose, 1989), about the short-lived crime spree of a G.I. deserter and his local girlfriend in 1944 London; or *Land Girls* (David Leland, 1997), with its depiction of young women conscripted into the agricultural labor force; or, most prominently (and paradigmatically), *The English Patient* (Anthony Minghella, 1996), whose complex plotting is both interwoven into the wartime circumstances and indifferent to their specific historical charge.<sup>11</sup>

In making a point about the war per se, John Boorman's fictionalized self-portrait *Hope and Glory* (1987) stands very much by itself. Deliberately eschewing allegories of national sacrifice and fortitude, Boorman debunks the older narratives of the war, a purpose already signaled by the heavy irony of his film's title. For eight-year-old Bill Rohan, the war brought less blood, sweat, and tears than adventures amid the ruins and shrapnel of the neighborhood bomb sites, deliciously free from adult controls. The public values of the conduct of the war, whether patriotic or anti-fascist, are thus made marginal to the film's point of view. They are directly mocked. Bill's teacher conflates the war with the empire: "what fraction of the earth's surface is British? . . . Yes, two-fifths. *Ours*. And that's what the war is all about. Men are fighting and dying to save all the pink bits for you ungrateful little twerps." But while the headmaster intones jingoist pleas to the deity ("Let our righteous shells smite down the Messerschmidts and the Fokkers. Lord, send troublesome dreams to Herr Hitler"), Bill's generation takes a diametrically opposing view when the school is hit by a bomb ("Thank you, Adolf!"). In this way, the film subverts narrative and symbolic expectations, substituting a story of exciting and disruptive everydayness for the Churchillian grand narrative, the military chronicles, and all the associated iconicity.

The war spells huge upheaval in personal life yet affords the young Rohan/Boorman exceptional pleasures and opportunities. Otherwise, it appears mainly via air raids, rationing, and the exotic presence of U.S. and Canadian troops. The film removes the war's everydayness entirely beyond the political frames discussed above. In that sense, *Hope and Glory* differs profoundly from contemporary products of two other national cinemas centering on the war stories of small boys,

<sup>11</sup> Among the 136 films commissioned by the Channel 4 drama department during 1982–1991, only three were set in Britain during World War II, and none addressed the war's public or political meanings: *Another Time, Another Place* (directed by Michael Radford, 1983); *Hope and Glory* (John Boorman, 1987); and *The Dressmaker* (Jim O'Brien, 1988). One more, *Distant Voices, Still Lives* (Terence Davies, 1988), included the war in its framing. Several co-productions thematized the war's importance in Europe: *A Flame to the Phoenix* (William Brayne, 1983) and *The Road Home* (Jerzy Kaszukowski, 1987)—Poland; *Letters to an Unknown Lover* (Peter Duffell, 1985)—France; and *Voyage to Cythera* (Theo Angelopoulos, 1984)—Greece.

where the national allegory remains explicit and strong, *Empire of the Sun* (Steven Spielberg, 1987) and *Au revoir les enfants* (Louis Malle, 1987), which connect their stories self-consciously to frameworks of national remembrance, one an epic tale of late imperial geopolitical violence staged across the ravaged landscape of neo-colonial China, the other a poignant microcosm of French treatment of the Jews under Nazi occupation.

In its gender text, *Hope and Glory* presents fatherless families and a feminized home front. Bill spends the war surrounded by women—his mother, sisters, and aunts. They keep the family together, but their desires and transgressions also move the dangers and dramas of the plot.<sup>12</sup> Bill's elder sister Dawn runs around with G.I.s, precipitating a major crisis with her pregnancy by a Canadian airman. Her husband away in the army, Bill's mother Grace quavers on the edge of infidelity, confessing her feelings to the husband's best friend, until the unfolding of this adulterous love plot becomes abruptly preempted when the family home is destroyed by fire, reminding us of the moral and emotional destruction otherwise waiting to happen. They move to Grace's father's house on the Thames, and beneath the grandfather's surrogate patriarchy the future of normal family life is re-secured.

In Boorman's telling, World War II is reworked as a coming-of-age story, in which the anarchic pleasures of families without fathers in a bombed-out and socially disordered urban environment (London during the Blitz) are resolved in the pastoral certainties of the country house by the Thames, where Bill learns masculinity from his mother's irascible and misogynist father. It is hard not to read this boyhood memoir of a wartime society of women against the Thatcherized political language of the 1980s, whose disparagement of the "nanny state" (the social reforms of the 1940s) and celebration of the "iron lady" interposed itself between "second wave" feminism and the complex social histories of women's mobilization during the war. In *these* terms, Boorman's film does have a metanarrative about World War II after all, though one coded through the formally depoliticized reconstructions of everyday life. This political text resides in the extremely classical imagery of rural Englishness and its verities—gardens, sunlight, cricket, boating, green pastures, and the security of the ancestral home.<sup>13</sup> Here, the war's effects are figured through disruptions of family and childhood, the broadening of women's experience, and the restabilizing of gender regimes, with far-reaching consequences for postwar social and cultural history. If the film begins with the collapse of appeasement on September 3, 1939, it ends with the securing of the family's integrity, bringing what Mary Desjardins calls the "destiny of Britain and destiny of the oedipally resolved male individual" into reassuring alignment:

<sup>12</sup> In interviews, Boorman described the film as honoring his mother's and aunts' wartime contributions. See Mary Desjardins, "Free from the Apron Strings: Representations of Mothers in the Maternal British State," in Lester Friedman, ed., *Fires Were Started: British Cinema and Thatcherism* (Minneapolis, 1993), 135.

<sup>13</sup> The iconography of an old or "merrie" England is hinted at in the symbolics of the family's transition from the city. From his former possessions in the burned-out London home, Bill salvages only the figurines of Merlin and King Arthur, fused by heat in his box of toy soldiers. One of Boorman's earlier films was the retelling of the Arthur legend, *Excalibur* (1981).



Past and present, individual and collective popular memory of the war come together as Boorman finds the man in the boy. Mother will be under the eye of her father, and the older sister, now pregnant, will marry her soldier boyfriend on the country estate. Women, who during the war were producers, wives, mothers, lovers, nurses, and soldiers, now will be confined to the institution of motherhood, contained within marriage or the care of secure patriarchs.<sup>14</sup>

Boorman's film is consistent with the grain of contemporary historiography, which has been moving variously away from the celebratory treatment of the wartime coalition and the reforms of 1945–1951. Long ago, Angus Calder's book *The People's War* asserted complexities of social history and popular experience beyond the official rhetorics of patriotic solidarity and shared sacrifice, subjecting the solidity of national consensus in Westminster and Whitehall to a submerged history of social and political dissent.<sup>15</sup> In the meantime, several distinct critiques have questioned the older picture of a postwar consensus predicated on the accomplishments of "1945." On the one hand, social historians have furnished evidence of popular radicalization potentially pushing beyond the Labour government's program of 1945.<sup>16</sup> On the other hand, political historians sympathetic to Thatcherism have questioned the legitimacy of both the Clement Attlee government and the Churchill coalition on realist grounds, arguing that Britain's great-power interests were sacrificed shortsightedly to costly and ineffectual projects of ameliorative reform.<sup>17</sup> Yet a third current queries popular identification with reform per se, asserting that "the majority of the public were ill-informed, lacked 'social solidarity,' and supported neither state intervention nor altruistic welfare policies."<sup>18</sup> As Geoffrey Field observes:

In an effort to break through the impeding layers of nostalgia and demythologize the war years, historians have paid growing attention to aspects of life omitted from the "orthodox" heroic version, such as looting, black market activities, absenteeism, strikes, cynicism, and low morale. Some imply that the average person often has few opinions worth the

<sup>14</sup> Desjardins, "Free from the Apron Strings," 125 and following. My argument in this paragraph follows that of Desjardins.

<sup>15</sup> See Angus Calder, *The People's War* (London, 1969); and for a new and salutary restatement of the case, Bob Holman, "Pulling Together: Propaganda and Myths Have Obscured What It Was Really Like to Live through the Blitz; Bob Holman Remembers His Boyhood," *The Guardian*, August 22, 2000. The classic statements of the earlier orthodoxy regarding the postwar consensus and its origins in the wartime coalition were Paul Addison, *The Road to 1945* (London, 1975); and Kenneth O. Morgan, *The People's Peace: British History 1945–1989* (Oxford, 1990). For an important more recent study, see Stephen Brooke, *Labour's War* (London, 1992).

<sup>16</sup> See especially James Hinton, "Self-Help and Socialism: The Squatters' Movement of 1946," *History Workshop Journal* 25 (Spring 1988): 100–26; and Hinton, "Coventry Communism: A Study of Factory Politics in the Second World War," *History Workshop Journal* 10 (Autumn 1980): 90–118.

<sup>17</sup> See especially Correlli Barnett, *The Audit of War* (London, 1986); and Barnett, *The Lost Victory: British Dreams, British Realities, 1945–1950* (London, 1995); John Charmley, *Chamberlain and the Lost Peace* (London, 1989); and Charmley, *Churchill: The End of Glory; A Political Biography* (London, 1993). For a judicious set of discussions, see Brivati and Jones, *What Difference Did the War Make?*

<sup>18</sup> Rodney Lowe, "The Second World War, Consensus and the Foundation of the Welfare State," *Twentieth-Century British History* 1 (1990): 175. For a summary statement of this view, see Steven Fielding, Peter Thompson, and Nick Tiratsoo, "England Arise!" *The Labour Party and Popular Politics in 1940s Britain* (Manchester, 1995). For excellent rejoinders, see the forum "Labour and the Popular" in *History Workshop Journal* 43 (Spring 1997): Sarah Benton, "The 1945 'Republic,'" 249–57; John Marriott, "Labour and the Popular," 258–66; James Hinton, "1945 and the Apathy School," 266–73.

name—and caution that the idea of a popular wartime consensus for reform was largely a myth manufactured by intellectuals.<sup>19</sup>

Boorman's film seems grist for this mill. But while deromanticizing the grand story of "the people's war" ("according to folk memory . . . our last great collective achievement as a nation"),<sup>20</sup> it also deploys a different kind of romance, namely, the private story of a young boy's entry into experience, the opening of his expanded horizons, via the interruption of ordinary life's rhythms and repetitions. The film tells *this* story by deliberately distancing the public script of the just and anti-fascist war, because for most ordinary experience (it implies), this was beside the point. *Chicago Joe and the Showgirl* likewise brackets the war's public meanings. Its twin protagonists are both on the run, a young U.S. deserter with a family in Boston and an eighteen-year-old London stripper in flight from an abusive childhood and violent husband. They spin extravagant fantasies for each other, he as a Chicago gangster (and, to his respectable girlfriend, a military intelligence operative), she as a Hollywood star and gangster's moll. These vicarious identities become mutually incited into robbery and murder. As the police interrogations reveal a week later, this thirst for excitement grows from sad, abused, and impoverished young lives.<sup>21</sup> A third film, *Another Time, Another Place* (Michael Radford, 1983) stages its story of loneliness, longing, and desire in a remote and barren landscape of rural Scotland, where the war impinges on life mainly via the assignment of three Italian prisoners of war to a local farm. The Italians' difference (sensuality and southern warmth) moves the farmer's much younger wife to fantasies of escape. The resulting scenario of sexual passions, frustration, and misunderstanding provides a powerful allegory of imprisonment and liberation, for which wartime circumstances offer the formal setting.

These films find a place beyond the obvious and received political framework of the war's meanings to tell stories of escape. They deploy a standard trope of nostalgia ("the past is another country").<sup>22</sup> They each use a classic strategy of cinema for representing freedom, possibility, and constraint, whether through the imagery of childhood (*Hope and Glory*), fantasy identifications with the movies (*Chicago Joe*), or the metaphor of sexual liberation (*Another Time, Another Place*).

<sup>19</sup> Geoffrey Field, "Social Patriotism and the British Working Class: Appearance and Disappearance of a Tradition," *International Labor and Working-Class History* 42 (Fall 1992): 27. See also Pete Grafton, *You, You and You: The People Out of Step with World War II* (London, 1981); and Angus Calder's later book, *The Myth of the Blitz* (London, 1991).

<sup>20</sup> Hennessy, "Never Again," 6. Hennessy's *Never Again: Britain, 1945–1951* (London, 1992) is the most powerful restatement of the older consensus regarding the achievements of the postwar Labour government.

<sup>21</sup> These elements (period drama, Hollywood fantasy, social problem film) are stitched together very schematically, with weak plotting and a thin script, and the film is not a success. My point concerns the story's relationship to the war's surrounding context, from which it is entirely disarticulated.

<sup>22</sup> The promiscuous use of this trope during the last two decades certainly captures a powerful contemporary impulse toward nostalgia in suitably ironic tones, but it tends to assimilate all periods of the recent past to a single problematic and flattens the specificities of particular periods and their place in collective and personal memory. See David Lowenthal, *The Past Is a Foreign Country* (Cambridge, 1985); Wright, *On Living in an Old Country*; Bromley, *Lost Narratives*, 7. See also Marek Kanievski's film, *Another Country* (1984), about the shaping of British ruling-class attitudes in the public-school culture of the 1930s. The trope originates in the first sentence of L. P. Hartley's novel *The Go-Between* (1953), made into a film of the same name by Joseph Losey (1971): "The Past is a foreign country: they do things differently there." See the Scarborough House edition (Chelsea, Mich., 1980), 3.

In a sense, they follow the logic of much contemporary historiography by looking past the war's big events to explore broader histories of popular experience and the human stories where these were embedded. But in so doing, they also sever the "people's war" from the "people's peace"—that is, from the succeeding narrative of reform and reconstruction that previously organized collective memory and characterized the postwar consensus. *Chicago Joe* ends badly (with hanging and imprisonment), thereby confronting the postwar idealizing of the welfare state with the recalcitrant circumstances—of social problems, garish pleasures, tawdry dreams, sad lives, and of course family secrets (incest, rape, domestic violence)—it failed to affect. This became a more general theme of British cinema in the 1980s, which gazed bleakly and sardonically on the socio-cultural continuities behind the postwar consensus and its reforms, making the 1950s into the sordid and repressed underside of the prosperous normalization celebrated by "You've Never Had It So Good."<sup>23</sup> The films *Dance with a Stranger* (Mike Newell, 1984), *Wish You Were Here* (David Leland, 1987), *Distant Voices, Still Lives* (Terence Davies, 1988), *Scandal* (Michael Caton-Jones, 1988), *The Krays* (Peter Medak, 1990), *Let Him Have It* (Peter Medak, 1991), *An Awfully Big Adventure* (Mike Newell, 1994), and *Intimate Relations* (Philip Goodhew, 1995) all in their different ways take this view.

This cinema's key impulse—toward histories of ordinary lives beneath the big events, via childhood memoirs, crime reports, melodrama, sex stories, or family romance—offers valuable starting points for studying World War II, allowing its public meanings to be rethought. Serious historical work of this kind on wartime popular experience barely exists, although oral historians in Italy and Germany have provided some leads.<sup>24</sup> But by employing an interpretative approach to ordinary people's lives (through interviews and surviving written documentation) and addressing social history's subjective and experiential dimensions, the elusive connections between culture and politics might be concretely exposed. In that sense, cinema constructs its own history—not necessarily by the "truth" of its representations or the accuracy of its literal reconstructions but by visualizing intimacy, interiority, and everydayness, which are otherwise notoriously resistant to the historian's eye. By these means, usable questions come to the fore.

The films mentioned above supply useful incitements to microhistory and the history of everyday life in these terms, opening social relations and practices to

<sup>23</sup> "You've Never Had It So Good" was the slogan identified with the prime ministership of Harold Macmillan (1957–63) and the third successive Conservative election victory of 1959, although, as Peter Clarke points out, the main electioneering slogan in 1959 itself was "Life's better with the Conservatives. Don't let Labour ruin it." See Peter Clarke, *Hope and Glory: Britain 1900–1990* (London, 1996), 270.

<sup>24</sup> See especially Luisa Passerini, *Fascism in Popular Memory: The Cultural Experience of the Turin Working Class* (Cambridge, 1984); Alessandro Portelli, *The Death of Luigi Trastulli and Other Stories: Form and Meaning in Oral History* (Albany, N.Y., 1991); and Portelli, *The Battle of Valle Giulia: Oral History and the Art of Dialogue* (Madison, Wis., 1997); Lutz Niethammer, ed., *Lebensgeschichte und Sozialkultur im Ruhrgebiet 1930 bis 1960*, Vol. 1: "Die Jahre weiß man nicht, so man die heute hinsetzen soll": *Faschismuserfahrungen im Ruhrgebiet* (Bonn, 1983); Niethammer, ed., *Lebensgeschichte und Sozialkultur im Ruhrgebiet 1930 bis 1960*, Vol. 2: "Hinterher merkt man, daß es richtig war, daß es schiefgegangen ist": *Nachkriegserfahrungen im Ruhrgebiet* (Bonn, 1983); Niethammer and Alexander von Plato, eds., *Lebensgeschichte und Sozialkultur im Ruhrgebiet 1930 bis 1960*, Vol. 3: "Wir kriegen jetzt andere Zeiten": *Auf der Suche nach der Erfahrung des Volkes in nachfaschistischen Ländern* (Bonn, 1985); Niethammer, von Plato, and Dorothee Wierling, eds., *Die volkseigene Erfahrung: Eine Archäologie des Lebens in der Industrieprovinz der DDR* (Berlin, 1991).

anthropological analysis and other forms of close reading taken from cultural studies. Such approaches profoundly complicate the category of politics, allowing new interconnections between the national and the local to be viewed, where the "local" describes all those quotidian places (family, household, work, schooling, entertainment, sexuality) removed from the recognized public frames for assigning political meaning. Revisiting the war in this way by analyzing particular lives—counterparts to the young Rohan/Boorman in *Hope and Glory*, or the showgirl in *Chicago Joe*, or Janie the farmer's wife in *Another Time, Another Place*—can both deepen our grasp of the changes of the 1940s and clarify their reach. Such films mark out territories barely mapped by the burgeoning social histories of the past three decades—childhoods, the dream worlds of teenagers, the geographically remote periphery, provincial landscapes beyond the home counties, and parochial lives of all kinds, especially those of women. These are what Carolyn Steedman calls "lives lived out on the borderlands, lives for which the central interpretative devices of the culture don't quite work."<sup>25</sup> Such lives contained, as Annette Kuhn remarks, "ways of knowing and ways of seeing the world . . . rarely acknowledged, let alone celebrated, in the expressions of a hegemonic culture."<sup>26</sup>

Two further examples help rejoin these reflections to World War II's place in British collective memory. The first is Fred Schepisi's film *Plenty* (1985), adapted by David Hare from his play of the same name (1978), one of several attempts by playwrights on the eve of Thatcherism to problematize the legacy of 1945 from the left. Others include *Brassneck* (1973), Hare's collaboration with Howard Brenton for the stage; and three television plays broadcast by BBC1—Hare's own "Licking Hitler" (1978), the televisual companion piece to *Plenty*; Ian McEwan's "Imitation Game" (Richard Eyre, 1980); and Trevor Griffith's "Country—A Tory Story" (Richard Eyre, 1980). Calder's *People's War* directly inspired these productions. For Hare, reading it "changed all my thinking as a writer. An account of the Second World War through the eyes of ordinary people, it attempts a complete alternative history to the phoney and corrupting history I was taught at school."<sup>27</sup> It "pointed out that it was the Second World War itself which educated people towards the great Labour victory of 1945."<sup>28</sup> Set in a provincial industrial town, *Brassneck* opens against a projection of Churchill on V-E Day, and plots the renovating of British capitalism amid the panic of the Labour Party's landslide election victory in July 1945. In one of the play's key speeches, a local Labour politician recounts the squandering of radical chances: "We 'ad a chance in 1945. Finest government this

<sup>25</sup> Carolyn Kay Steedman, *Landscape for a Good Woman: A Story of Two Lives* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1987), 5.

<sup>26</sup> Annette Kuhn, *Family Secrets: Acts of Memory and Imagination* (London, 1995), 8. A key referent for the idea of the "borderlands" is the work of Raymond Williams, especially *The Country and the City* (London, 1973); *Marxism and Literature* (Oxford, 1977); and his first novel, *Border Country* (London, 1960). Among the huge critical literature, see especially Dennis L. Dworkin and Leslie G. Raman, eds., *Views beyond the Border Country: Raymond Williams and Cultural Politics* (New York, 1993); Dai Smith, "Relating to Wales," in Terry Eagleton, ed., *Raymond Williams: Critical Perspectives* (Cambridge, 1989), 34–53. For everyday life, see Alf Lüdtke, ed., *The History of Everyday Life: Reconstructing Historical Experiences and Ways of Life* (Princeton, N.J., 1995); and Geoff Eley, "Labor History, Social History, Alltagsgeschichte: Experience, Culture, and the Politics of the Everyday—A New Direction for German Social History?" *Journal of Modern History* 61 (1989): 297–343.

<sup>27</sup> Carol Hornden, *The Plays of David Hare* (Cambridge, 1995), 25.

<sup>28</sup> David Hare, "Introduction," in Hare, *Plays One* (London, 1996), xiii.



country ever 'ad. But not good enough. Not quite good enough by half. By the end, in rags . . . 'Ow can we ever forgive ourselves? I can't forgive myself. Labour Party, the party we all love."<sup>29</sup>

*Plenty* is an allegory of postwar normalizing and national decline, revisiting 1945's mythic promise from a vantage point of disillusionment (1978–1983), when the Left's hold on this collective memory was exhausted and Thatcherism was being born. Its main character, Susan Traherne, descends painfully from the wartime intensities of undercover work in the French Resistance, which spelled purpose, excitement, and optimism for the postwar period, into emotional illness and aimless marginality. Susan's personal story—drifting through jobs and relationships, failing to conceive a child, settling for an establishment marriage, sinking into medicalized quiescence—is woven into a narrative of Britain's decline, marked by the public events of Queen Elizabeth II's coronation (1953) and the Suez Canal Crisis (1956). Her emotional breakdowns, signified as willful "loss of control," become metaphors of failed breaking out, where the banality and returning conservatism of postwar society briefly crack, only to be relentlessly restored. The material "plenty" of reconstruction betrays a moral lack, as Susan moves from a logic of agency and emancipation (sexual experiment, economic and professional independence, bohemianism, optimistic self-assertion) to one of abjection. Her protests transmute into emotional flailing, producing self-destruction and self-disgust. Losing independent selfhood, undermining her diplomat husband's prospects, and then ending her marriage, Susan returns vainly to the scene of wartime excitement, first to a Special Operations Executive reunion, then seeking to relive the sexual encounter with her fellow agent Lazar, where the film began.<sup>30</sup>

The film seldom uses the language of politics directly. An exception is a dinner party during the Suez Crisis, preceded by Susan's memory of Lazar's parachute drop into occupied France, which merges into newsreel footage of British paratroopers over Egypt, followed by footage of the Trafalgar Square rally against the invasion ("the whole country is torn apart . . . a pitch of public dissent unknown for many generations"). Here, the death rattle of empire becomes a requiem for 1945's failed hopes, when the bravery of anti-Nazi Resistance bespoke generalized ideals of "freedom."<sup>31</sup> Susan, already bristling against a marriage entered as the lifeline from a nervous breakdown, rails against the hypocrisy of British policy: "Everything

<sup>29</sup> Howard Brenton and David Hare, *Brassneck* (London, 1974), 85.

<sup>30</sup> The film begins with a parachute drop into occupied France, where Susan receives the visiting agent Lazar. After a narrow escape, they make love, with a spontaneous and physical intensity marked by fear and the proximity of death. Throughout the film, this brief encounter holds a place for excitement, risk-taking, decisiveness, comradeship, emotional honesty, authenticity of feeling, loyalty to a cause, and agency—all the qualities that during the peace become lost.

<sup>31</sup> The dinner-party sequence begins after Susan's first breakdown two years before. Her old lover, the boring but dependable Raymond Brock, a career diplomat, has been called to the hospital. He appears in the doorway; she turns to face him; we see the image of Lazar parachuting into France at the start of the film; the film flashes forward to newsreel of parachutes descending over Egypt; Susan and Raymond are now married. Amid the debacle of the dinner party, Susan reflects: "October nights. Those poor parachutists. I do know how they feel. Even now. Cities, fields, trees, farms, dark spaces, lights. Parachute opens. We descend. Of course, we were comparatively welcome. I mean, we did make it our business to land in countries where we were wanted. Certainly the men were. Some of the relationships, I can't tell you. I remember a colleague telling me of the heat, of the smell of a particular young girl. 'The hot wet smell,' he said. And nothing since. Nothing since then. I can't see the Egyptian girls, somehow. No, not in Egypt. Not now. I mean, there were broken hearts when we left. I mean,

is up for grabs. At last. We will see some changes. Thank the Lord." Her tirade bursts through the decorums of the occasion but shatters mainly the self-containment of the marriage, as husband Raymond finally explodes. The evening crashes amid the embarrassment. Although Raymond's mentor Leonard Darwin resigns in protest against the government's deceptions, he does so from an arrogant and racist traditionalism. Politically, nothing results. Symbolically, Raymond is subsequently posted to Jordan, where Susan lives opulently, medicated and apathetic.

The politics in *Plenty* is displaced into talk of honesty and truthfulness, registers of impatience and the desire for change, images of freedom, belief in directness, and the urgency of "making a judgement."<sup>32</sup> In Susan's story, this involves the recurring desire "to move on." But by the film's denouement—a violent confrontation between Susan and the diplomat husband whose career she has finally ruined—there is nowhere left to go. Susan walks away from the marital home into futurelessness. The longed-for reunion with Lazar, her wartime lover, whose cufflinks she has carried during the film's two decades, occurs in the stereotypical English setting of a seedy and desolate seaside hotel. Lazar declares his own emptiness: "I gave in. Always. All along the line. Suburb. Wife. Hell. I work for a corporate bureaucracy as well. I hate the life that we lead." This encounter seals the film's litany of disappointments—failed sex, unattainable familialism, exhausted narratives, compromised and thwarted desires, disabling nostalgia, an irretrievable past. As Susan drifts into marijuana-induced oblivion, Lazar leaves the hotel, and the screen dissolves into a sunlit French hillside in 1944. A youthful Susan exults in the day of Liberation: "But things will quickly change. We've grown up. We will improve our world. There will be days and days and days like this."

What can we make of this story of failed hopes, where politics is replaced by a not very likable personal narrative—of restlessness, failed intimacy, emotional containment, mental instability, privatized withdrawal, social privilege, and aimlessness?<sup>33</sup> In realist terms, this is a story of one woman's not very coherent protest against postwar normalizing. Removed from other contexts (Susan's earlier and wider biography, family attachments, organized public life beyond the civil service, other

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there are girls today who mourn Englishmen who died in Dachau. Who died naked in Dachau. Men with whom they'd spent a single night."

<sup>32</sup> Early in their relationship, in the late 1940s, when Raymond is commuting from Brussels to see Susan at weekends, she challenges him impatiently: "Don't creep around the furniture—look at me and make a judgement."

<sup>33</sup> After returning from the war, Susan works in a shipping office and moves socially in her new friend Alice's bohemian milieu ("living very foolishly, a loose set in Pimlico," as Raymond later calls it), preserving her independence against the relationship with Raymond (with its requirements of moving to Brussels, settling down, marriage). She later moves from a civil service job (planning the coronation festivities) into advertising, from resurgent traditionalism to commercialized triviality. The sterilities of public and professional life are matched by the protracted and demeaning failure to conceive a child, in a practical contract with Mick, a peripheral and working-class member of Alice's bohemian set. In an act of desperation, precipitated by Mick's unwanted attentions (pressing for a genuine relationship), Susan fires her Special Operations pistol. While convalescing from a subsequent breakdown, she marries Raymond, who loyally reappeared. The film moves from Susan's agency and independence (the experience in occupied France, the early postwar optimism), through the frustrations and developing emptiness of peacetime normalization, to the "safety" offered by Raymond. The story is carried by two further breakdowns, one at the dinner party during the Suez Crisis, the other when Susan leaves the marriage. The film moves between 1943 and 1962.

contexts of politics), it appears as narcissism and mental illness, as each of the men in Susan's peacetime life in fact concludes.<sup>34</sup> And for David Hare, "people do go clinically mad if what they believe bears no relation to how they actually live," so that Susan's acting-out ("I have a weakness—I like to lose control," she confesses to Lazar at the film's end) becomes "the cost of living an honest life in a corrupt system."<sup>35</sup> In this dimension, the film is an attack on postwar restoration, the ability of the English establishment to regroup, its power to thwart dissent and stifle change. The arrival of the new "plenty"—economic reconstruction, capitalist prosperity, consumer largesse—is counterposed to the survival of the old politics, divested of honor (via the "fraud" of Suez), and defended with cynical self-assurance. As such, *Plenty* belongs in a long line of cultural criticism, now identified with the British New Left but beginning with the scattershot posture of John Osborne's play *Look Back in Anger* and Colin Wilson's book *The Outsider* (both first appearing in May 1956).<sup>36</sup>

In *these* terms, the film suggests an agenda for the history of the postwar imaginary. This essay has focused on the exhaustion of an earlier national-popular mythology of World War II, whose leftist versions passed into crisis in the 1960s, before being aggressively dismantled by Thatcherism.<sup>37</sup> Hare was writing for theater, television, and cinema explicitly from inside this moment: "We are living through a great, groaning, yawling festival of change—but because this is England it is not always seen on the streets. In my view it is seen in the extraordinary intensity of people's personal despair, and it is to the despair that as a historical writer I choose to address myself time and again."<sup>38</sup> In this register of disillusioned retrospection, British playwrights, filmmakers, artists, and cultural critics generated a rich discourse around the postwar era, often mirroring earlier debates of the 1950s. Television drama focused much of this critical culture, ranging across the twentieth century more broadly for its repertoire in the work of Trevor Griffiths, Ken Loach, Dennis Potter, and others.<sup>39</sup> One use of *Plenty* and similar retrospec-

<sup>34</sup> Within the protocols of middle-class decorum, Susan's behavior is only named in the succeeding crises, by Mick in the confrontation before the shooting, by Leonard Darwin during the Suez dinner party ("Mental illness is it? Your wife?"), by Sir Andrew Charleson (Raymond's Foreign Office superior), and by Raymond himself, threatening Susan with committal immediately before she leaves the marriage. For her friend Alice, on the other hand, Susan's behavior is "psychiatric cabaret."

<sup>35</sup> Hornden, *Plays of David Hare*, 71, 113. The first quotation is Hare's, the second Hornden's gloss.

<sup>36</sup> See the excellent discussion in Robert Hewison, *In Anger: British Culture in the Cold War, 1945–60* (Oxford, 1981), 127 and following.

<sup>37</sup> For the concept of the "national-popular," originating in the thought of Antonio Gramsci, see David Forgacs, "National-Popular: Genealogy of a Concept," in *Formations of Nation and People* (London, 1984), 83–98.

<sup>38</sup> David Hare, "A Lecture," King's College, Cambridge, March 3, 1978, in Hare, *Licking Hitler* (London, 1978), 67.

<sup>39</sup> Trevor Griffiths was best known originally for his plays, *The Party* (1973), *Comedians* (1975), and the eleven-part Thames TV drama about a left-wing Labour MP, "Bill Brand" (Michael Lindsay-Hogg and others—Roland Joffé and Stuart Burge, 1976). He was also screenwriter for *Reds* (Warren Beatty, 1981). From the mid-1970s, he began writing mainly for television, including "Country: A Tory Story" (Richard Eyre, 1980), "Oi for England" (Tony Smith, 1982), "The Last Place on Earth" (Ferdinand Fairfax, 1985), and "Fatherland" (Ken Loach, 1986). See Trevor Griffiths, *Collected Plays for Television* (London, 1988), and *Judgement over the Dead: The Screenplay of "The Last Place on Earth"* (London, 1986). Ken Loach worked originally in television, directing "Up the Junction" (BBC1, 1965) and "Cathy Come Home" (BBC1, 1966), before making his first cinema releases, *Poor Cow* (1967), *Kes* (1969), and *Family Life* (1971). He continued directing for television, including the four-play cycle on the 1926 General Strike, "Days of Hope" (BBC1, 1975). His films include *Looks and Smiles* (1981), *Hidden*

tives, therefore, might be to take them as an incitement to begin crafting new social and cultural histories of the complex realizations, failures, and transmutations of 1945's original hopes.

*Plenty* is positioned midway between the angry radicalisms of the 1960s, which demanded a resumption of the commitment to change compromised after the war, and the new defeats of the 1980s, when Thatcherism harnessed popular discontents for a project of right-wing modernization. But what becomes harder to recuperate from the later vantage point of the new post-Thatcherist present (and the commemorative nostalgia of 1995, where this essay began) is the extraordinary optimism of 1945 in the idealist release of the Liberation ("There will be days and days and days like this"). Yet here is Dennis Potter, otherwise the most acerbic of critics of the complacencies of postwar British political culture in the 1950s and 1960s:

we were, at that time, both a brave and a steadfast people, and we shared an aim, a condition, a political aspiration if you like, which was shown immediately in the 1945 General Election, and then one of the great governments of British history—those five, six years of creating what is now being so brutally and wantonly and callously dismantled was actually a period to be proud of, and I'm proud of it.<sup>40</sup>

Reentering the modalities of this optimism, and exploring its trajectories between the 1940s and 1960s, requires more than simply totting up the findings of opinion surveys and the patterns of election returns, however essential for judging the character of popular expectations.<sup>41</sup> For, in many respects, such hopes attained utopian proportions, reimagining the nation via an insistent sentimentality of "fair shares" and "everyone pulling together." During the war years themselves and the immediate postwar period (say, 1942 to 1947), research might examine a series of discursive motifs—powerful dimensions of wartime languages of the future, generalized expectations of a new beginning, personal longings for a "normal" life, the Beveridge-driven imagery of unprecedented social security ("from cradle to grave"), and idealized egalitarian projections of national unity. In the 1950s, this collectivist momentum was elided into more conservative forms of patriotism, which increasingly assimilated the war to militarism, empire, monarchy, and British

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*Agenda* (1990), *Riff Raff* (1993), *Raining Stones* (1993), *Ladybird, Ladybird* (1994), *Land and Freedom* (1995), *Carla's Song* (1996), and *My Name Is Joe* (1998). In "Fatherland," Loach directed a Griffiths screenplay. Dennis Potter wrote forty plays for television between 1965 and 1994, establishing his reputation with "Stand Up, Nigel Barton" and "Vote, Vote, Vote for Nigel Barton" (both Gareth Davies, BBC1, 1965). Without directly addressing World War II, many of his works concern questions of history and memory between the 1930s and 1960s, especially the six-part series "Pennies from Heaven" (Piers Haggard, BBC1, 1978); "Blue Remembered Hills" (Brian Gibson, BBC1, 1979); "Blade on the Feather" (Richard Loncraine, LWT, 1980); the six-part "Singing Detective" (Jon Amiel, BBC1, 1986); "Christabel" (Adrian Shergold, BBC2, 1988); and the six-part "Lipstick on Your Collar" (Renny Rye, Channel 4, 1993). In general, see George W. Brandt, ed., *British Television Drama in the 1980s* (Cambridge, 1993); and John Tulloch, *Television Drama: Agency, Audience and Myth* (London, 1990), esp. 91–165.

<sup>40</sup> Dennis Potter, *Seeing the Blossom: Two Interviews and a Lecture* (London, 1994), 9. In his drama, Potter never explores this optimism of 1945 per se. If his initial critical success excoriated the hollowness of postwar progress (the Nigel Barton plays), his three major works of the Thatcher era treated the Depression ("Pennies from Heaven"), the generalized postwar period ("Singing Detective"), and the Suez Crisis ("Lipstick on Your Collar") respectively.

<sup>41</sup> See especially Fielding, Thompson, and Tiratsoo, "England Arise!"



traditions, flattening into the complacencies attacked so vociferously in the 1960s. In its transition from stage to screen (1978–1985), Hare's *Plenty* subtly registers that cultural shift, substituting the event of the 1953 coronation for the 1951 Festival of Britain as the scene of Susan Traherne's incipient breakdown, from which Raymond rescues her for the establishment.<sup>42</sup> In the process, the film removed an earlier space of contradiction originally present in the play, between the Festival of Britain's imagining of a modern and democratic Britain different from the Britain of tradition and the smugly returning traditionalism, which the coronation then reaffirmed.<sup>43</sup>

We need ways of exploring these gaps between hegemonic stabilities and the desires they contain—between the resilient and limiting frame of the postwar consensus actually fashioned during the 1950s and the more open possibilities preceding it in the “people's war” and its promise of reconstruction.<sup>44</sup> My final example concerns a remarkable documentary made by Humphrey Jennings for the Crown Film Unit of the Ministry of Information, *A Diary for Timothy* (1945). The diary of this film's title is a collage of Britain's future presented to a baby born on the fifth anniversary of the war's beginning (September 3, 1944), which blends a record of his first six months with the hopes and experiences of four (male) citizens, namely, a fighter pilot, a coal miner, a farmer, and an engine driver.<sup>45</sup> The Britain assembled by Jennings for this purpose is an artful unity of countryside and town, farming and industry, the sounds of production and the sounds of song, images of

<sup>42</sup> In the original play, Susan is working for the Festival of Britain in 1951 when she “contracts” with Mick to conceive a child. The failure of the experiment over a period of eighteen months combines with the emptiness of Susan's new work in advertising to precipitate a breakdown, through which she eventually marries Raymond. In the film, the coronation is substituted, and the scene moves from 1951–1952 to 1953–1954.

<sup>43</sup> The coronation supplied the material for a classic sociological debate on the coordinates of the postwar consensus in Britain, namely, Edward Shils and Michael Young, “The Meaning of the Coronation,” *Sociological Review*, new ser., 1 (1953): 63–81; and Norman Birnbaum, “Monarchies and Sociologists: A Reply to Professor Shils and Mr. Young,” *Sociological Review*, new ser., 3 (1955): 5–23. See also Nairn, *Enchanted Glass*, 115–23; and Annette Kuhn's discussion in “A Meeting of Two Queens,” in *Family Secrets*, 59–83. By contrast, the Festival of Britain, effectively a celebration of the social democratic modernity envisaged by the postwar Labour government, vanished from popular memory during the 1950s, an erasure assisted by Conservative dismantlement of the exhibition sites after 1951. See Becky Conekin, “‘Here is the Modern World Itself’: The Festival of Britain's Representations of the Future,” in Conekin, Mort, and Waters, *Moments of Modernity*, 228–46.

<sup>44</sup> In the meantime, see Sonya O. Rose, “Sex, Citizenship, and the Nation in World War II Britain,” *AHR* 103 (October 1998): 1147–76; Steedman, *Landscape for a Good Woman*; Kuhn, *Family Secrets*; Conekin, Mort, and Waters, *Moments of Modernity*; Jim Fyrth, ed., *Labour's High Noon: The Government and the Economy 1945–51* (London, 1993); Fyrth, ed., *Labour's Promised Land? Culture and Society in Labour Britain 1945–51* (London, 1995); Kirkham and Thoms, *War Culture*; Ronald Fraser, *In Search of a Past: The Manor House, Amnersfield, 1933–1945* (London, 1984).

<sup>45</sup> Humphrey Jennings (1907–50) came from a family involved in the Arts and Crafts Movement and was educated as a classicist and historian, before publishing poetry and joining the surrealists. He helped organize the International Surrealist Exhibition (1936) and co-founded Mass Observation with anthropologist Tom Harrisson, poet Charles Madge, and others (1937). His most important pre-war film was *Spare Time* (1939), which showed workers as producers of culture away from the job, using the steel, coal, and cotton industries. His best-known films during the war were *Listen to Britain* (1942), *Fires Were Started* (1943), and *The Silent Village* (1944). The first was a documentary evocation of the nation at war, the second a fictionalized presentation of the Auxiliary Fire Service during the Blitz, the third a reconstruction of the massacre at the village of Lidice, in the Czech Republic. See Mary-Lou Jennings, ed., *Humphrey Jennings: Film-Maker, Painter, Poet* (London, 1982); Kevin Jackson, ed., *The Humphrey Jennings Film Reader* (Manchester, 1993); Anthony Hodgkinson and Rodney E. Sheratsky, *Humphrey Jennings: More Than a Maker of Films* (Hanover, N.H., 1982).

progressive modernity (industry, science and technology, inventiveness and ingenuity) and affirmations of tradition (Christian rituals and the family hearth), conveying both the solemnities of the present (fighting a long, hard, and victorious war) and the hopes of the future. The structure and commentary of the film are predictably gendered and subtly infused with class distinctions. But they also bespeak the aspiring egalitarianism of so much of the wartime mobilization. As Michael Eaton observes: "The ruins of the present reveal the possibility of a new, more equitable, and democratic society in the postwar world."<sup>46</sup>

A huge amount more could be said. For example, Jennings's career opens a window onto the populism of the British progressive intelligentsia during the war (E. M. Forster penned the film's commentary), which as a broad-gauged socio-cultural history still remains to be written.<sup>47</sup> Intertextually, a reading of *Plenty* could link back through *Diary for Timothy* to the earlier *Peace and Plenty* (Ivor Montagu, 1939), which was commissioned by the Communist Party of Great Britain during its Popular Front campaign against the government of Neville Chamberlain, with the upcoming elections of 1940 in mind. "For Peace and Plenty" was the slogan of the CPGB's Fifteenth Congress (September 16–19, 1938), held while the Munich Crisis was at its height.<sup>48</sup>

Jennings's film studiously avoids political and other biographical specificities. For example, the miner Geronwy Jones (who died in 1973 of "miners' lungs") was a lifelong Communist, formed in the militancy of the South Wales coalfield, where *Peace and Plenty* would have been shown; his miner son-in-law Ray was decorated by the Soviet Union for serving on Arctic convoys during the war.<sup>49</sup> The "gentleman" farmer Alan Bloom became an eminent horticulturalist and steam-engine preservationist after the war (developing new plant hybrids and founding the Bressingham Steam Engine Museum), later joining the Quakers and the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament. These and the other two biographies—Peter Roper (the fighter pilot) is a psychiatrist in Montreal, Bill (the train driver) was untraceable in 1995—contained rich potentials hidden inevitably offscreen. But through these actual futures, *Diary for Timothy* suggests complex links to the postwar period, offering other trajectories besides *Plenty's* narrative of exhaustion and despair, sometimes converging with the latter, at other times describing a more ambivalent space. Timothy himself made an emblematic journey through the 1960s—leaving school at sixteen to work as an insurance clerk, joining a rock band, fighting with Mods against Rockers—before training as a teacher (1971). At fifty, he was working

<sup>46</sup> Michael Eaton, "Humphrey Jennings (1907–1950)," in Geoffrey Nowell-Smith, ed., *The Oxford History of World Cinema* (Oxford, 1996), 329.

<sup>47</sup> For another suggestive film-related point of entry, see A. L. Kennedy, *The Life and Death of Colonel Blimp* (London, 1997), a brilliant discussion of the Michael Powell and Emeric Pressburger film (1943). See also Kevin Macdonald, *Emeric Pressburger: The Life and Death of a Screenwriter* (London, 1994), 204–28. Penelope Houston, *Went the Day Well?* (London, 1992), underutilizes the opportunities presented by another wartime film (directed by Alberto Cavalcanti, 1942).

<sup>48</sup> See Bert Hogenkamp, *Deadly Parallels: Film and the Left in Britain 1929–39* (London, 1986), 192–214; and Paul Marris, "Politics and 'Independent' Film in the Decade of Defeat," in Don Macpherson, ed., *Traditions of Independence: British Cinema in the Thirties* (London, 1980), 70–95.

<sup>49</sup> As a result of the Cold War, such medals could not be displayed in official ceremonies, including the annual Remembrance Day marches. This and other details are taken from Hugh Purcell, "Glory Traps," *New Statesman and Society* (May 12, 1995): 19–23, which revisits the subjects of *Diary for Timothy* in a fascinating exercise of "where are they now?"

in a middle school north of London, struggling with inadequate resources, overgrown classes, a bureaucratized curriculum, an aggressive student culture, and declining social supports. The traditional family values of 1944–1945 were gone. High rates of divorce and single-parent households made one contrast. Dechristianization was another: “Ten years ago, a film was made about [Timothy] and the most depressing scene, to me, was of Timothy and his small children wandering round a Luton shopping precinct at Christmas with Muzak carols on the tannoy and Space Wars on the computer screens. This was intercut with Jennings’ version of Timothy’s first Christmas.”<sup>50</sup> Timothy’s grandfather was a vicar, and in the late 1960s he considered ordination. Now neither of his children was baptized.

Analyses like these can link postwar cultures of reconstruction through the complexities of wartime to the mobilized anger of the pre-war society. By integrating stories of adult citizenship resonant with this larger history, *Diary for Timothy*’s central device uses the image of the new baby without making childhood into the only available model for imagining a future. In fact, Jennings’s film makes the postwar world into a project, whose making will require agency, an ethics of participation, and an implicit politics. “What are you going to do?” the commentary asks the baby Timothy: “Will it be a world of greed, unemployment and then another war, or will you make the world a more decent place? You will have the power to choose, the right to criticize, so life in a way will be more dangerous. You will have the difficulty of growing up free. What’s going to happen during the next few years when you are here and we are not?”

Of course, while childhood figures so easily in our contemporary politics as a trope of sentimentalized optimism, in incitements to nostalgia and appeals to innocence, a place where political values can be unproblematically secured, actual childhoods are the scene of painful difficulty and ambivalence. They are the source of complicated histories, which can be fashioned into coherence only with costs and incompleteness. Childhoods are made not only through discovery of the world and the entry into experience but also via hurt, longing, and loss. Through the gravity of the wartime setting, and by using adult lives grounded not only in patriotism but also in hardships and struggle (the preceding miseries of Depression, as well as the sacrifices of the war), *Diary for Timothy* manages to capture something of this ambivalence. Some recent films placed in the war, such as *Another Time, Another Place*, or *The English Patient*, show similar understanding, using the settings of death, damage, and justified conflict for stories of escape, trauma, the working through of loss, and possible liberations.

Annette Kuhn, addressing another film of the early postwar years, *Mandy* (Alexander Mackendrick, 1952), the story of a young girl’s struggle out of deafness, comments beautifully on this ambivalence: “[Thinking with this film autobiographically] shows me, a child of Mandy’s generation, how possibility and loss are written into the world my generation inherited; how they are written into our very expectations, as children coming to consciousness with the traces present all around us of a war we did not live through—traces in our physical surroundings, in our parents’ talk, in so many aspects of our daily lives.”<sup>51</sup> Kuhn brilliantly engages the

<sup>50</sup> Purcell, “Glory Traps,” 23.

<sup>51</sup> Kuhn, *Family Secrets*, 38.

subject of my essay, using a form of archive—films, photographs, imaginative representations, autobiography—that historians commonly approach with suspicion. She also cites a famous photograph of St. Paul's Cathedral during the Blitz in December 1940 ("a keystone in British popular memory of the 'People's War'"), whose emotional immediacy continues to exceed the skepticism of the intervening historiographical judgments. As she writes, this photograph manages "to speak to me—to interpellate me—in a very particular way," irrespective of "my considered opinion of the Second World War as a moment of unprecedented national unity in my country."<sup>52</sup> In the unexpectedness of this encounter between history's public appropriations and their personal resonance, the complex workings of memory and its archive, both collective and personal, explicit and unconscious, can create openings where the historian's more conventional practices might not.

Where does this leave my opening reflections? In the British context, on the evidence of recent filmmaking, one particular representational archive of World War II is now largely gone. This is partly a matter of content, of the particular past that gets to be staged. Where U.S. filmmakers are still drawn to military spectacles, such as *Saving Private Ryan*, *The Thin Red Line*, and now the latest restaging of Pearl Harbor promised by Jerry Bruckheimer and directed by Michael Bay, British directors prefer "human stories" where the war's fighting, military strategy, and explicit politics sink back into the *mise en scène*, as in *The English Patient* or most recently Graham Greene's *The End of the Affair* (Neil Jordan, 1999); no less spectacular in their way, using the exotic landscapes of the Italian campaign and the empire's global geography or the dark atmospherics of London under aerial siege, these narratives are uncoupled from World War II's historical specifics.<sup>53</sup> This shift allows other kinds of stories to be told.

What I have argued is that the larger script of British history in the second half of the twentieth century is being rewritten, in a process that began in the 1960s, became radicalized through the polarized cultural politics of the following two decades, and continued in the profoundly changed contexts of the 1990s. In the process, World War II's previously foundational importance for popular memory became repositioned, whether in the formal languages of national politics and public institutions, in the aesthetic productions of the arts and popular culture, in the private realms of nostalgia and fantasy, or in all the other manifold forms through which assumptions and images about the national past circulate through public culture and everyday life. The complexities of this contemporary history have many more dimensions than my brief discussion can suggest. But film offers a valuable starting point in three ways.

It provides a screen for contemporary anxieties and dilemmas, where particular representations and representational repertoires are also specifically produced and shaped: in common with the arts and cultural production more generally, film is

<sup>52</sup> Kuhn, *Family Secrets*, 106.

<sup>53</sup> Another especially poignant illustration of this difference might be the U.S. undersea action drama *U-571* (Jonathan Mostow, 2000), which not only stages another tale of martial heroics but does so by stealing a specifically British exploit. The Enigma coding machine seized by the U.S. submarine in question was actually captured by the Royal Navy six months before the United States entered the war. For an astute commentary on this minor imbroglio, see the editorial, "Villains of History," in *Sight and Sound* 10 (July 2000): 3.



both the bearer of its own histories and a bridge to wider societal analysis. Likewise, it affords access to change across time: by close formal and symptomatic readings of the kind I have presented, carefully contextualized via the appropriate historical and historiographical analyses for both cinema and society, key shifts in social, cultural, and political history can be exposed. Finally, the questions assembled by means of these historically contextualized close readings can then be taken back to the periods and themes addressed, in this case World War II and its legacies. In providing access to popular memory in these ways, film (both made at the time and since) can be an invaluable resource—not as a straightforward reflection or literal reconstruction of events but as an imaginative incitement to argument and thought.

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*AHR Forum*  
A War Remembered: Soviet Films of the  
Great Patriotic War

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DENISE J. YOUNGBLOOD

When you live near the graveyard, you can't weep for everyone.

Russian proverb<sup>1</sup>

IN APRIL 1995, a month before the celebrations marking the fiftieth anniversary of V-E day, I was in Moscow researching the Russian cinema of another great war, World War I, the sparse fruits of which became an article entitled "A War Forgotten."<sup>2</sup> After spending hours in the library, poring over newspaper accounts of that first war, I would return to my apartment and immediately switch on the television to watch the commemoration of the war that followed. Coverage was extensive and intelligent: interviews with World War II veterans, news coverage of the preparations for the festivities, and historical footage of those glorious and terrible days of heroism and anguish. The sheer quantity, and the quality, of the images and artifacts memorializing the second war, as compared to the first, struck me more powerfully than ever before.

As a longtime observer of the Soviet scene, I had watched the cult of the Great Patriotic War (as World War II was usually called in the USSR) for many years. Particularly remarkable to the outsider was the touching custom of newlywed couples making a pilgrimage to the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier outside the Kremlin Wall in Moscow, the bride placing her bouquet by the eternal flame. By the 1990s, however, this was scorned as just another of the many empty rituals of Soviet power, something to be mocked, not practiced.

But although the rites of commemoration had long since been divorced from memory—indeed, even official memory had once again "changed," with Joseph Stalin neatly excised from the fiftieth anniversary celebrations—World War II remains the "War Remembered" in the lands of the former USSR. Given that the USSR suffered the highest losses in the European theater (estimated at 20–27

I would like to express my warm appreciation to Robert V. Daniels, Peter Kenez, Frank Manchel, Kevork Spartalian, Richard Taylor, and Josephine Woll for their helpful comments on earlier versions of this essay.

<sup>1</sup> Quoted in Nina Tumarkin, *The Living and the Dead: The Rise and Fall of the Cult of World War II in Russia* (New York, 1994), 8.

<sup>2</sup> Denise J. Youngblood, "A War Forgotten: The Great War in Russian and Soviet Cinema," in Michael Paris, ed., *The First World War and Popular Cinema* (Edinburgh, 1999; New Brunswick, N.J., 2000), 172–91.

million lives)<sup>3</sup> and bore the brunt of the German assault and the barbarousness of the German retreat for three long years, how could it be otherwise?

The groundwork for the mythologization of the war was quickly laid, whether to anticipate the victory against all odds or to explain calamitous defeat, we may never know. As Nina Tumarkin skillfully demonstrated in her landmark study *The Living and the Dead*, myth-making and cult-building have often obscured the “real facts” of the war. Tumarkin’s pathbreaking work on the origins and evolution of the war cult had one important shortcoming: although her coverage of the monuments of literature and the graphic and plastic arts was extensive and her analysis of these arts imaginative, her discussion of film was almost nonexistent.<sup>4</sup>

Yet, given the centrality of cinema in Soviet official culture—V. I. Lenin’s words, “Cinema is for us the most important of the arts,” adorned the movie theaters of the USSR—films were a significant part of Soviet memorialization of World War II. By tracing the evolution of the war film genre through analysis of selected examples of the best war films, this essay seeks to restore that omission. It also seeks to elucidate how these films served as a “counter-history” of the war that challenged official history, thereby subverting the state-sponsored cult.

Since the collapse of communism in Eastern Europe, it has become more fashionable in scholarly circles to emphasize Russia’s connections to Europe and to Western culture, even during the Soviet period. Yet the Soviet cinema of World War II differed substantively from that of the Axis or even the other Allied Powers, right from the beginning, representing the different reality that the Soviet Union faced as, essentially alone, it sought to repel the world’s mightiest army on its own territory. These differences continued after the war. As we shall see, some Soviet directors used the genre of the war film not to support the dominant myth of the war as a time of uniform heroism and self-sacrifice but instead to *resist* it, at first subtly and then boldly. By resisting official history, these filmmakers were indirectly questioning the authority of the state.

As Peter Kenez and Richard Stites have noted, Soviet film production during World War II was quite small compared with American, British, and German production (as it had been throughout the 1930s, although for different reasons).<sup>5</sup> Unlike the film production of both the Axis and the Allies, Soviet cinema mainly focused on subjects directly related to the war, forty-nine of seventy titles produced from 1941 to 1945 (70 percent).<sup>6</sup> Historical dramas (notably Sergei Eisenstein’s 1944 *Ivan the Terrible*, which Stalin had commissioned) and filmed operas were the two other major wartime genres.

But quantities and percentages are just the beginning of the differences. Very few

<sup>3</sup> See John Barber and Mark Harrison, *The Soviet Home Front, 1941–1945: A Social and Economic History of the USSR in World War II* (London, 1991), 39–44.

<sup>4</sup> See Tumarkin, *Living and the Dead*. She mentions only three fiction films in passing—*The Cranes Are Flying* (1957), *Ivan’s Childhood* (1962), and *Come and See* (1985)—along with the documentary *This Is How We Live* (*Tak i zhivem*) (dir. Vladimir Osledchik, 1987).

<sup>5</sup> Peter Kenez, *Cinema and Soviet Society, 1917–1953* (New York, 1992), chap. 9, which has been slightly revised, taking new archival sources into account in Kenez, “Black and White: The War on Film,” in Richard Stites, ed., *Culture and Entertainment in Wartime Russia* (Bloomington, Ind., 1995), chap. 9; Stites, *Russian Popular Culture: Entertainment and Society since 1900* (Cambridge, 1992), chap. 4.

<sup>6</sup> Kenez, “Black and White,” 166.

Soviet films made during the war concerned men at the front, or even women dutifully waiting on the "home front." The reasons are simple: the carnage at the front, especially in the first year of the war, was so enormous that no amount of cheery Stalinist propaganda would hide it. Realistic depictions of that carnage were out of the question, for they would be far too demoralizing, especially given the defeatist tendencies apparent in the Western borderlands. As for "home front"—there really was none. Essential personnel were evacuated from European Russia to camps far from home; those left behind struggled to survive in the battle zones or perhaps worse, in the occupied territories.<sup>7</sup> The terror of the occupation could scarcely be exaggerated.<sup>8</sup>

Most Soviet wartime movies, therefore, attempted to convey this grim reality in the most positive way possible, by focusing on the exploits of the partisans, especially on the role of *women* in the resistance movement.<sup>9</sup> The new focus on heroines could be easily tied to the revival of national traditions, particularly the official return of "motherland" (*rodina*) as opposed to "fatherland" (*otechestvo*).<sup>10</sup> As the famous recruiting poster proclaimed: "The Motherland Mother Calls You" (*Rodina Mat' Vas Zovet*). A powerful, red-garbed woman, with a stern and hypnotic gaze, beckoned. A mother's call was impossible to resist, and women warriors were the protagonists in many films of the genre.

THE CANONICAL MOVIE OF THE WAR YEARS was Fridrikh Ermler's *She Defends the Motherland* (*Ona zashchishaet rodinu*, a 1943 Mosfilm production released in the United States as *No Greater Love*).<sup>11</sup> In it, Ermler, a gifted director who had been coopted by the system,<sup>12</sup> developed what had become the prototypical narrative for the Soviet wartime fiction film, especially after the victory at Stalingrad in January

<sup>7</sup> See Barber and Harrison, *Soviet Home Front*, 127–33.

<sup>8</sup> See Alexander Dallin, *German Rule in Russia, 1941–1945: A Study in Occupation Policies*, 2d edn. rev. (Boulder, Colo., 1981); and Omer Bartov, *The Eastern Front, 1941–45: German Troops and the Barbarisation of Warfare* (New York, 1986).

<sup>9</sup> For an overview of the partisan movement, see Richard Overy's highly readable *Russia's War: A History of the Soviet War Effort, 1941–1945* (New York, 1998), 143–53; on the role of women in the movement, John Erickson, "Soviet Women at War," in John Garrard and Carol Garrard, eds., *World War 2 and the Soviet People*, Selected Papers from the Fourth World Congress for Soviet and East European Studies, Harrogate, 1990 (London, 1993), 50–76; and Kazimiera J. Cottam, *Women in War and Resistance: Selected Biographies of Soviet Women Soldiers* (Nepean, Ont., 1998), 278–395.

<sup>10</sup> Stalin's campaign to revive Great Russian national traditions was in full swing by the mid-1930s, which proved to be a considerable help to wartime rhetoric.

<sup>11</sup> Compare Peter Kenez's views of this film, which are much harsher than my own. He dismisses *She Defends the Motherland* as "artistically primitive" in *Cinema and Soviet Society*, 197. Two other important films focusing on the role of women in the partisan movement appeared in 1944: Lev Arnshtam's *Zoia* and Mark Donskoi's *The Rainbow* (*Raduga*). See Kenez, "Black and White," 167–68; Stites, *Russian Popular Culture*, 114–15; Brenda Bollag, "From the Avant-Garde to Socialist Realism: Some Reflections on the Signifying Procedures in Eisenstein's *Stachka* and Donskoi's *Raduga*," in Hans Günther, ed., *The Culture of the Stalin Period* (London, 1990), 251–65; Rostislav Iurenev, *Kratkaia istoriia sovetskogo kino* (Moscow, 1979), 130–36. (Iurenev was the dean of Soviet film historians before glasnost; this book is a good example of the style and content of official film history during the Leonid Brezhnev era.)

<sup>12</sup> Despite his name, Ermler was not German but a Latvian Jew born Vladimir Breslav. He adopted "Ermler" as his *nom de guerre* when he was a spy for the Red Army during the Russian civil war. For a discussion of Ermler's early career, see Denise J. Youngblood, *Movies for the Masses: Popular Cinema and Soviet Society in the 1920s* (Cambridge, 1992), chap. 8.



1943. Most of the movies made during the war spun some variation of this plot: halcyon days on the eve of war turn to terrible tragedy as bestial Germans kill husband/children/parents, with the woman (mother/wife/lover) who survives transformed into avenging angel. Because each of the great postwar works of Soviet cinema represents a dialogue (and sometimes a debate) with these conventions, *She Defends the Motherland* must be examined in detail.

The “she” in the title is Praskovia Ivanovna (also known as Pasha and Comrade P.). Praskovia’s husband is immediately drafted when war breaks out, but she does not despair. We see her organizing the evacuation of her village and calming frightened elders and confused children. Characteristically self-effacing, Praskovia gives others her place on the evacuation trucks and waits behind for the next convoy. Too late. She finds her husband’s corpse in a convoy of wounded men, and as she grieves, German troops enter the town. A German soldier seizes Praskovia’s baby son, shoots him, and runs him over with a tank. As this horror unfolds, Praskovia is dragged away and, apparently, raped. In the next cut, she wanders through the forest, blank-faced and tattered, eventually finding some refugees from her village. The pretty, vibrant young wife and mother has been transmogrified into the stone-faced icon of the “Motherland Mother” poster.

Praskovia quickly emerges from her nearly catatonic state to reassume a leadership role among the survivors. When the Germans approach to finish off the villagers, she picks up an axe and commands her neighbors to follow her into the fray: “Don’t run! . . . Kill them! Kill the beasts!” In a wonderfully staged scene of hand-to-hand combat, Pasha and her peasant-soldiers rout the German convoy. It is a remarkable moment, and unimaginable in Allied war films: one would be hard put to envisage any comparable American or British heroine rushing into battle, hacking Germans with an axe, with grim determination and not a sign of revulsion or remorse. “Comrade P.” has been born; as one villager remarks, “I guess we’ve become partisans.” Under Comrade P.’s leadership, the partisans become the scourge of the occupying army, attacking convoys, burning buildings, even kidnapping a general. Comrade P. eventually meets up with the German soldier who killed her son, and exacts poetic justice by running him down with his own tank.

Praskovia, like all the woman warriors of the genre, must remain pure, focused. Yet even socialist realist war movies made room for romance, though typically among the secondary rather than primary characters (a tradition begun in the legendary 1934 hit *Chapaev*, based on the civil war hero). The young lovers in *She Defends the Motherland* are a winsome pair, with endearingly human (if clichéd) traits. The girl is a silly chatterbox who talks too much when she and her boyfriend are out on reconnaissance. Her lover presses her for sex, but she holds out for marriage, a ceremony that Praskovia eventually performs as their “captain.” (Praskovia, without a trace of irony, offers them a captured German general as their “wedding present.”) But their happiness does not last—the young man, Zhenia, is coldly executed by the Germans near the end of the film.

Soviet socialist realist films, especially in the 1930s, were notorious for their lack of realism, particularly for their falsely upbeat tone (when considered against the backdrop of the Great Terror) and absurdly caricatured heroes and villains. Like other socialist realist heroines, Praskovia displays little depth of character, other

than what Vera Maretskaia can impose on the stilted dialogue through her virtuosity as an actress. And yet we see how unexpectedly and quickly this apparently rigid aesthetic could evolve if exigencies required it. Praskovia's ferocity and physical courage make her a far cry from the demure "cheerleaders" for Soviet power who dominated Soviet screens only a few years earlier. As far as the stereotyping of German villains is concerned, the German occupation of the USSR was, if anything, even more barbarous than portrayed on screen. No one could expect nuanced portrayals of the German invaders in wartime cinema, anywhere, and certainly not in the Soviet Union in 1943. The vicious, monocle-sporting, semi-hysterical, distinctly un-Aryan-looking killer would prevail in films throughout the war.

Cardboard characterizations notwithstanding, there are a few important, if subtle, deviations from the established standards of cinematic socialist realism evident in *She Defends the Motherland* that primarily represented state policy changes during the war. The first has to do with Stalin's calculated risk of allowing religious symbols and allusions to reenter public life.<sup>13</sup> In this movie, we see Praskovia helping an old woman place her icon onto an evacuation vehicle. When one of the partisans is murdered by a captive German soldier, his last words are: "May the Lord forgive you," and a cross is erected over his grave. The young lover refuses sex with her boyfriend, using the custom of Lenten sacrifice as an excuse. In the context of Stalinist society, even such fleeting references to religion represented major concessions to previous anti-religious policies and practices.

The second important concession that we see in this film is the expression of negative ideas by ordinary citizens. In the cinema of the 1930s, wreckers and saboteurs were shown attempting to undermine Soviet authority, but their actions were governed by the international anticommunist conspiracy. In *She Defends the Motherland*, the defeatists are motivated by genuine fear and genuine deprivation. In an extraordinary scene shortly after the ragtag survivors decide that they have been forced by circumstance to become partisans, they sit around their campfire to decide what to do next. One man grumbles, "Oh sure, at a time like this, we call a conference [twitting the endless meetings that characterized Soviet communism] . . . [There is] no bread, no food." When others attempt to remonstrate with him, he counters: "I don't say it will be pleasant under the Nazis, *but we're accustomed to that* [emphasis added] . . . Don't try to scare us . . . Did you see them hang *everyone*? Oh, sure, maybe the Communists and the Jews . . . Enough of this rotten Red paradise!" At this, Pasha has had enough, and she shoots him point-blank. As she walks away from his corpse, she intones, impassively, "While we live, we fight."

Just as it would be a mistake to ignore this clear acknowledgement that not all Soviet citizens were rallying to the cause, so would it be a mistake to overstate its importance. After all, we see how quickly Comrade P. dispatches the defeatist. And in the end, despite the many partisans in the little band who have been killed by the Germans, positive and activist thinking rules. Praskovia's loyal followers rescue her

<sup>13</sup> See Barber and Harrison, *Soviet Home Front*, 68–72, for a survey of the new rhetoric of wartime propaganda. After Stalingrad, as the Red Army began to reclaim occupied territories, the rapprochement with the Russian Orthodox Church was believed to be particularly important.

just as the hangman's noose tightens around her neck. She lives to fight another day.<sup>14</sup>

ALL THE ALLIED NATIONS CELEBRATED the end of the war by glorifying the heroism and sacrifices of their soldiers and citizens, but in the USSR, World War II was quickly objectified to the point of nonrecognition. Commemoration of the war, whether artistically or ceremonially, became a quasi-religious rite, especially pronounced after Stalin's death in 1953 and the abrupt end of the Stalin cult. As Nina Tumarkin notes throughout *The Living and the Dead*, Soviet publicists, journalists, poets, and filmmakers had begun reimagining the war while it was going on, their propaganda becoming an intrinsic part of the "reality" of the war for future historians.

Indeed, Stalin was acutely aware of the opportunities the war held to cement his regime, should the USSR be so fortunate as to defeat the Germans. What other political leader would have had the foresight, as the catastrophe unfolded, to see how the loss of 27 million lives could be manipulated to his advantage? The first post-1945 war movies made this very clear, reflecting Stalin's return to strict cultural and social control after the relative freedom of the war years. The many "mother-heroines" of wartime cinema had vanished. Women with spirit and initiative were no longer needed; they were replaced by the glorified "father-hero," Stalin himself.

In no film was this rewriting of recent history clearer than the 1949 ode to Stalin entitled *The Fall of Berlin (Padenie Berlina)*, directed by Mikhail Chiaureli, like Fridrikh Ermler a talented filmmaker who had become one of Stalin's most ardent apologists. A big-budget film shot in color on Agfa film captured from the Germans, it focuses first and last on the father-hero, Stalin, showing how wisely and generously he guided his generals to victory (even the great Marshal Georgy Zhukov, whose reputation Stalin had been busily undermining since the end of the war). Despite the demands of the war, Chiaureli's Stalin still has time to be a true father to his people. He is not too preoccupied or remote to encourage the romance of the worthy young lovers, the teacher Natasha and the Stakhanovite Alyosha. When the young man confides his doubts about Natasha's feelings, the great Stalin advises him kindly: "Don't worry and don't be afraid of poetry. Love her and she will love you . . . [adding improbably] If she doesn't fall in love with you, drop me a line." But despite the inclusion of the wartime romance that was sugar to sweeten the politics, *The Fall of Berlin* is so transparently constructed as a prop to the Stalin cult that its love scenes, like its battle scenes, are clearly an afterthought. It is a panegyric, not a war movie; in Richard Taylor's words, the film stands as the "apotheosis of Stalin's cult of Stalin."<sup>15</sup>

Chiaureli's task in this film, which the Mosfilm studio proudly presented to Stalin

<sup>14</sup> By contrast, Lev Arnshtam's 1944 film *Zoia*, which crafted a fable from the arrest and execution of the teenaged partisan-heroine Zoia Kosmodemianskaia, was exhibited for only a month, apparently due to its depressing but true ending. See Kenez, "Black and White," 168; and Rosalinde Sartorti, "On the Making of Heroes, Heroines, and Saints," in Stites, *Culture and Entertainment*, 182–86, 188–90.

<sup>15</sup> Richard Taylor, *Film Propaganda: Soviet Russia and Nazi Germany*, 2d edn. rev. (London, 1998), 100. Taylor devotes a chapter, 99–122, to analysis of this infamous film.

on the occasion of his seventieth birthday in December 1949, was to update Stalin's image in the face of the Cold War. Stalin was not only the leader of the largest country on the globe but a god and prince of peace. At the end of the movie, after Berlin has been taken, the heavens open up, and Stalin's plane descends, bathed in sunlight, to the strains of a hymn in his honor. Stalin, garbed in white, emerges from the plane to take personal charge of postwar Europe, and triumphal music swells, as the choir sings praises of his courage and glory. This shameless display is, as Taylor has noted, a direct reference to Leni Riefenstahl's portrayal of Adolf Hitler's arrival in Nuremberg in *Triumph of the Will* (1935).<sup>16</sup> We now know who has triumphed, not Hitler but—Stalin.

Because of the role Stalin had assumed as the only surviving war hero, epitomized by *The Fall of Berlin*, there was no scope for the evolution of the war film genre until after his death in March 1953.<sup>17</sup> (During these hard times, the best directors practiced passive resistance to the regime by skillfully avoiding compromising assignments.) Not until Nikita Khrushchev's "Secret Speech" in February 1956 did the "Thaw," as this period of relative cultural relaxation was called, begin in earnest. Not surprisingly, after 1956, with de-Stalinization under way, a few first-rate Soviet directors took advantage of the cultural climate to meditate on the national tragedy *cum* victory. From the mid-1950s to the early 1960s, there were a number of interesting popular films made about the war, which Josephine Woll discusses in detail in her recent book about Thaw cinema, *Real Images*.<sup>18</sup>

There is, however, little disagreement among critics, whether Western or Soviet, that the enduring classics among the war films of this period are *The Cranes Are Flying* (*Letiat' zhuravli*), *The Fate of a Man* (*Sud'ba cheloveka*), *Ballad of a Soldier* (*Ballada o soldate*), and *Ivan's Childhood* (*Ivanovo detstvo*, distributed in the United States under the title *My Name Is Ivan*). *The Cranes Are Flying*, *The Fate of a Man*, and *Ballad of a Soldier* were released from 1957 to 1959 and are usually considered together, as films representing the early promise of de-Stalinization and Khrushchev's cultural thaw. (They also launched the Soviet "New Wave" in cinema and were certainly influenced by trends in European filmmaking.) Andrei Tarkovskii's *Ivan's Childhood* (1962), on the other hand, represents the effective end of the Thaw, when Khrushchev began to tighten cultural controls once again in an unsuccessful attempt to appease the party hardliners who opposed his leadership.

Mikhail Kalatozov's *The Cranes Are Flying*, widely seen in the West and deservedly praised (winning the Palme d'Or at Cannes in 1958), subverts the tropes of the Soviet war film almost immediately.<sup>19</sup> Kalatozov lulls the viewer in the

<sup>16</sup> Taylor, *Film Propaganda*, 119.

<sup>17</sup> Iurenev circumspectly notes, in his discussion of the first postwar war films, that there were "undoubted shortcomings" in the genre at this point; see *Kratkaia istoriia*, 149. The movie from this period that Iurenev most admires is Sergei Gerasimov's *The Young Guard* [*Molodaia gvardiia*] (1948).

<sup>18</sup> In Josephine Woll, *Real Images: Soviet Cinema and the Thaw* (London, 2000), see her discussions of Zakhar Agranenko's *Immortal Garrison* [*Bessmertnyi garnizon*] (1956), 71–72; Aleksandr Ivanov's *Soldiers* [*Soldaty*] (1957), 72; Lev Kulidzhanov and Iakov Segel's *The House I Live In* [*Dom, v kotorom ia zhivu*] (1957), 79–82; Grigorii Chukhrai's *Clear Skies* [*Chistoe nebo*] (1961), 118–21; Aleksandr Alov and Vladimir Naumov's *Peace to Him Who Enters* [*Mir vkhodiashchemu*] (1961); Aleksandr Stolper's *The Living and the Dead* [*Zhivye i mertvye*] (1964), based on the eponymous novel by Konstantin Simonov, 153. Iurenev glosses the Khrushchev-era war films in *Kratkaia istoriia*, 195–200.

<sup>19</sup> See Woll's discussion of *Cranes* in the context of the films of the Thaw in *Real Images*, 73–79. Her forthcoming companion guide to the film will be published by Tauris in the Kinofile series in 2001.



opening scenes, which start in the canonical way: the young couple Boris and Veronika (wonderfully played by Aleksei Batalov and Tatiana Samoilova, an Audrey Hepburn look-alike) exult in their innocent love. But when the announcement of war comes, it is clear that this will be a very different kind of movie. Boris cannot even be roused from his bed, and his cousin Mark's first thoughts are about how he can wangle an exemption, since the "clever ones" surely should not have to go (Mark is a classical pianist). When Boris enlists, his father, Dr. Borozdin, upset and fearful for his son, seems to agree with Mark's views. "At the age of 25 to be such a fool," he laments. Veronika, too, is unhappy with Boris's decision. Through a misunderstanding, Veronika fails to see Boris off at the station, and as days and weeks pass, neither she nor his family receive any letters. After Veronika's parents are killed in an air raid, she is taken in by Boris's family. She is so depressed by her parents' deaths and her failure to make peace with Boris before his departure that the next time the air raid sirens sound, she refuses to go to the shelter.

At this point, *The Cranes Are Flying* becomes even more provocative in confounding audience expectations for the genre. As bombs fall in Moscow, Mark takes this opportunity to profess his love for Veronika. Although she resists his embraces and tries to run away, her efforts are fairly feeble. Indeed, as she conveniently faints, Mark carries her off, and the film cuts to a shot of Boris, the first time we have seen him since he left for the army, slogging through the mud on a highly dangerous reconnaissance mission.

Next, Mark and Veronika are shown marrying, which might be expected of an American girl who had lost her "virtue," but sexual innocence was not particularly prized in Soviet culture, and loss of virginity was not seen as cause for immediate marriage. Therefore, Veronika's continued passivity in her curious relationship with Mark brands her as much a "defeatist" as her cynical, shirker husband. The announcement of Veronika's marriage to Mark is followed by the second and final cross-cut to Boris at the front. While attempting to rescue a wounded comrade, he is shot in the back by a sniper. In his dying moments, Boris imagines what his hoped-for wedding to Veronika would have been like.

The war continues; there has been no word of Boris's death, and Veronika still waits for letters from him. The family—Mark, Veronika, Dr. Borozdin, and Boris's sister Irina (also a surgeon)—have been evacuated from Moscow to Siberia. Veronika has been working as a nurse in the hospital, which is now receiving wounded men from the front lines at Stalingrad. We see the despair and anguish of the wounded and maimed, none worse than that of a young soldier who has received a "Dear John" letter from his girl. The other men, including Dr. Borozdin, sympathize with him, as Veronika listens in bitter shame: "Girls like that are worse than fascists"; "the shabby-hearted little sneak"; "women like her, we men despise them; there can be no pardon for her." Veronika, like Anna Karenina before her, intends to bury her guilt under the wheels of a train, but unlike Anna, Veronika does not succeed. Instead, she rescues and adopts a war orphan, who just happens to be named Bor'ka (Boris).

At last, Veronika recovers her self-respect. She breaks with the womanizing Mark, who has bought his exemption from military service. When a soldier brings the Borozdin family the news that Boris was killed near Smolensk in the first year

of the war, Veronika refuses to believe it. At war's end, and film's end, we see her waiting at the railroad station as soldiers pour off the trains into the arms of their loved ones, waiting, like so many millions of Soviet women, for the man who will never return.

This morally ambiguous and psychologically complex picture startled viewers and critics accustomed to the certitudes of socialist realism. The film became part of a wide-ranging social discourse.<sup>20</sup> Veronika is the protagonist, to be sure, but is she a heroine? Where is the moral center of the picture? What has happened to the courage, discipline, and sacrifice that everyone knew to be the foundations of victory? The cranes of the title are symbols of rebirth and hope, but is that enough of a positive message? Soviet films of the past had typically left no questions unanswered, let alone raised issues as troubling as these.

*Fate of a Man* and *Ballad of a Soldier* (both released in 1959, one at the beginning of the year, the other at the end) were more sentimental and less ambiguous than *The Cranes Are Flying* and were immensely popular with audiences. Because of their unabashed appeal to emotion, it is easy in retrospect to forget how truly revolutionary their emphasis on the individual Soviet citizen in wartime was in historical context. One might argue that, based on the titles, the "soldier" and the "man" were intended to be generic, but the characterizations, in a country where the personal was political, belie that interpretation. (We must also remember that the Russian language lacks a definite article, so these titles might just as accurately be translated as "fate of the man" and "ballad of the soldier.")

Sergei Bondarchuk's *Fate of a Man* was a screen adaptation of the eponymous story by Mikhail Sholokhov, which was written shortly after the war but remained unpublished until 1956.<sup>21</sup> Unlike the heroes in war movies made during Stalin's final years, but like those in the wartime films such as *She Defends the Motherland*, Andrei Sokolov (memorably played by director Bondarchuk) is fighting the Germans to save his family and his nation, not the party or Stalin. At war's end, he has survived a Nazi concentration camp as a POW, but his entire family—wife, two daughters, and a son—are dead. Like Veronika in *The Cranes Are Flying*, Sokolov adopts a war orphan as the foundation for rebuilding his shattered life.

Sokolov is a quiet hero. An ordinary man, not especially strong or brave, he does what has to be done, with complete absence of bravado. The simple honesty of Bondarchuk's portrayal makes Sokolov's sacrifices for his comrades—his murder of a fellow prisoner who is thinking about collaborating or his drinking contest with the camp's commandant, which results in his getting extra rations—plausible rather than contrived. The one false note in the picture is the fact that returning Soviet POWs were more likely to be arrested as traitors than to be eagerly embraced by the Red Army, the redemptive fate that awaits Sokolov.

Better known in the West than *Fate of a Man* and at least as popular with Soviet

<sup>20</sup> Woll, *Real Images*, 78–79.

<sup>21</sup> Woll, *Real Images*, 88–92. As we shall see, most of these films were based on novels, short stories, and novellas, as part of the strong connections between the cinematic and literary worlds that characterized Soviet culture at this time. In Garrard and Garrard, *World War 2*, see Frank Ellis, "Army and Party in Conflict: Soldiers and Commissars in the Prose of Vasilii Grossman," 180–201, and Arnold McMillin, "Recovery of the Past and Struggle for the Future: Vasil' Bykaw's Recent War Fiction," 202–12.

audiences was the big hit of 1960, Grigorii Chukhrai's *Ballad of a Soldier*.<sup>22</sup> This is the touching story, told in flashbacks, of a young soldier with less than one week's leave trying to make his way back to his village to repair his mother's roof. Not unexpectedly, given the well-established conventions of the genre, circumstances intervene en route to leave him with only a moment to embrace his mother before his leave is up. What is surprising is that these circumstances are not "events" so much as "moments." If his intentions are thwarted, it is because of his own humanity, not German inhumanity.

We know from the beginning that the story will not have a happy ending, as it is told in a protracted flashback. The film begins with the iconic village mother, familiar to us from *She Defends the Motherland*, standing alone in the right foreground, back to the camera, staring up a road winding into eternity. "She is not waiting for anyone," the voiceover narration informs us. Next, again in tribute to the iconography of Ermier's film, we see the young soldier, being chased by a tank before he finally gets the courage to turn around and start firing. It is nineteen-year-old Alyosha Skvortsov, who requests that his bravery be rewarded not with a medal but with a home leave to help his mother. He is given six days: "four for the road, two for the roof."

As Alyosha's odyssey begins, his comrades press him with messages and gifts for their loved ones. At the various train stations, we catch snatches of the domestic and personal dramas behind the front lines. One of the most memorable and moving is that of the demobilized, disabled veteran afraid to face his wife as a cripple. His fears of rejection are confounded by his wife's heartfelt joy at having him back, missing limb notwithstanding. Alyosha is too young to have learned to be selfish, and he tries to help people whenever he can, regardless of time lost. His connection missed, he jumps in a hay car, where he is joined by a young orphan girl, Shura, who claims to be trying to reach her "future husband," a gravely wounded flyer. He misses the train again, disembarking to get water for Shura. He attempts to deliver a gift of soap to a comrade's wife, only to discover that she is living with another man. He evacuates passengers from a train that has been bombed. But Alyosha's kindnesses are often reciprocated along the way, as he hitches rides with strangers. He reaches home with just a moment to embrace his mother; his parting words are "I'll come back, Mama." But he does not return, and unlike the fate of Boris in *The Cranes Are Flying*, we never learn how he died. The image of his mother standing at the road, waiting, suggests that she does not know either, or that, like Veronika, she refuses to believe that he will not one day come home.

By the time Andrei Tarkovskii made his first feature film, *Ivan's Childhood*, in 1962, the cultural climate was cooling rapidly, as Khrushchev struggled to salvage his eroding authority in the party hierarchy by adopting harsher attitudes toward freedom in the arts. It was not a propitious moment to launch the harshest, most morally complex vision of the war to appear on Soviet screens.<sup>23</sup> (Indeed, the story idea, based on the novella *Ivan* by Vladimir Bogomolov, had run into trouble even

<sup>22</sup> Woll, *Real Images*, 96–99.

<sup>23</sup> For stylistic analyses of this film, see Woll, *Real Images*, 138–42; Vida T. Johnson and Graham Petrie, *The Films of Andrei Tarkovsky: A Visual Fugue* (Bloomington, Ind., 1999), 66–78. For a comparison of the picture with *Come and See*, see Denise J. Youngblood, "Ivan's Childhood (USSR, 1962) and *Come and See* (USSR, 1985): Post-Stalinist Cinema and the Myth of World War II," in John

before Tarkovskii joined the project.<sup>24</sup>) The movie tells the story of the last days of Ivan Bondarev, a twelve-year-old orphan, who is working as a reconnaissance scout for the Red Army. Ivan, a skeletal, preternaturally mature boy, is alternately coddled and exploited by the officers of the battalion. Lt. Colonel Griaznov is determined to send him away to a military boarding school (which Ivan vehemently opposes), while the pragmatic Captain Kholin does not mind using Ivan for “one last mission.” The child, who is “a bundle of nerves,” is tormented by recurring dreams of his mother in the sunshine moments before she is blown up before his very eyes, and by visions of eight young partisans tortured and shot by the Germans in the very cellar where he tries to sleep. “Avenge us!” is scrawled on the walls.

But the true nightmare is the waking world, the ruined landscape of villages and the muck of the murky swamps. This is a world populated by a deranged old man who hides in the rubble of his former home waiting for his dead wife to return—and by the corpses of Ivan’s comrades hanging on trees. It is also populated by soldiers torn between their desire to protect Ivan and to exploit him. Captain Kholin is likewise conflicted by his sexual desire for the young nurse Masha and his consciousness of the inappropriateness of his desire, given the disparity in age, rank, and, one would suspect, marital status.

The tale is told through two perspectives, Ivan’s and that of Lieutenant Gal’tsev. Little older than a boy himself, Gal’tsev functions as the film’s moral core. He strongly disapproves of the continued use of Ivan as a scout and serves as a foil to the worldly, cynical Kholin in attempting to protect both Ivan and Masha from Kholin’s desires. But while Gal’tsev succeeds in transferring Masha out of “harm’s way” to a hospital behind the lines, he cannot save Ivan, who disappears during a reconnaissance mission.

At war’s end, only Gal’tsev has survived. In Berlin, sifting through the rubble of Gestapo headquarters, Gal’tsev comes across Ivan’s dossier among prisoner files strewn on the floor. He had been hanged as a partisan. The boy-man stares, hollow-eyed and defiant, from the photograph. The film closes by cutting to scenes from Ivan’s idyllic, pre-war youth. Laughing, the child runs along the beach, away from the camera into the water and sunlight. A pretty scene but not a hopeful one. This is the past that could have been but will never be. Everyone is dead. This uncompromising film won the Golden Lion at the Venice Film Festival in 1962, launching Tarkovskii’s career as an international star.

DURING THE EIGHTEEN YEARS of Brezhnev’s “stagnation” (*zastoi*), filmmakers faced great difficulties making provocative films, especially about the Soviet experience in World War II. The cautious among them focused on lavish costume epics, such as Sergei Bondarchuk’s *War and Peace* (*Voina i mir*, 1966, which became the first Soviet film to win the Oscar for Best Foreign Picture) and socialist fables like

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Whiteclay Chambers II and David Culbert, eds., *World War II, Film and History* (New York, 1996), chap. 5.

<sup>24</sup> Johnson and Petrie, *Films of Andrei Tarkovsky*, 67.



Vladimir Menshov's *Moscow Does Not Believe in Tears* (*Moskva slezam ne verit*, 1979, the second Soviet film so honored.)<sup>25</sup> More adventurous, but still permissible, were films about contemporary Soviet social problems. Directors who persisted in questioning the relationship between history and politics, such as Tarkovskii, Aleksei German, Larisa Shepit'ko, and Elem Klimov, paid for their stubbornness with blighted careers.<sup>26</sup>

A few war films were made in the mid-1960s to celebrate the thirtieth anniversary of V-E day: *Moscow Is Behind Us* (*Za nami Moskva*), *Alpine Ballad* (*Al'piiskaia ballada*), and *A Woman's Kingdom* (*Bab'e tsarstvo*). Of these, *A Woman's Kingdom*, directed by Iurii Nagibin and Aleksei Saltykov, most closely resembled the concerns of the wartime films discussed herein, depicting the fate of women in an occupied town.<sup>27</sup> In 1971, Aleksei German made *Trial on the Road* (*Proverka na dorogakh*), which focused on collaborators and was banned, languishing "on the shelf" until its release in 1986. (German was more successful with his second attempt at a war film, *20 Days without War* [*Dvadtsat' dnei bez voiny*], which records the journey of a reporter behind the front lines and was at least distributed, in 1976).<sup>28</sup> The *zastoi* does, however, have the distinction of giving birth to the most grandiose Soviet World War II picture, the loud and long five-part epic *Liberation* (*Osvobozhdenie*, 1972), directed by Iurii Ozerov. Rostislav Iurenev praises the film's meticulously recreated battle scenes, but Richard Stites notes that in order to fill the theaters, Communist Party members were forced to buy tickets and see the film.<sup>29</sup>

Given this situation, the Ukrainian director Larisa Shepit'ko's 1976 film *The Ascent* (*Voskhozhdenie*) becomes even more remarkable. Arguably the most important Soviet war film of the 1970s and certainly the most brutal,<sup>30</sup> it was her last completed film before her death at the age of forty in an auto accident. *The Ascent* stands as a monument to her courage and perseverance as a filmmaker. An uncompromising look at wartime collaboration and betrayal, it was based on Vasil Bykov's short story "Sotnikov," which had already been criticized as "too gloomy and hopeless."<sup>31</sup>

The film opens with a German punitive force chasing a band of partisans and refugees across a bleak and frozen landscape. Sotnikov, a haggard, sickly teacher who looks like the prototypical tubercular intellectual of nineteenth-century Russian novels, volunteers to join Rybak, a sergeant in the regular army ("man of the people"), in a quest for food. Struggling through deep snow, they eventually find what appears to be an abandoned homestead. Breaking in, they discover an elderly couple. The old woman is frightened, but her husband calmly continues reading his Bible. When Rybak discovers that they still possess a cow, he denounces them as

<sup>25</sup> The foreign film category was added to the Academy Awards in 1956.

<sup>26</sup> For a discussion of the stagnation period, see Stites, *Russian Popular Culture*, 169–74; and Anna Lawton, *Kinoglasnost: Soviet Cinema in Our Time* (Cambridge, 1992), chap. 1.

<sup>27</sup> See Woll, *Real Images*, 204–06.

<sup>28</sup> Lawton, *Kinoglasnost*, 30–32.

<sup>29</sup> Iurenev, *Kratkaia istoriia*, 198–99; Stites, *Russian Popular Culture*, 169.

<sup>30</sup> See Lawton, *Kinoglasnost*, 30–32.

<sup>31</sup> Woll, *Real Images*, 205. Woll does not, however, discuss the film, which falls outside the time frame of her book.

collaborators: "Only someone who collaborated would still have a cow. You've sinned by turning traitor. Put down your Bible."

Sotnikov and Rybak "requisition" a sheep instead, but the shot that kills it attracts the attention of German patrols. The duo's attempt to flee is a particularly desperate one; Sotnikov has been shot in the leg and is weakened by his hacking cough. Frozen to a tree (literally), Sotnikov wants to commit suicide, but Rybak insists that he will not leave him behind. Alternately crawling and being dragged by Rybak, ice crystals forming on his bearded face, Sotnikov makes it to another cottage Rybak has found. Sotnikov has had his epiphany; he has accepted the certainty of his death, telling Rybak, "I'm not scared anymore. The main thing is getting used to the idea." Rybak, on the other hand, wants to live regardless of the cost.

Their new refuge belongs to the widow Demchikha, who has three young children. Before she can feed the men and get them out, the Germans arrive. Sotnikov and Rybak hide in the attic, but Sotnikov cannot control his coughing, and they are quickly discovered. Despite Sotnikov's protests that the woman was not involved with the partisans, she, too, is arrested. Demchikha is dragged to the sledge and bound, screaming, as her small children look on helplessly.

At German headquarters, the interrogation is conducted entirely by native collaborators, led by Pavlo Portnov, who it is later revealed was a party propagandist, "community director," and conductor of the village choir before the war. Portnov decides to question Sotnikov first, certain that he is weaker than Rybak. But Sotnikov remains defiant, so Portnov calls in "Redbeard," to torture him, saying, "Terror will replace everything. You'll finally become your true self, an ordinary human, full of shit. I know what a human is really like." Sotnikov snaps back, alluding to the NKVD: "And what did *you* do before the war?"

As Sotnikov is branded with the "Red Star"—a branding iron shaped like a star that the Germans did indeed use to torture partisans—Portnov finds Rybak more receptive in interrogation than the supposedly weaker Sotnikov. (It is noteworthy that Portnov uses the polite *vy* when addressing Sotnikov but the familiar *ty* with Rybak.) Rybak is "softened" a bit, then thrown back in the cellar. Half-dead, rats crawling across his burned chest, Sotnikov realizes that Rybak is close to "turning" and begs him not to. Soon the Bible-reading village elder (who explains that he, too, is a partisan) and a young Jewish girl, Basia (who has been hidden by locals) join Sotnikov, Rybak, and the widow Demchikha in the cellar to await execution the following morning. By the final third of the film, Sotnikov is clearly portrayed as a Christ figure, through the staging, editing, and especially the lighting of the extreme close-ups of his face. He is determined to remain alive until morning so that he can convince their captors that he alone is responsible for the group's alleged terrorist activities.

"Liquidation time." As they are dragged out into the blinding light, Sotnikov is prepared to talk. His speech is highly evocative and politically resonant: "I am Sotnikov, Boris Andreevich. I was born in 1917. I joined the Party in 1935. I am a teacher and a Red Army commander. I have a father, a mother, and a motherland." The German officers who have turned out to watch the execution ask Portnov what Sotnikov was saying. "It was nothing of importance," Portnov replies before turning

away. Demchikha is on the verge of revealing which family hid Basia, but the elder stops her. Rybak's offer to join the local "police" is, however, accepted.

The five ascend the hill to the gallows (Rybak guiltily trying to help Sotnikov walk), martial music blasting. The villagers have been forced out of their cottages to watch; only the Germans are enjoying themselves. The hanging scene is protracted, with brilliant cutting from the gallows to the crowd (focusing particularly on a young boy wearing a "Budennyi" cap, a reference to a civil war leader)—to the beauty of the frozen landscape, to the faces of the four who will die. After the hanging, an old woman hisses at Rybak, "Judas, Judas." The significance of his actions now sink in. Rybak imagines himself running past the sentries and being shot down. He cannot do it. He tries to hang himself in the outhouse, a comical failure. The film closes as he looks out the gate at the landscape of the motherland. He is cut off from it, forever.

*The Ascent* is relentless from beginning to end. No other Soviet war film, not even *Ivan's Childhood*, confronted human frailty in wartime so relentlessly. On the surface, Shepit'ko appears to support the state's policy of "no surrender"; after all, Sotnikov is a party member, born in 1917. But for whom does he fight? His father, his mother, and his motherland. It is no surprise that *The Ascent's* distribution in the USSR was extremely limited.

GIVEN THE TRAJECTORY OF SOVIET WAR FILMS over the past two decades, and the disillusionment and decline clearly evident in the last years of the Brezhnev era, it would have been surprising indeed if Elem Klimov's contribution to the cinematic dialogue had been anything other than grim.<sup>32</sup> The last great film of the genre, *Come and See* (*Idi i smotri*), scripted by the well-known Belorussian writer Ales Adamovich, was commissioned as part of the commemoration for the fortieth anniversary of the end of the war in 1985 and won first prize that year at the Moscow International Film Festival.<sup>33</sup> Set in 1943 in war-ravaged Belorussia, *Come and See* subverted every previously established trope. It is hard to imagine a war movie less "celebratory" in tone than this one—or one that is truer.

Like many of the films that preceded it, *Come and See* opens with children playing. Although they are romping on a beach (recalling the final shots of *Ivan's Childhood*), theirs is not innocent play. They are robbing graves, looking for guns: "Dig harder! Can't join the partisans without a gun!" one grimy urchin growls at Florian Gainush, a boy of about fourteen. The children jeer at a village elder who is trying to stop them. Flor finally retrieves a weapon and runs home to face his mother, who is hysterical at the thought of his leaving. She weeps, screams, clutches at him: "Then kill yourself now! and the other children, too! [referring to his younger brothers and sisters] I won't let you go! I won't!" The partisans who have

<sup>32</sup> Not to mention that Klimov was the widower of Larisa Shepit'ko.

<sup>33</sup> Like *The Ascent* (1976), this important film has been virtually ignored by Western film scholars. In addition to my article "*Ivan's Childhood* and *Come and See*," see Lawton, *Kinoglasnost*, 225–26. Tumarkin mentions the film in *Living and the Dead*, 69, 207–08, but she is mistaken in saying that it was not released until 1989. I first saw it in Washington, D.C., in 1986.

come to fetch him are crude and disrespectful. They behave more like a press gang than the noble partisans of *She Defends the Motherland*.<sup>34</sup>

The next scene takes place in a large partisan encampment, swarming with battle-weary and hardened men who on closer glance are not much older than Flor. They are drinking and carousing with the desperate conviviality of the condemned. Flor is very much alone, despite all the people and activity around him. As the troops prepare to move out for an operation, the impassive young commander, Kosach, takes pity on Flor and leaves him behind (but not before forcing him to exchange his good boots for another soldier's worn ones). Like any teenaged boy longing for the "excitement" of battle, Flor is furious and embarrassed at this insult. Slogging through the swamp, sobbing, he is startled to hear other cries. It is Kosach's lover Glafira (Glasha), a girl no more than a year or so older than Flor, if that. She, too, has been left behind by Kosach, and despite her attempts to impress Flor by acting tough and flaunting her intimacy with the commander, she is clearly no more than a frightened child. German strafing of their encampment starts, and amid the convulsive whistling and exploding of war, the disoriented and terrified adolescents try to find their way out of the nightmare, back to Flor's village.

The village is deserted; his family's house is empty, although there is a pot of soup in the fireplace. They hear distant screaming, and Flor believes he knows where his neighbors would seek refuge. As Flor and Glasha run along the overgrown path away from the village, Glasha looks back and sees a heap of nude corpses stacked high against the cottage. Flor is frantically dragging Glasha through the wetlands; she resists, screaming, "They aren't here! They're murdered!" Demented with rage and grief, Flor begins choking her to prevent her from speaking the unspeakable words: "His family! Killed! All of them! He's deaf, crazy! His whole family murdered!" Joined by a soldier, they stumble on until they meet up with a small group of refugees, survivors from the village who confirm Glasha's terrible news. Flor's face, formerly so open and innocent, is transformed into a death mask. As he breaks blindly through the crowd of keening and wailing peasant women, he comes upon the old man whom he and the other boys had tormented on the beach only days before. Near death, the man is a mass of charred flesh: "I was set on fire," he gasps. "I warned you not to dig. I begged them to kill me. They laughed. I said not to dig."

Flor continues his journey through hell. Nearly catatonic, he joins several other men on a trek to forage for food. They are carrying a Hitler scarecrow across open fields as bombers strafe them. Leaflets flutter from the sky: "Make a stew of the Bolshevik yids." The cow they steal from a local farmer is killed by the bombers. The sole survivor of the foursome, Flor is picked up by a peasant and taken to his village, called Perekhody in the film.

Although the Germans have already arrived there, the man is confident that he can pass Flor off as his nephew. Predictably, all the villagers are rounded up and forced into the town hall, where they are told to await their deportation to Germany. No one listens to Flor, who is helplessly shouting, crushed by the weight of his lost innocence: "Where are you rushing to?! They'll kill everybody." He

<sup>34</sup> See Barber and Harrison's discussion of some recruiting tactics for the "volunteer" forces in *Soviet Home Front*, 73–76.



manages to escape the building through an open window. The German soldiers, who are drunk and laughing, ignore him. Cowering on the ground, Flor becomes survivor and witness to what may well be the most brilliantly choreographed massacre in film history. Through long takes and panoramic shots, we are forced to watch as the entire village goes up in flames. Those few who initially escape are beaten, raped, humiliated, killed, their corpses desecrated. As terrible as the visual images of the carnage are, even more remarkable is the racket: screaming, barking, laughing, shouting, motor noise, music, gun shots, the whistling of flame throwers. When it is all over, it is the quiet that is most affecting. The Germans pile in their jeeps and continue their westward retreat.

Kosach's forces arrive, too late for the inhabitants of Perekhody but not too late to ambush the perpetrators. The German major, a Russian collaborator, and a few others have been captured. The major begs for mercy; he is "old, sick." The collaborator also tries to rationalize his participation. Only the young, blond German lieutenant remains defiant: "Your nation has no right to exist. Inferior races spread the microbe of communism. Some nations must be exterminated." Kosach listens, impassive as ever, as others shout for vengeance and torture. The Germans are doused with gasoline, to be set aflame, when Kosach suddenly begins shooting. It is over, more humanely than the Germans treated their victims.

As the partisans move slowly away from the carnage, Flor rejoins them. Suddenly, he sees a photograph of Hitler floating in a pool of water. Enraged, he fires on it; as he shoots, we see newsreel images of Hitler, Nazi rallies, concentration camps in reverse. Flor continues to shoot. We see World War I, Hitler in school, and then . . . Hitler as a baby, in his mother's arms. Flor cocks his rifle, aims, but cannot shoot. Unlike the Germans, he cannot kill a baby, no matter who he will grow up to be. History cannot be undone.

Flor runs up the hill to join the partisan line. As they enter the birch forest, a title informs us: "628 Belorussian villages were destroyed, along with all their inhabitants." The final shot is of the partisans, backs to the camera, as they disappear into the heart of the dark forest.

The harshness of Klimov's vision of war cannot be overstated. Even *The Ascent* had heroes: Sotnikov, the old man, the widow, and the little girl all refused to betray others. Flor lives, but at what cost? The slumped shoulders and weary gait of the survivors signal defeat rather than victory.

THIS EXTRAORDINARY MOVIE cemented Elem Klimov's and Ales Adamovich's reputations as artists and launched their careers as spokesmen for glasnost. In 1986, Klimov led the "restructuring" of the Cinematographers' Union; both he and Adamovich enjoyed considerable political clout in the cultural arena during the Mikhail Gorbachev era.<sup>35</sup> Filmmakers turned to incisive explorations of the Stalin era and scathing denunciations of contemporary social decay from the late 1980s to the early 1990s.<sup>36</sup> By the time of the fiftieth anniversary celebrations in 1995, which

<sup>35</sup> The best discussion of this period in Soviet cinema remains Lawton, *Kinoglasnost*.

<sup>36</sup> For a brief discussion of how this affected the war cult, see George Gibian, "World War 2 in

Adamovich did not live to see, the cheering had stopped.<sup>37</sup> The once-mighty Soviet film industry had collapsed along with the Soviet Union. There was no important fiftieth anniversary film.

But was there need for one? Through this small but exceptional body of work, Soviet filmmakers had already succeeded in returning to the Soviet people an authentic memory of the conflict. By stripping the war of the cant and bombast of official history, by confronting its many paradoxes with unflinching honesty, these moviemakers succeeded where historians had not (and indeed could not, given the strictures of the Soviet historical profession).<sup>38</sup> Working with images rather than words, these directors were able to subvert censorship, thereby functioning as the historians of their generation. Taken as a group, their works serve as a historiography of the Great Patriotic War, both reflecting and especially shaping public opinion and exposing the hollowness of the official past.<sup>39</sup>

Viewed in hindsight, wartime movies such as *She Defends the Motherland* might seem no more than a series of agitational posters linked together. Yet, if we examine it more carefully, we can see that Praskovia embodies individual initiative, not party-mindedness. And if her heroism was undoubtedly not normative behavior, neither was it unbelievable to the mothers, daughters, and sisters who had lived through the nightmare of the war that was in their own villages, not an ocean away. Like all effective political art, the wartime films were “reality based,” in sharp contrast to postwar cult films like *The Fall of Berlin*. Small wonder that only the hack directors involved themselves with the genre until after the death of Stalin and the process of de-Stalinization had begun.

Films made during the Thaw, such as *The Cranes Are Flying*, *Fate of a Man*, and *Ballad of a Soldier*, privilege interiority, human frailty, and private life over state and party—making a powerful political statement by being seemingly apolitical. *Ivan's Childhood* and *The Ascent* raise the stakes, by showing the fissures in Soviet society through the flaws of its individual members. Lastly, *Come and See* serves as a culmination of these trends, combining the sentiment of the Thaw films with the gritty realism of Tarkovskii's and Shepit'ko's masterpieces.<sup>40</sup> That these films could be made and shown *before* Gorbachev and glasnost, when stringent pre and

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Russian National Consciousness: Pristavkin (1981–87) and Kondratyev (1990),” in Garrard and Garrard, *World War 2*, 147–59.

<sup>37</sup> Adamovich died of a heart attack on January 26, 1994.

<sup>38</sup> The written word was always easier to censor than the visual language of the movies. Scenarios were subjected to strict pre-production censorship, and the principle of the “iron scenario” ruled, but as anyone who is familiar with moviemaking knows, the film is made in the editing. As a result, a film that looked appropriate on the page might well be subversive on the screen, after a great deal of the state's money had been invested in the product. The institutional history of Soviet filmmaking practices is covered *ad seriatim* in Denise J. Youngblood, *Soviet Cinema in the Silent Era, 1918–1935* (1985; rpt. edn., Austin, Tex., 1991); Kenez, *Cinema and Soviet Society*; Woll, *Real Images*; Lawton, *Kinoglasnost*.

<sup>39</sup> Closely related to this would be a study of the movies depicting the travails of postwar life, such as Vsevolod Pudovkin's *The Return of Vasilii Bornitkov* [*Vozvrashcheniie Vasiliia Bortnikova*] (1953), Larisa Shepit'ko's *Wings* [*Krylia*] (1966), Nikolai Gubenko's *War Orphans* [*Podranki*] (1979), and Nikita Mikhalkov's *The Five Evenings* [*Piat' vecherov*] (1979)—to name only a few examples.

<sup>40</sup> This statement is not intended to deny the surrealism in *Ivan's Childhood* or the often heavy-handed symbolism in *The Ascent*.

post-production censorship generally prevailed, should encourage us to consider carefully the importance of the movies as a force for change in late Soviet society.

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*AHR Forum*  
Film and the Matrix of Memory

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JAY WINTER

IN THE PRELIMINARY STAGES OF WORK on the construction of a museum of the history of World War I at Péronne on the river Somme, I asked a number of French veterans of the war what kind of films they wanted in the museum. Three of them responded directly to the question, and all said the same thing. The film they wanted to see in the museum was Jean Renoir's *La grande illusion* (1937).

The choice made by soldiers who had seen combat, *ceux de '14*, of poetry to express a "truth" about the war, in this case filmic poetry in one of the great imaginative moments in cinema, raises central questions about our understanding of the status and character of films about war. Renoir's film does not show a single combat scene, and yet I am not alone in the view that it is an unmatched elegy, an illuminated poem throwing a flood of light on what war is. That is what these men were saying by choosing this one film to be shown in a museum about their war, the Great War.

When it came out in 1937, Renoir's film puzzled everyone. Was it pacifist? Hardly, when the "Marseillaise" is sung in a rousing scene clearly stolen a few years later in *Casablanca*. Was it nationalist? Hardly; it was kind to the Germans; it showed actor Erich von Stroheim in a tragic light; his stereotypical national stiffness as a Prussian officer was explained by a steel brace and other metal "gifts" in his body from his war service. Was it formulated in terms of class consciousness? Yes and no. Renoir was a man of the Left, but in his film, Pierre Fresnay, playing the French aristocrat and counterpart of von Stroheim, gives his life for two commoners; in fact, one was a Jew. The world, Fresnay tells his social equal and captor von Stroheim, has no further need of them. What did the title mean? That war would return; that after the war, the commoner hero, played by Jean Gabin, would return to the German widow he came to love (Dita Parlo)? Sixty years later, we are still perplexed by this work of genius.

*The Grand Illusion* is a unique work, in some respects unparalleled in the history of cinema. But its example does suggest the danger of treating any film directly and in an unmediated way as a text to be incorporated within discursive fields of different origins and character. To be sure, this is especially the case in works of artistic originality and power. Like poetry, film—film at the highest level—does not instruct or indicate or preach. It ministers, it challenges conventional categories of thought, it moves the viewer. Other films do so to a lesser degree, but no film is



strictly didactic, since images have a power to convey messages of many kinds, some intentional, some not.

Even if we take account of the exceptional nature of *The Grand Illusion*, it is still evident that the historical analysis of war films presents real pitfalls. These three essays on World War II in film both reflect the dangers of a mimetic reading of film and its linear interpolation within political frameworks and show some ways in which those dangers may be addressed, mitigated, or averted.

The framework of analysis in all three cases is similar. In different ways, the aim of these essays is to relate film to an inchoate yet dynamic category roughly termed "collective memory." Perhaps this term is intended to follow Maurice Halbwachs's original usage; perhaps not.<sup>1</sup> The term is simply used without interrogation. Since we are never told precisely what this category is, it is difficult to see how it might relate to other adjacent notions used in these articles: "popular memory" in Geoff Eley, "authentic memory" in Denise Youngblood, or "cultural memory" in John Bodnar. Without precise categories of analysis, the structure of interpretation offered here is bound to remain vague and to a degree unsatisfactory.

Thus we are invited in these essays to relate film to something called "collective memory" and to do so in the context of cinematic reflections on World War II in the United States, Britain, and the Soviet Union. What is it that we learn of these three countries' cultural history from the authors' analysis of film? In Bodnar's discussion, we learn that Steven Spielberg's *Saving Private Ryan* encapsulates a shift from framing the war experience in terms of collective trajectories—democracy, freedom, welfare, the icons of politics in the 1940s—to individual trajectories. Indeed, Bodnar follows Dominick LaCapra in seeing the turn to the past, in this case the past of World War II, in terms of individual memory, as a renunciation of political commitments *tout court*. This is his reading of the last scene in *Saving Private Ryan* where the surviving hero visits the graves of the men who died in the mission that brought him back home. Ryan asks his wife to confirm that he was a good man and had led a good life. The individual, Bodnar suggests, is the measure of the worthwhile character of the sacrifice of soldiers in war.

Consider an alternative reading of this scene. In pilgrimages to cemeteries and battlefields, the notion of symbolic exchange dominates the structure of feeling and behavior. Those who return to these places confront the names of people who gave everything. What can the visitor give in turn? A small bunch of flowers, a personal offering, perhaps? But of equal importance is the statement that the sacrifice palpably evident in the cemetery has produced something that transcends it. The search for some redemptive meaning is at the heart of social and collective languages of mourning. These are hardly matters of individual valuation or construction. *Saving Private Ryan* ends on a collective note: the gesture of redemption, here secularized, has many equivalents in both world wars. What makes it sustainable in this context is that it dealt with the Western front of World War II. When applied to the East, and in particular to the Holocaust, it is much harder to justify. But Spielberg has tried to do so. The end of *Schindler's List* (1993) shows the descendants of the men and women Oskar Schindler rescued putting

<sup>1</sup> Maurice Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory*, Lewis A. Coser, trans. (Chicago, 1992).

pebbles on his gravestone in Jerusalem. "The people of Israel live," is how a religious person might configure it. The collective survived, and Schindler was one of those who, by saving a single life, saved the world entire. Spielberg is clearly interested in individual stories, but his notation is hardly the denial of collectivities Bodnar imagines it to be.

Other facets of Bodnar's handling of the subject of memory and collective behavior make one pause, too. He claims, "Contests over public remembering were certainly not pervasive in most nations after World War II."<sup>2</sup> This statement flies in the face of an avalanche of recent scholarship on precisely such contestation. Pieter Lagrou has shown convincingly how narratives of the Resistance in France, Belgium, and the Netherlands were strategies of restoration, needed to revive political cultures damaged or destroyed by occupation and collaboration.<sup>3</sup> The struggle to displace communists from their rightful position within the resistance community was intense all over Western Europe; the same harsh contest over who resisted and who did not punished social democrats, liberals, and Catholics in Eastern Europe. And this does not even begin to touch the question of the eclipse of Jewish accounts of the war. All this was contested terrain. It is true that, by the 1960s, the process of political stabilization in both East and West had taken its course, and that then and only then other narratives of victimhood could emerge fully. The Adolf Eichmann trial was a catalyst in this respect. But it is not true that the representation of what Bodnar calls "homegrown victimization" was limited in Europe.<sup>4</sup>

Precisely in the field of film, such victims were visible. As Pierre Sorlin has shown, from very early on, cinematic narratives adopted the voice of the child as the core of cinematic tales about the war. Anyone who saw René Clément's *Jeux interdits* (*Forbidden Games*) of 1952 or Roberto Rosellini's *Roma città aperta* (*Open City*) of 1945, or Hans Müller's *Und finden dereinst wir uns wieder* (*And Should We Ever Meet Again*) of 1947 would be puzzled by Bodnar's assertions. Children are the quintessential victims in war; they cannot be blamed for its viciousness or its stupidities; they just have to endure them.<sup>5</sup>

Such filmic presentations of children at war demonstrate the danger of any argument that, in narratives dealing with World War II, images of victimhood were a late twentieth-century phenomenon, following and displacing a different and prior "collective memory" of collective aspirations toward a better world. The lonely, isolated, damaged, or suffering individual in film could and did point to the need for collective action. The filmic children of postwar Europe were hardly icons of the triumph of individualism over collective action.

There is another problem in this kind of analysis. Bodnar takes issue with work on traumatic memory, understood as an underground river of recollection, likely to erupt unbidden when triggered by some external stimulus. He argues that trauma may not be so much buried as displaced, and in part displaced onto film. The

<sup>2</sup> John Bodnar, "Saving Private Ryan and Postwar Memory in America," *AHR* 106 (June 2001): 808.

<sup>3</sup> Pieter Lagrou, *The Legacy of Nazi Occupation: Patriotic Memory and National Recovery in Western Europe, 1945–1965* (Cambridge, 2000).

<sup>4</sup> Bodnar, "Saving Private Ryan," 808.

<sup>5</sup> Pierre Sorlin, "Children as Victims in Postwar European Cinema," in Jay Winter and Emmanuel Sivan, eds., *War and Remembrance in the Twentieth Century* (Cambridge, 1999), 104–24.

problem here is the direct transposition of a category of individual psychopathology into the arena of cultural production. The notion of "trauma" is in itself contested terrain.<sup>6</sup> It is understood, in psychiatric or neurophysiological terms, only in a very rudimentary way. How is it possible to take the term and apply it to a culture as a whole?

Here is one feature of the discussion of "collective memory" that is at the heart of the problem. The assumption is that individual memory and collective memory are related in a linear or aggregative way. I know of no study in neurology or cognitive psychology that justifies such a conclusion. The language of "collective memory" or "cultural memory" is simply too vague to bear the weight of such an argument.

Bodnar's claim is that film served as a field of traumatic displacement. Cinema "articulated" anxieties arising out of "popular nervousness over brute force in both wartime and peacetime America." What film showed is that "violence could be homegrown." This imagery therefore enabled a "substantial amount of the trauma and anxiety, at least in the United States," to be not so much "restrained . . . as displaced into the narratives of mass culture."<sup>7</sup> In this context, "trauma and anxiety" evidently become collective phenomena. It is hard to know what evidence would help us evaluate these massive claims. Did the Hollywood "Western" before World War II or gangster films of the 1930s serve the same purpose? And African Americans, victimized in a myriad of ways by segregation, hardly needed a demonstration of the proposition that "violence could be homegrown." The generalized form of this kind of claim about "cultural memory" makes it virtually impossible to evaluate its validity.

The same problem mars Eley's essay on British film and World War II. History, he posits reasonably, is both a "relation to something that really happened" and also "a container of meaning, a representational project" that was of use to certain groups in British politics. What Samuel Hynes calls "the war in the head," the war imagined, offered what Eley terms "an active archive of collective identification."<sup>8</sup> This set of images associated with the fiftieth anniversary of the end of the war contributed to "an insidious postmodern gesture" whereby the history of real events was "erased in the very act of its recuperation."<sup>9</sup> His central argument is that through war remembrance, imagery occluded history.

Sometimes, this occurred in very indirect ways. Kenneth Branagh's bold interpretation of *Henry V* clearly cut across Sir Laurence Olivier's film version of the play, produced as stirring wartime drama in 1944. But to Eley, "Branagh ventriloquized Thatcherist rhetoric in spite of himself."<sup>10</sup> Here's the rub: how in the world do we validate such a statement? Representations perform functions independent of their authors, to be sure, but why adopt this one interpretation when others seem equally valid? The chaos of battle is much more evident in Branagh's film, when

<sup>6</sup> See Mark Mikale's penetrating discussion of the subject in his review in the *Times Literary Supplement* (September 14, 2000) of Ruth Leys, *Trauma: A Genealogy* (Baltimore, Md., 2000).

<sup>7</sup> Bodnar, "Saving Private Ryan," 809, 811.

<sup>8</sup> See Samuel Hynes, *The Soldiers' Tale* (New York, 1997); Geoff Eley, "Finding the People's War: Film, British Collective Memory, and World War II," *AHR* 106 (June 2001): 818, 819.

<sup>9</sup> Eley, "Finding the People's War," 819.

<sup>10</sup> Eley, "Finding the People's War," 820.

actor Brian Blessed walks right across his king's post-battle path. This device seems to remove some of the fictive order of battle and its aftermath, and thus works entirely against post-Falklands Thatcherite posturing. I do not want to argue that my interpretation is any more valid than Eley's, just that his method of analysis rests on a set of unexamined and doubtful assumptions about what memory is and how it is manipulated. Vagueness here opens the door to tendentious political interpretations of the effect of film, in the form of stating that Kenneth Branagh inadvertently spoke for Margaret Thatcher, interpretations that are at best difficult to evaluate.

Film does indeed have power in projecting national stereotypes and narratives. But it is unwise to link these images directly to political argument, such as that over British national identity in the fourth quarter of the twentieth century. In this regard, the range of reference in Eley's essay is unnecessarily limited. He is right to state that "something like a renegotiation of national culture has been taking place" in Britain since the 1960s, but he defines this process too narrowly.<sup>11</sup> Thatcher certainly tried, Canute-like, to stem the tide, but so much was against her that her failure was inevitable. Europe sealed her fate. Surprisingly for a German historian, Eley spends little time on the revolutionary implications of British integration, albeit hesitant and incomplete, into the European Community. For at least a century, what is British has been defined as against what is European. "Lesser countries"—in Dickensian rhetoric—had to follow a path that the more fortunate British had bypassed. Now that is no longer the case. How has film accommodated this sea change? Are European stereotypes less or more evident in British film now that integration is a reality? Here is an issue arguably central to a "renegotiation of national culture" but one on which Eley offers no clues.

Another difficulty in Eley's unanchored approach to "collective memory" and cinema concerns his handling of specific filmic material. "It is hard," he tells us, "not to read [the] boyhood memoir in [John Boorman's *Hope and Glory*] of a wartime society of women against the Thatcherized political language of the 1980s." Is that really so? Images of childhood, as Pierre Sorlin has demonstrated, have been salient features of World War II films from the later 1940s. Their power is in confronting war from the standpoint of someone who could not possibly be implicated in causing or fighting the conflict, but whose life is shaped by it anyway. Thus I remain unpersuaded by Eley's claim that the film "does have a metanarrative about World War II after all, though one coded through the formally depoliticized reconstructions of everyday life."<sup>12</sup> But whether or not I share Eley's views is less important than the fact that he offers no criteria through which to evaluate them. Take it or leave it seems to be his approach to the study of memory, politics, and film. On balance, I would prefer to leave it.

Elsewhere, Eley writes of "the promiscuous use" of the trope of nostalgia in the last two decades tending to flatten "the specificities of particular periods and their place in collective and personal memory."<sup>13</sup> There is force in this claim, but it fades rapidly when it is used to reach a political conclusion, namely that being nostalgic

<sup>11</sup> Eley, "Finding the People's War," 823.

<sup>12</sup> Eley, "Finding the People's War," 825.

<sup>13</sup> Eley, "Finding the People's War," n. 22.



about the war tends to shift attention away from the period 1945–1951, when the Third Labour government created the basic institutions clustered under the heading of the “welfare state.” This period of political achievement, Eley notes, was the one in reference to which “collective memory” had been “organized” and the postwar consensus had been “characterized.”<sup>14</sup> Remembering the war in nostalgic film is thus, from Eley’s point of view, a way to avoid remembering the postwar years, years when the welfare state was born. To turn away from this period served the interests of Thatcherite conservatives who aimed to undo that postwar settlement.

I find this argument unpersuasive. Wartime settings accommodated many different thematic readings. For only one prominent example, it would be useful to consider the egalitarian message of Michael Powell and Emeric Pressburger’s 1943 film *The Life and Death of Colonel Blimp*. Here is the stuff of nostalgia, nostalgia in huge quantities, married to a message deeply offensive to traditional conservatism. Apparently, Winston Churchill wanted to stop it from being made, then from being exported.<sup>15</sup> And this film is far from the only filmic war narrative with a powerful populist flavor.

I understand that Eley is not making an argument about history as past events but rather about their imaginary reconstruction. His argument would have been more persuasive, though, had he adopted a more pluralist stance, enabling him to engage with multiple filmic readings of the war. And multiple forms of public recollection in recent years that move in different directions. When John Major tried to turn the fiftieth anniversary of 1945 into a picnic (literally), veterans made him think again. There was too much bitterness and too much suffering for their “collective memory” to be inscribed within the rhetoric of the Conservative Party.<sup>16</sup>

These are issues that ought to be studied and debated at length. My point here is that the attempt to correlate the imagery of film with something called “collective memory” and to relate both to political contestation about national identity is a program fraught with difficulties.

In Youngblood’s essay on Soviet film and World War II, some of these same problems recur. Once again, the absence of a clear working definition of “memory” causes problems. Youngblood’s interpretation is based on a juxtaposition of official lies about the war with filmic “truths,” “truths” that “succeeded in returning to the Soviet people an authentic memory of the conflict.”<sup>17</sup> And yet what makes one memory authentic and another false? Even if we set aside Stalinist shibboleths, how can we know where the “truth” about the war lay? And how can we know that a particular film or set of films came to embody something called “authentic memory”?<sup>18</sup>

The authenticity of narratives about war is a highly contested subject. Some veterans continue to claim a proprietary interest here. The same occurred after the 1914–1918 war, and it is just as unconvincing. Essentialism cannot get us very far in dealing with imaginings of war. The experience was too varied for anyone to claim a

<sup>14</sup> Eley, “Finding the People’s War,” 828.

<sup>15</sup> Ian Christie, “Introduction: A Very British Epic,” in Christie, ed., *Powell and Pressburger: The Life and Death of Colonel Blimp* (London, 1994), xi.

<sup>16</sup> James McKillop, “Party for Everyone Bar Security Forces,” *Glasgow Herald*, May 6, 1995; P.H.S., “Meet Again,” *The Times* (London), December 30, 1994.

<sup>17</sup> Denise J. Youngblood, “A War Remembered: Soviet Films of the Great Patriotic War,” *AHR* 106 (June 2001): 855.

<sup>18</sup> See Catherine Merridale, *Nights of Stone: Death and Memory in Twentieth-Century Russia* (London, 2000).

privileged viewpoint; furthermore, if rough casualty figures can be believed, more civilians than soldiers lost their lives as a result of the 1939–1945 war.<sup>19</sup> There can never be such a thing as an “authoritative” eyewitness to such a multifaceted catastrophe.

Multiple witnesses must yield multiple narratives, of which film forms only one dimension. To evaluate cinematic images of war, perhaps the best way forward is to interpret film lightly. Film surely cannot bear the weight of heavy interpretative agendas. This is not to reify film nor is it to suggest that film has no political echoes or origins; on the contrary. It is rather to urge a more complex and textured approach to works that are at one and the same time artistic, thematic, formulaic, commercial, and political.

And visual. In all three essays, the viscosity of film is given less attention than its textuality. But surely imagery can (and frequently does) escape the confines of written language. And here a final set of problems emerges, concerning the impossibility of visualizing battle and other facets of war. There is a substantial literature on this problem, related to the chaos of combat and the absence of a vanishing point or a visual center around which the space of combat can be configured.<sup>20</sup> It is at least arguable that all war films construct a geography of engagement that is inauthentic. The best film can do is to approximate the human or physical environment of war, an environment it can in no sense replicate accurately; the scent or stench of combat will never be there. An authentic war film, *pace* Youngblood, may be a contradiction in terms.

Film is never the same as text, and the ways in which cinema presents past events are never direct or unmediated. The authors of these essays have had the courage to enter a field insufficiently theorized—the field of collective memory—and have tried to relate film to various ways of understanding it. Their presentation of the issues is of importance, and ought to lead to much more systematic work on the matrix of activities, including film, through which both individuals and collectives configure the past. Much interdisciplinary work is currently under way in precisely this spirit.<sup>21</sup>

In this effort, greater rigor in the use of the concept of “collective memory” is clearly essential. Alon Confino has made a similar point in the pages of this journal,<sup>22</sup> and his remarks are particularly relevant in the context of historical accounts of film and memory. The term “collective memory” must be handled with precision because it is at the heart of a matrix indicated, though not spelled out, in these essays. “Collective memory” may be understood as a set of signifying practices linking authorial encoding with audience decoding of messages about the past inscribed in film or in other sources. All three authors offer acute comments on the ways scriptwriters and directors encode political and social messages in their films. Some of these hidden agendas are carefully and subtly inserted: living under Stalin required no less. Other messages arrive in what may have been a semi-conscious or unintentional way: such is the nature of Eley’s claims about the subliminal

<sup>19</sup> See J. M. Winter, “The Demography of the 1939–45 War,” in M. R. D. Foot, ed., *The Oxford Companion to the Second World War* (Oxford, 1995), 315–17.

<sup>20</sup> See, for some suggestive remarks, Samuel Hynes, *A War Imagined* (London, 1993).

<sup>21</sup> See the stimulating essays in Daniel L. Schacter and Elaine Scarry, eds., *Memory, Brain, and Belief* (Cambridge, Mass., 2000).

<sup>22</sup> Alon Confino, “Collective Memory and Cultural History: Problems of Method,” *AHR* 102 (December 1997): 1386–1403. See also the *Forum* of which this article formed a part.

"Thatcherite" echoes of Branagh's *Henry V*, or Bodnar's argument concerning individual rather than collective configurations of World War II in American film. Let us for a moment grant the force of these arguments; the problem still remains as to how such messages, once imprinted on film and projected to a wide audience, are decoded by it. The answer is complex, and related to areas of the history of reading and reception well known to literary scholars.<sup>23</sup> There are conventions at work here, and their character in the context of films about World War II is informed by various kinds of images and memories, some personal, some familial, some social, some ethnic, some gendered, some national. One way of understanding these conventions is to term them "collective memory," that is, the memory of different collectives about the past.

Here we encounter one crucial analytical distinction that these three authors do not make. "Collective memory" is not the same as national memory. National collectives never create a unitary, undifferentiated, and enduring narrative called "collective memory." Nations do not remember, groups of people do. Their work is never singular, and it is never fixed. The anthropologist Roger Bastide wrote thirty years ago of the chorus of voices that address the issue of memories about the past. Some members of the chorus are closer to the microphone, others have louder voices, but no one orchestrates them in a unified way. A cacophony is inevitable.<sup>24</sup> For this reason alone, any study of "collective memory" must approach the issue from a pluralist's point of view. In addition, the concept of "collective memory" as a continuous message floating somewhere in the air cannot be sustained. What Carol Gluck has called "memory activists" are groups of people who do the work of remembrance in public.<sup>25</sup> When they cease to act, their collective's "collective memory" fades away. Someone else or some other group speaks in their place. Maurice Halbwachs provided the rudimentary form of this story seventy years ago.<sup>26</sup> Its implications are still of fundamental importance to the study of memory and history. It is both a chastening and a challenging thought that the task he embarked on prior to the outbreak of World War II, a war in which he lost his life, is a task that still remains to be done.

<sup>23</sup> See the discussion in Roger Chartier, *On the Edges of the Cliff* (Baltimore, Md., 1999).

<sup>24</sup> See, for instance, Roger Bastide, "Mémoire collective et sociologie de bricolage," *Année sociologique* 21 (1970): 65–108.

<sup>25</sup> Carol Gluck, *Past Obsessions: War and Memory in the Twentieth Century* (New York, Columbia University Press, forthcoming).

<sup>26</sup> See Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory*, 172 and following. On the genesis of these ideas, see Patrick Hutton, *History as an Art of Memory* (Hanover, N.H., 1993), chap. 4. We await the definitive study of Halbwachs's work by Annette Becker.

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## AHR Forum Essay

### Colonialism and Race

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*Historians have long been aware of the way that ideas about race can facilitate and be changed by colonial projects. Few efforts have been made, however, to move between different times and places and analyze the varied forms of the relationship between racial categories and systems of domination linked to imperialism. This is what **Patrick Wolfe** does in this year's AHR Forum Essay. The specific sites that interest him are Australia, Latin America, and the United States, and the groups defined by colonizers as racial "others" that he discusses include both indigenous populations and slaves brought from distant lands. This piece brings together in a novel way work that historians have done on each of the settings that interests Wolfe, but his goal is to do more than show how patterns diverge and intersect—though that is certainly one of his concerns. He also wants to show, via this particular foray into comparison focusing on land and race, what a new kind of cross-colonial history might look like. His piece, therefore, invites responses from not only specialists in the study of imperialism and racial categories but also anyone concerned with methodologies of comparative history.*

*Due to its sweep and the provocative nature of some of the author's arguments, Wolfe's analysis seems ideally suited for the Forum Essay format inaugurated last year in these pages. Prior to 2000, we would publish a small number of responses to a Forum Essay in the October issue of the AHR, but last year we switched to an online format, which allowed us to open the discussion even further. This time, again, we encourage interested readers to participate in a moderated electronic discussion between the author and those who wish to comment. The discussion with Wolfe will take place September 3–17 on our web site at [www.historycooperative.org](http://www.historycooperative.org). Participants can send questions or comments of up to 700 words. After the discussion has concluded, the exchanges will become a permanent part of the electronic version of this Forum Essay.*



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*Forum Essay*

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Land, Labor, and Difference: Elementary Structures of Race

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PATRICK WOLFE

IN AUSTRALIA, ALTHOUGH ABORIGINAL PEOPLE are called black, they are not ideologically credited with a natural sense of rhythm. Conversely, unlike Aborigines, black Americans have not figured as a dying race.<sup>1</sup> Rather, this latter condition has been the ideological preserve of red Americans. In this, as in many other respects, popular representations of black Australians and red Americans have distinctly resembled each other, while both have contrasted sharply with popular representations of black Americans.<sup>2</sup> Thus more is involved than discourses of color or nationality.

In Australia and in the United States, white authorities have generally accepted—even targeted—indigenous people's physical substance (synecdochically represented as blood) for assimilation into their own stock. In both countries, indigenous people have asserted criteria other than blood quanta as bases for group membership and identity.<sup>3</sup> When it has come to black people's physical substance, on the other hand, it has only been in the last few decades that U.S. authorities have dispensed with the most rigorous procedures for insulating the dominant stock. Moreover, with some exceptions, black groups in the United States have themselves affirmed the "one-drop rule," maintaining an inclusive membership policy that, apart from anything else, has kept up group numbers. Afro-Brazilians, by contrast, have found themselves subject to policies in many respects similar to those that have been imposed on indigenous people in Australia and the United States. In particular, Brazil's policy of "racial democracy" has sought to whiten the population by means of a combination of white immigration and officially sanctioned "miscegenation" between black and lighter-colored Brazilians. Even among Afro-Brazilians, organized opposition to this policy has not attracted widespread support.<sup>4</sup>

My thanks to Julie Evans, Glenda Gilmore, and the anonymous *AHR* reviewers for their advice and criticism, as well as to Allyn Roberts and Jeffrey Wasserstrom for their attentive editorship. Earlier versions of this essay were presented at the Third Galway Conference on Colonialism in 1999 and at the "New Imperial History" conference at the University of Texas, Austin, in 2000.

<sup>1</sup> Minor exceptions are noted below.

<sup>2</sup> Henceforth, apart from quotations and contexts where alternatives are obvious, indigenous people in British North America/the United States will be referred to as Indian, indigenous people in Australia as Aboriginal, people of African descent in British North America/the United States as black (the lowercase usage being the *AHR*'s house style), people of African descent in Brazil as black or Afro-Brazilian, and people classified European as white.

<sup>3</sup> As Queensland Aboriginal activist Wadjularbinna put it (personal communication with the author), "You can add as much milk as you like, but it's still a cup of coffee."

<sup>4</sup> George Reid Andrews, "Black Political Mobilization in Brazil, 1975–1990," in Andrews and Herrick Chapman, eds., *The Social Construction of Democracy, 1870–1990* (New York, 1995), 218–40;

There are no grounds for assuming that such striking disparities can be reconciled under a single master category called "race." Rather, the preceding examples suggest that race is but one among various regimes of difference that have served to distinguish dominant groups from groups whom they initially encountered in colonial contexts. Focusing on the discourses of miscegenation that structure these examples does, however, enable us to say more about the particular colonial contexts concerned. For instance, American Indians and Aboriginal people in Australia share much more than the quality of attracting assimilation policies. Above all, they are both sets of peoples whose territorial expropriation was foundational to the colonial formations into which Europeans incorporated them. Thus their relationship with their colonizers—as both parties to the relationship would presumably agree—centered on land. In contrast, blacks' relationship with their colonizers—from the colonizers' point of view at least—centered on labor. In this light, the varying miscegenation policies make immediate sense, since assimilation reduces an indigenous population with rival claims to the land, while an exclusive strategy enlarges an enslaved labor force.

This essay will examine certain racial regimes that Europeans have sought to impose on colonized groups, with a view to illuminating both the foundations on which Europeans established white supremacy and the changing ways in which they have sought to maintain it. To this end, we will focus on the points at which racial classifications most conspicuously come undone. For such classifications, in common with other imposed categories, apply most visibly where they are vulnerable, at the points where the divisions that they proclaim break down. Thus the essay will investigate differentiation by way of its negation. Universally, racial categories have been transgressed by sexuality, so we can approach systems of social domination comparatively by way of a cross-cultural historical survey of discourses of miscegenation.<sup>5</sup> On this basis, the essay will analyze miscegenation policies that white authorities have sought to impose in Australia (on Aborigines), in the United States (on blacks and on Indians), and in Brazil (on the bulk of the population). Since the contrasts and correspondences that will concern us do not necessarily emerge in these different societies at the same times or in consistent temporal sequence, the discussion is contextual and thematic rather than chronological.

AS I HAVE PREVIOUSLY ARGUED IN MORE DETAIL,<sup>6</sup> the Australian assimilation policy, under which Aboriginal children with a proportion of non-Aboriginal descent were

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Kim D. Butler, *Freedoms Given, Freedoms Won: Afro-Brazilians in Post-Abolition São Paulo and Salvador* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1998); Michael George Hanchard, *Orpheus and Power: The Movimento Negro of Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo, Brazil, 1945–1988* (Princeton, N.J., 1994); Livio Sansone, "The Local and the Global in Today's Afro-Bahia," in Ton Salman, ed., *The Legacy of the Disinherited: Popular Culture in Latin America: Modernity, Globalization, Hybridity and Authenticity* (Amsterdam, 1996), 197–219; but compare Lélia Gonzalez, "The Unified Black Movement: A New Stage in Black Political Mobilization," in Pierre-Michel Fontaine, ed., *Race, Class and Power in Brazil* (Los Angeles, 1985), 120–34.

<sup>5</sup> The term "miscegenation" was not coined until 1863. Sidney Kaplan, "The Miscegenation Issue in the Election of 1864," *Journal of Negro History* 34 (1949): 274–343, 277. Nonetheless, it was substantially anticipated by comparable terms ("amalgamation," etc.), so I shall use it to refer to this discursive continuity as a whole.

<sup>6</sup> Patrick Wolfe, "Nation and MisceNation: Discursive Continuity in the Post-Mabo Era," *Social Analysis* 36 (1994): 93–152; Wolfe, *Settler Colonialism and the Transformation of Anthropology: The Politics and Poetics of an Ethnographic Event* (London, 1999), 168–90. This section overlaps with these

taken away from their natal families by the Australian state, was integral to the logic of elimination that underpinned Australian settler colonialism. As opposed to franchise-colonial relationships (such as the British Raj, the Netherlands East Indies), settler colonialism seeks to replace the natives on their land rather than extract surplus value by mixing their labor with a colony's natural resources. Slave societies, which may be metropolitan or colonial, are different again, since—at least, in the case of the successful ones—the labor that is mixed with the land is not native but geographically alienated, the slaves being, or being descended from, outsiders removed from their original homelands. In the case of settler colonies, which may also encompass relations of slavery, the colonizers come to stay, expropriating the native owners of the soil, which they typically develop by means of a subordinated labor force (slaves, indenturees, convicts) whom they import from elsewhere.<sup>7</sup> Thus the antebellum United States encompassed both settler-colonial relationships (between whites and Indians) and relationships of slavery (between whites and blacks).<sup>8</sup> In the Australian case, the white convicts whom the British imported were not comparable to slaves in the United States since, no matter how long the term of their servitude, they did not transmit their juridical condition to offspring. So far as Aboriginal people were concerned, however, the British were involved in settler-colonial relationships that were substantially similar to those between whites and Indians in the United States. In either case, settler colonialism introduced a zero-sum contest over land on which conflicting modes of production could not ultimately<sup>9</sup> coexist. Thus the primary logic of settler colonialism can be characterized as one of elimination.<sup>10</sup>

In Australia, the logic of elimination acquired peculiar explicitness through the

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earlier accounts. By virtue of their cumulative nature, comparative projects make it hard to avoid repetition, especially when one has not significantly changed one's mind about a previous analysis.

<sup>7</sup> Hence "pure" settler colonialism of the Australian or North American variety should be distinguished from so-called colonial settler societies that depended on indigenous labor (for example, European farm economies in southern Africa or plantation economies in South Asia).

<sup>8</sup> As noted below, some slaveowners were Indian, and a few were black.

<sup>9</sup> "Ultimately" because, in some cases (especially the fur trade), a high level of coexistence was possible over considerable time spans. In my view, which I cannot develop here, the shift from trading posts to settler colonialism proper is best considered as a shift from mercantile to industrial forms of capitalism. In keeping with the argument to come, a shift of this magnitude—that is, from a trade-centered to a land-centered form of colonialism—would involve a shift in miscegenation discourse. Thus it is significant that, on the advent of settler colonization proper, miscegenation no longer underwrites the cross-cultural political alliances of Richard White's magisterially narrated middle ground: "The accommodation between French and Algonquian models of exchange that became the French fur trade of the *pays d'en haut* was structured by the overarching political relationship of French fathers to their Algonquian children. This alliance provided the means for linking the Algonquian system of exchange, with its emphasis on the primacy of social relation, to a much larger world economy." White, *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650–1815* (Cambridge, 1991), 104–05. By the same token, the miscegenation discourse that I analyze here is substantially different from the shifting franchise-colonial patterns that Ann Laura Stoler perceptively discerned in the Dutch East Indies. Stoler, "Making Empire Respectable: The Politics of Race and Sexual Morality in 20th-Century Colonial Cultures," *American Ethnologist* 16 (1989): 634–60; Stoler, "Sexual Affronts and Racial Frontiers: European Identities and the Cultural Politics of Exclusion in Colonial Southeast Asia," in Frederick Cooper and Stoler, eds., *Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World* (Berkeley, Calif., 1997), 198–237.

<sup>10</sup> "Aborigines, n. Persons of little worth found cumbering the soil of a newly discovered country. They soon cease to cumber; they fertilize"; Ambrose Bierce, "Devil's Dictionary," *Collected Works of Ambrose Bierce*, 12 vols. (New York, 1909–12), 7: 13.

doctrine of *terra nullius*. Although the British Privy Council did not confirm this doctrine in colonial law until 1889,<sup>11</sup> it was deeply grounded in legal and popular-cultural presupposition. In the latter, despite the whispering in a few more sensitive hearts, Aborigines were simply savages and, as such, without rights. In its more formal aspect as an item of international law, however, the doctrine emerges not so much as an enduring ethnocentric prejudice as a quintessentially modern ideology that unites the domestic and colonial aspects of European bourgeois discourse.

The key concept is that of private property. In distinctively Lockean fashion, the doctrine held that property in land resulted from the mixing of one's labor with it to render it a more efficient provider of wealth than it would have been if left in its natural state, paradigmatically as an aristocratic hunting reserve. Practically, this meant settled agriculture, involving cultivation, irrigation, and enclosure. In addition to this requirement, it was also necessary that there be a properly sanctioned framework of laws to protect the property rights that the individual had acquired by dint of the application of his (*sic*) labor. Practically, this meant centralized governance, formal sanctions, and, again, enclosure, or fixed public boundaries. Within Europe, there could hardly have been a clearer antithesis, not to say challenge, to an unrepresentative system of hereditary landed power characterized by inefficiency and wasteful exclusions. In its colonial application, where it acquired the formality of a name (*terra nullius* meaning "nobody's land"), the same set of principles furnished a warrant for denying "nomadic" peoples ownership of the land they occupied.<sup>12</sup>

In Australia, Europeans almost universally judged Aborigines to be nomadic—not in the pastoral, biblical sense but as people who merely prowled about the landscape in search of sustenance, garnering at will like so many stray animals—and as lacking anything resembling an ordered system of government. Accordingly, they had no more claim to ownership of the land than had the native fauna that grazed across its expanse. As Justice Blackburn could still conclude in 1971, in the Gove land rights case, Aborigines belonged to the land, but the land did not belong to them.<sup>13</sup> Since Australia belonged to no one else, it was simply there for Europeans to take, without the requirement for contract, compensation, or other form of consideration that the acknowledgement of so-called Native Title would have imposed.

This is not to suggest that the attribution by Europeans of Native Title has been of any particular benefit to colonized peoples. Indeed, Indian peoples' experiences

<sup>11</sup> "There is a great difference between the case of a colony acquired by conquest or cession, in which case there is an established system of law, and that of a colony which consisted of a tract of territory practically unoccupied, without settled inhabitants or settled law, at the time it was peacefully annexed to the British dominions. The colony of New South Wales belongs to the latter class." *Cooper v. Stuart*, 1889, 14 *Appeal Cases* (Privy Council), 286.

<sup>12</sup> For analysis and discussion of the principal formulations of *terra nullius* and the doctrine of discovery (including the Norman yoke) more generally, see, for example, Alan Frost, "New South Wales as *Terra Nullius*: The British Denial of Aboriginal Land Rights," in Susan Janson and Stuart Macintyre, eds., *Through White Eyes* (Sydney, 1990), 65–76, 16–34; Henry Reynolds, *The Law of the Land*, 2d edn. (Melbourne, 1992); and especially Robert A. Williams, Jr., *The American Indian in Western Legal Thought: The Discourses of Conquest* (New York, 1990), 233–86.

<sup>13</sup> *Milirrpum v. Nabalco Pty. Ltd. and the Commonwealth of Australia*, 17 *Federal Law Reports*, 1971, see, for example, 141, 272–73.



with the treaties that were necessitated by their Native Title (or Domestic Dependent Nations status) would indicate that *terra nullius* had the advantage of leaving Aboriginal people's unacknowledged rights intact.<sup>14</sup> The point is rather to indicate the deep historical anchorage of settler-colonial discourse, which is much more than some ad hoc rationalization that sprang up spontaneously in the Australian context. With this provenance recognized, comparative colonial history becomes possible. Moreover, it also enables us to move beyond the category "Europe," used in a vaguely geographical sense, to a specific social formation, capitalism, with discernible historical moments and phases. For instance, the very fact that the British colony in Australia originated as a convict settlement (the United States having been closed off after the revolution) necessarily brings us back to the bourgeois discourse of private property that underpinned the doctrine of *terra nullius*, in this instance by way of the enclosures that produced cities teeming with the Malthusian poor whom convict shipment was intended to siphon off. As will be noted below, such considerations did not apply to Portugal, which, remaining effectively preindustrial, lacked a surplus population, a consideration that had profound implications for the Brazilian colonial formation.

With or without doctrinal explication, though, in both Australia and the United States, the logic of elimination took on a range of related historical forms. Indeed, as will emerge, the settler-colonial policies that authorities in the two countries have implemented or attempted to implement might seem to have been drawn from a common stock. With the notable exception of severalty or allotment legislation,<sup>15</sup> the standard stage model of Indian policy—conquest, removal, reservation, allotment, assimilation, co-optation, termination, self-determination<sup>16</sup>—elicits the ready recognition of one familiar with the history of Aboriginal-European relations in Australia. Of course, there were local variations and postponements, the details were not always just the same, and the "phases" did not always follow in strict succession—indeed, they often coincided as alternatives. Nonetheless, as an inventory of settler-colonial policy options, the list requires little substantial modification for reapplication to the historical development of Australian policies on Aborigines.

Within Australia, policies on Aborigines have varied in time and place. In some regions, local factors have encouraged European reliance on Aboriginal labor. This applies particularly to the northern cattle industry, which remained crucially dependent on Aboriginal labor until relatively recently.<sup>17</sup> Not only was it widely

<sup>14</sup> "[I]n denying native title, *terra nullius* had also precluded its extinguishment—you can't extinguish something that isn't already there. As a formula for extinguishment, the [Australian] *Native Title Act* refurbished and reinvigorated the logic of elimination." Wolfe, *Settler Colonialism*, 203.

<sup>15</sup> Since no native entitlement to land was recognized in Australia, the motivation for a Dawes Act did not arise.

<sup>16</sup> For example: "concentration (relocating Western Indians into two broad areas to the north and south of the principal overland trails); confinement to reservations, through both negotiations and military force . . . assimilation and allotment (division of tribal lands into private property under the Dawes Act); the Indian New Deal; the attempt in the 1950s at termination (withdrawing the federal government from responsibility for Indians); and then, in our own times, the multiple meanings of self-determination." Patricia Nelson Limerick, *The Legacy of Conquest: The Unbroken Past of the American West* (New York, 1987), 195. For an analogous example, see William T. Hagan, *American Indians*, 3d edn. (Chicago, 1993), 36–37.

<sup>17</sup> Ronald M. Berndt and Catherine H. Berndt, *End of an Era: Aboriginal Labour in the Northern*

believed that Europeans were unfit to labor in such harsh conditions, but most of this region was not invaded until after the shipment of convicts had been terminated, so cheap white labor was unavailable. In early Tasmania (Van Diemen's Land), Aboriginal women were extensively used for sealing and oyster diving, while, later on, Torres Strait Islands men were employed as divers on pearl luggers. Aboriginal men and women were in many respects differently colonized, with women's domestic and sexual labor being valued on a different scale to their men's services. Although these and other variations are significant and need to be acknowledged, they do not alter the primacy of the dominant pattern, manifest most clearly in the south and east of the continent, where settler colonialism practically approximated its pure or theoretical form, resulting, within a short space of time, in the decimation of the Aboriginal population.

Since, as in North America, frontiers moved across Australia from coastal beachheads, variously established over the century following the landing of the First Fleet in 1788, it is not possible to date the development of Australian settler colonization as an even sequence. Thus it is convenient to organize its establishment and consolidation into a typology of strategic phases, which, though overlapping, were successively introduced at different times in different parts of the continent.<sup>18</sup> For heuristic purposes, I term these phases confrontation, incarceration (which includes removal), and assimilation (biological and cultural). The first and the last represent the extremes of a historical transformation during which Aborigines' relationship to European society shifted from one of exteriority to one of interiority. Although the final phase, assimilation, was governed by a discourse of miscegenation, it was consistent with—and, in its own way, reproduced—the same logic of elimination that had underlain the first two phases. Thus the assimilation policy should be situated in the historical context of Australian colonization as a whole.

During the initial phase, in which invading Europeans first confronted Aborigines defending their territory, Aboriginal resistance was subverted as a result of the combined effects of four related factors: homicide, introduced disease, starvation, and sexual abuse.<sup>19</sup> The scenario is, of course, broadly familiar in the U.S. context. There is, however, a major difference. In the United States, depictions of black sexuality dominated miscegenation discourse to an extent that led Winthrop Jordan to claim, albeit with some exaggeration, that “the entire interracial sexual complex

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*Territory* (Canberra, 1987); Tim Rowse, *White Flour, White Power: From Rations to Citizenship in Central Australia* (Melbourne, 1998).

<sup>18</sup> Wolfe, “Nation and MisceNation”; Wolfe, *Settler Colonialism*, 168–90. For analogous earlier models of this process, see Jeremy Beckett, “Aboriginality in a Nation-State: The Australian Case,” in Michael C. Howard, ed., *Ethnicity and Nation-Building in the Pacific* (Tokyo, 1989), 118–35; Richard Broome, *Aboriginal Australians: Black Responses to White Dominance, 1788–1980* (Sydney, 1982); Peter Read, *A Hundred Years War: The Wiradjuri People and the State* (Canberra, 1988).

<sup>19</sup> From a huge literature, see, for example, N. G. Butlin, *Our Original Aggression: Aboriginal Populations of Southeastern Australia, 1788–1850* (Sydney, 1983); Heather Goodall, *Invasion to Embassy: Land in Aboriginal Politics in New South Wales, 1770–1972* (Sydney, 1996); Henry Reynolds, *The Other Side of the Frontier: Aboriginal Resistance to the Invasion and Settlement of Australia* (Townsville, Queensland, 1981); C. D. Rowley, *The Destruction of Aboriginal Society* (Canberra, 1970).

did not pertain to the Indian.”<sup>20</sup> In Australia, on the other hand, which lacked a comparable “third race,” miscegenation discourse came to focus primarily on indigenous people, whose blackness became correspondingly salient.

Aborigines who survived the disaster of the first phase found themselves reduced to improvising whatever livelihoods they could in the pores of the alien new society, which generally found them repugnant. Measures were introduced to confine the surviving Aboriginal “remnant” to fixed locations, either by the lure of rations or by coercive measures.<sup>21</sup> This constitutes the second, carceral phase of settler-colonial policy toward Aborigines. In keeping with Social Darwinist premises, as corroborated by Aborigines’ manifest decimation, their confinement on missions and reserves was seen as a temporary measure, since they were believed to be a dying race. Although framed in philanthropic rhetoric (as in missionaries “smoothing the dying pillow”), this phase maintained the logic of elimination in that it vacated Aboriginal territory and rendered it available for pastoral settlement.

Mission boundaries were not enough, however, to prevent the sexual encounters, conducted under conditions of radical inequality, that characterized relations between white men and Aboriginal women. These encounters produced offspring who, growing up as they almost invariably did with their maternal kin, identified themselves as Aboriginal. Moreover, far from dying out, this section of the Aboriginal population threatened to expand exponentially. As the nineteenth century moved to its close, the romance of extinction progressively gave way to the specter of the “half-caste menace.” Aboriginal people became racialized—in the full genetic sense involved in blood quantum legislation—during the years surrounding national independence, in 1901.<sup>22</sup> These developments coincided with the end of the frontier, an uneven process that marked the final internalization of the “Aboriginal problem.” They also coincided with the introduction of the so-called White Australia Policy. Seeking to build a white man’s paradise in the South Pacific, and encouraged by trade unions keen to eliminate cut-price labor, the newly federated national government in 1903 introduced legislation that curtailed non-European immigration and targeted non-white residents for deportation.<sup>23</sup> Since no external homeland could plausibly be assigned to Aborigines, the remedy for the challenge that they posed to white Australia was not projection without but absorption within. From around the turn of the twentieth century, a range of measures were introduced that were designed to detach individuals from Aboriginal communities, stripping them of their Aboriginal identities and incorporating them into white society. Thus the assimilation policy was a symptom of Aborigines’ containment within Australian society, constituting an internal correlate to the White Australia Policy.

Initially, lighter-skinned Aborigines (that is, those whose quantum of Aboriginal

<sup>20</sup> Winthrop D. Jordan, *White over Black: American Attitudes toward the Negro, 1550–1812* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1968), 163.

<sup>21</sup> From another huge literature, see, for example, Bain Attwood, *The Making of the Aborigines* (Sydney, 1989); M. F. Christie, *Aborigines in Colonial Victoria, 1835–86* (Sydney, 1979); Anna Haebich, *For Their Own Good: Aborigines and Government in the South West of Western Australia, 1900–1940* (Nedlands, WA, 1988); Bill Rosser, *This Is Palm Island* (Canberra, 1978).

<sup>22</sup> Attwood, *Making of the Aborigines*, 81–103.

<sup>23</sup> Myra Willard, *History of the White Australia Policy to 1920* (1968; Melbourne, 1974), 182–86.

blood was deemed to be less than 51 percent) were expelled from reserves. They generally inhabited makeshift settlements ("fringe camps") on the margins of country towns, caught between the reserves from which they had been banned and rural white society. These settlements were subject to harassment on the part of police and local authorities, which increasingly took the form of child abduction, as predominantly lighter-skinned Aboriginal children were taken from their families and committed to youth-training institutions with a view to their insertion into the lowest echelons of white society—which is to say, with a view to their elimination from the Aboriginal reckoning.<sup>24</sup> After World War II, there was a general shift away from youth-training institutions toward a policy of having Aboriginal children adopted out to white families. This policy continued to be official practice in most Australian states until 1967, when a referendum removed the constitutional disabilities that had enabled Aborigines to be singled out in this way.<sup>25</sup> Members of the "Stolen Generations," as the victims of this policy have come to be known, have so far been unsuccessful in their attempts to secure redress from the Australian government.

The conformity of this policy to the logic of elimination is too obvious to require explanation. For comparative purposes, however, we need to analyze the genetic arithmetic according to which Australian governments sought to breed Aborigines out. This will provide a basis for comparing the logic of the Australian system with the quantifications informing regimes such as the one-drop rule in the United States or the hyperelaborated set of color classifications in Brazil. In this connection, the key feature of the Australian system is that it limited the permutations of miscegenation to three descending fractions, conventionally termed "half-caste," "quadroon," and "octoroon." Crucially, a one-sixteenth category was not provided for. Rather, the category succeeding "octoroon" was full-blown whiteness. Assuming continuing miscegenation in each descending generation,<sup>26</sup> therefore, the system provided for a three-generational lap count to elimination (see Figure 1).<sup>27</sup>

<sup>24</sup> Commonwealth of Australia, *Bringing Them Home* (Canberra, 1997); Coral Edwards and Peter Read, eds., *The Lost Children: Thirteen Australians Taken from Their Aboriginal Families Tell of the Struggle to Find Their Natural Parents* (Sydney, 1989); D. J. Mulvaney, *Encounters in Place: Outsiders and Aboriginal Australians, 1606–1985* (St. Lucia, Queensland, 1989), 199–205; Peter Read, *A Rape of the Soul So Profound: The Return of the Stolen Generations* (St. Leonards, NSW, 1999).

<sup>25</sup> Bain Attwood and Andrew Markus, *The 1967 Referendum: or, When Aborigines Didn't Get the Vote* (Canberra, 1997).

<sup>26</sup> As J. A. Carrodus, secretary of the Australian Department of the Interior, observed at the 1937 national conference that devised a policy of assimilation for uniform application across all Australian states and territories: "It would be desirable for us to deal first with the people of mixed blood. Ultimately, if history is repeated, the full bloods will become half-castes." Commonwealth of Australia, *Aboriginal Welfare: Initial Conference of Commonwealth and State Aboriginal Authorities* (Canberra, 1937), 21. By this, Carrodus meant that the "full bloods" would have "half-caste" children, to whom the policy could be reapplied.

<sup>27</sup> The illustration comes from an apologia for the assimilation policy written by one of the most senior Aboriginal Affairs administrators in Australia, A. O. Neville, who had been Chief Protector of Aborigines in Western Australia for a quarter-century: "Time and time again I have been asked by some white man: 'If I marry so-and-so (a coloured [i.e., Aboriginal/European] person) will our children be black?' . . . [I replied] . . . That the children would be lighter than the mother, and if later they married whites and had children these would be lighter still, and that in the third or fourth generation no sign of native origin whatever would be apparent. Subject to this process a half-blood mother is unmistakable as to origin, her quarter-caste or quadroon offspring almost like a white, and an octoroon entirely indistinguishable from one. (See illustrations.)" Neville, *Australia's Coloured Minority: Its Place in the Community* (Sydney, [1947]), 58–59, illustration facing p. 72.



Though arbitrary, the fact that only three fractions were licensed is, therefore, fundamental, since it provided a cut-off point. Any greater number—let alone a Brazilian-style myriad of categories—would have extended Aborigines' anomalous persistence within white Australia on a scale of generations.

In sum, then, the Australian solution to the problem posed for settler colonization by the recalcitrant persistence of extraneously constituted indigenous societies—who, significantly, were numerically overwhelmed—was to absorb them into the white stock. So far as race is concerned, it is important to note that, despite the Social Darwinist rhetoric of backwardness that accompanied the assimilation policy, Aborigines' physical substance cannot really have been seen as deficient, otherwise the last thing white authorities would have set out to do would have been to incorporate it into the white gene pool. In recent decades, the emphasis of assimilationist discourse has shifted from race to culture. Aborigines' day in the sun came in 1967, when a referendum removed clauses that had discriminated against them from the Australian constitution. Since then, the White Australia Policy has been abandoned in favor of multiculturalism. Positive representations of Aborigines have been a prominent feature of multiculturalist discourse. Rather than diminishing the pressure for Aborigines to assimilate, however, this has merely altered the ethnic profile of the society into which they are scheduled to blend. Thus they now find themselves represented as just another tile in the multicultural mosaic, a trivialization of their difference that effaces their status as prior owners.

Using Australia as a baseline, we can now sketch out the principal comparative features of the U.S. and Brazilian systems.

THE U.S. HISTORIAN EDMUND S. MORGAN focused squarely on the central paradox of American liberal ideology, in which revolutionary ideals of universal freedom and the rights of man coincided with the consolidation of African slavery in colonial North America. Morgan argued that this contradictory situation had arisen as a result of the threat that the presence of an unruly white working class, the so-called "giddy multitude," had posed to seventeenth-century Virginian society.<sup>28</sup> Amid fears on the part of the governing elite that the colony of Virginia was fast becoming a "sinke to drayne England of her filth and scum"—scum who, as Bacon's Rebellion of 1676 had made alarmingly clear, could form alliances with rebellious Africans—Virginia embarked on a twin program that combined reductions in the importation of indentured English servants with a steep increase in the importation of African slaves. Since these slaves did not have indentures that expired, they would not present the threat to order that white freedmen did. Hence eighteenth-century Virginian leaders were able to extol the ideal of a free white yeomanry and profess allegiance to the rights of all Englishmen, because black slaves had taken the place

<sup>28</sup> "It could be argued that Virginia had relieved one of England's social problems by importing it." Edmund S. Morgan, *American Slavery, American Freedom: The Ordeal of Colonial Virginia* (New York, 1975), 295; compare Morgan, "Slavery and Freedom: The American Paradox," *Journal of American History* 59 (1972): 5–29. In 1680, the giddy multitude included Africans, who, at this stage, were still mainly "seasoned" Anglophone slaves imported from the Caribbean rather than directly from Africa. T. H. Breen, "A Changing Labor Force and Race Relations in Virginia," *Journal of Social History* (Fall 1973): 3–25.



THREE GENERATIONS  
(Reading from Right to Left)

1. Half-blood—(Irish-Australian father: full-blood Aboriginal mother).
2. Quadroon Daughter—(Father Australian born of Scottish parents; Mother No. 1).
3. Octaroon Grandson—(Father Australian of Irish descent; Mother No. 2).

From A. O. Neville, *Australia's Coloured Minority* (see n. 27).

of a dangerous underclass of recently freed whites. Thus Morgan's argument went much further than merely pointing to the synchronicity of slavery and libertarian ideals as if the two simply coincided by accident.<sup>29</sup> Rather, for Morgan, slavery was actually a functional prerequisite to the development of American revolutionary ideals. As he put it, slavery transformed "the Virginia of Governor Berkeley to the Virginia of Jefferson . . . [It was] slavery that made the Virginians dare to speak a political language that magnified the rights of freemen."<sup>30</sup> Developing this profoundly subversive insight on Morgan's part, David Brion Davis reconstructed the ideological progression in which blacks, who were deemed incapable of emancipating themselves, became a race apart in the late eighteenth century in a manner that excluded them from the universal category of man who was the bearer of the rights that the fathers of the revolution were so loftily enunciating. Thus race became "the central excuse for slavery."<sup>31</sup>

<sup>29</sup> As Matthew Frye Jacobson would later put the point (though without interrogating the credentials of liberalism), "Exclusions based upon race and gender did not represent mere lacunae in an otherwise liberal philosophy of political standing; nor were the nation's exclusions simply contradictions of the democratic creed. Rather, in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries these inclusions and exclusions formed an inseparable, interdependent figure and ground in the same ideological tapestry of republicanism." Jacobson, *Whiteness of a Different Color: European Immigrants and the Alchemy of Race* (Cambridge, Mass., 1998), 22–23.

<sup>30</sup> Morgan, "Slavery and Freedom," 29.

<sup>31</sup> David Brion Davis, *The Problem of Slavery in the Age of Revolution* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1975), 303–04. It should perhaps be noted that Morgan's own argument was becoming more explicitly couched in terms of race by 1975. "Racism made it possible for white Virginians to develop a devotion to the equality that English republicans had declared to be the soul of liberty." Morgan, *American Slavery, American Freedom*, 386.

The perception that race provided an alibi for the particularity with which universalism applied in practice is by no means new. Indeed, so far as the core hypocrisy is concerned, it would be hard to improve on Alexis de Tocqueville's observation that the democratic United States exterminated Indians "without violating a single great principle of morality in the eyes of the world. It is impossible to destroy men with more respect for the laws of humanity."<sup>32</sup> Race enabled the "men" being destroyed to be separable from the "man" in humanity. Well though this point has been made, however, its full implications have not been developed. In particular, race has not been adequately recognized as a shifter that bound together two principal but otherwise distinct strands of Enlightenment discourse, one epistemological, the other political.<sup>33</sup> Epistemologically, a central feature of the Enlightenment was, of course, the taxonomic imperative animating the great classificatory systems of Carl Linnaeus, George-Louis Buffon, Johann Blumenbach, and Georges Cuvier. Although the hierarchical structuring of these systems gave them obvious ideological utility in contexts of social domination, there was no necessary linkage between hierarchical taxonomies and the formal equality that hallmarked citizenship for liberal democratic theory.<sup>34</sup> As a taxonomy par excellence, however, race provided the categorical boundaries that ensured the exclusiveness of the bearers of the rights of man. This Jeffersonian fusion of bourgeois political ideology with classificatory natural science, of power with knowledge, gave race its singular epistemic purchase on Enlightenment and post-Enlightenment thought. Thus the point is not just that the prestige of science afforded an authoritative warrant to the categorical cleavage within humanity that the concept of race ordained. It is rather (or also) that race reconciled and unified two of the most formative—perhaps even *the* two most formative—components of the Enlightenment complex. Race, in short, is endemic to modernity.

The dating of race's emergence and of its harnessing to slavery remain controversial, oceans of ink having been spilled on arguments over just when, once the first consignment of twenty Africans had been landed in Virginia in 1619, Africans became "Negroes" (as opposed to Blackamoors or heathens) and Negroes became slaves.<sup>35</sup> Nonetheless, it is at least clear that, by the last quarter of the seventeenth

<sup>32</sup> Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, Phillips Bradley, ed., 2 vols. (New York, 1945), 1: 355. Needless to say, de Tocqueville's gendering could be improved on, and by means of an equivalent disclosure of universalism's particularity. The point is that it has not taken recent scholarship to identify the glaringly obvious discrepancy enabled by race.

<sup>33</sup> Most general Western or European histories of race also associate its emergence with the Enlightenment. See, for example, Ivan Hannaford, *Race: The History of an Idea in the West* (Baltimore, 1996); Kenan Malik, *The Meaning of Race: Race, History and Culture in Western Society* (London, 1996); George L. Mosse, *Toward the Final Solution: A History of European Racism* (1978; Madison, Wis., 1985).

<sup>34</sup> "The growing ideological importance of racism reflected, in large part, the failure of hierarchical political philosophy to serve as an adequate conceptual framework for American society." Frederick Cooper, *Plantation Slavery on the East Coast of Africa* (New Haven, Conn., 1977), 260.

<sup>35</sup> For a clear and authoritative account of the protracted controversy over the priority of race or slavery (Mary and Oscar Handlin, Carl Degler, Winthrop D. Jordan, George M. Fredrickson, Edmund Morgan, J. H. Plumb, *et al.*), see Alden T. Vaughan, "The Origins Debate: Slavery and Racism in Seventeenth-Century Virginia," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 97 (1989): 311–54. The suggestion is not, of course, that race emerged *de novo* in the late eighteenth century. On the contrary, most if not all of its distinctive components were of considerable standing in European discourse, albeit not yet systematically configured. This even applies to the core feature of the essentialized racial body, which, as Joyce Chaplin has convincingly argued, was anticipated in the uses to which early modern

century, the equation of Africanness and slavery had become well established.<sup>36</sup> As the English missionary Morgan Goodwyn expressed the developing presumption in 1680, the two words "Negro" and "Slave" had "by custom grown Homogeneous and convertible."<sup>37</sup> Moreover, despite a brief period of patriliney in Maryland, slavery had become transmitted matrilineally.<sup>38</sup> In sharp contrast to the English system, wherein name and status were inherited in the paternal line, it was early on decided that, no matter who the father might be, the offspring of female slaves would themselves become slaves. Though generating some concern in cases where white women had children by black men, who may or may not have been free, this provision effectively rendered blackness equivalent to slavery, at least on the level of presumption.<sup>39</sup> With blackness denoting slavery, the consequence of black

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natural philosophy was put to explain the observed discrepancy between Indians' and Europeans' susceptibility to disease. Chaplin, "Natural Philosophy and an Early Racial Idiom in North America: Comparing English and Indian Bodies," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d ser., 44 (1997): 229–52. It would be hard to encapsulate the three-way racialization of blacks, Indians, and whites more neatly than in the idiom of resistance to disease—as Christine Bolt observed, the fact that (West) Africans combined an immunity to both the European and the tropical diseases that were ravaging Indian societies was used by whites "as 'proof' that blacks were intended to labor in hot regions and that they [whites] were not. In short, the colonists were conveniently able to conclude that the Indians would vanish before civilization, while the Africans were ordained to be its servants." Bolt, *American Indian Policy and American Reform: Case Studies of the Campaign to Assimilate the American Indians* (London, 1987), 25.

<sup>36</sup> As early as 1652, Rhode Island's antislavery legislation (which was to be ineffectual in practice) presupposed that "there is a common course practised amongst English men to buy negers, to that end they may have them for service or slaves forever." Quoted in William M. Wiecek, "The Statutory Law of Slavery and Race in the Thirteen Mainland Colonies of British America," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d ser., 34 (1977): 258–80, 260.

<sup>37</sup> Quoted in James Walvin, *Questioning Slavery* (London, 1996), 79. This is not to say that all slaves were black, rather that the trend was increasingly that way, as fewer Indians and no whites continued to be enslaved. From a vast literature, see, for example, A. Leon Higginbotham, Jr., *In the Matter of Color: The Colonial Period* (Oxford, 1980); Ira Berlin, "From Creole to African: Atlantic Creoles and the Origins of African-American Society in Mainland North America," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d ser., 53 (1966): 251–88, 288 (who links the trend to the rise of plantations); David Brion Davis, *The Problem of Slavery in Western Culture* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1966), 245. A note of caution, however: when reading such accounts, it is important not to mistake classificatory form for demographic substance. In eighteenth-century South Carolina, for instance, "Native-American slaves soon vanished from the census enumerations and plantation daybooks, as plantation owners simply categorized their Indian slaves as Africans." Ira Berlin, *Many Thousands Gone: The First Two Centuries of Slavery in North America* (Cambridge, Mass., 1998), 145.

<sup>38</sup> The intended effect of the Maryland exception was to increase slave holdings by making white women who bore slaves' offspring themselves slaves during their lives. See Nancy F. Cott, "Giving Character to Our Whole Civil Polity: Marriage and the Public Order in the Late Nineteenth Century," in Linda K. Kerber, Alice Kessler-Harris, and Kathryn Kish Sklar, eds., *U.S. History as Women's History: New Feminist Essays* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1995), 107–21, 383–84 (n. 45); Davis, *Problem of Slavery in Western Culture*, 277; Stanley M. Elkins, *Slavery: A Problem in American Institutional and Intellectual Life*, 2d edn. (Chicago, 1968), 55; Barbara J. Fields, "Slavery, Race and Ideology in the United States of America," *New Left Review* 181 (1990): 95–118, 107; Wiecek, "Statutory Law," 262–63. For wider legislative context, see Jonathan L. Alpert, "The Origin of Slavery in the United States—The Maryland Precedent," *American Journal of Legal History* 14 (1970): 189–221; Karen A. Getman, "Sexual Control in the Slaveholding South: The Implementation and Maintenance of a Racial Caste System," *Harvard Women's Law Journal* 7 (1984): 115–52, 127–30.

<sup>39</sup> "As South Carolina justice William Harper phrased it in his *Monk v. Jenkins* opinion, 'the presumption of our law is against a negro's freedom.'" Thomas C. Holt, *Black over White: Negro Political Leadership in South Carolina during Reconstruction* (Urbana, Ill., 1977), 43. This presumption was, of course, to culminate in 1856 in the Dred Scott case. See Don E. Fehrenbacher, *The Dred Scott Case, Its Significance in American Law and Politics* (New York, 1978). Even though the equivalence of blackness and slavery was not made explicit in the U.S. Constitution, it was assumed in the deliberations



women's reproductive activity became the reverse of that which would subsequently come to be assigned to it in Australia. Whereas, in Australia, black women were to become conduits to whiteness, in the United States, black women came to augment white men's property by incubating the additional slaves whom they fathered.

Even though the terms "African," "black," and "slave" became effectively interchangeable, in practice the match was by no means perfect. For not only did free blacks exist at all stages in the history of North American slavery, but, in the majority of cases, they were not fully "black" at all. Rather, these people's non-slave status was correlated on the genetic dimension by the fact that, in the main, they were of European as well as of African extraction. The contradiction between the slave as property and the slave as human being went to the core of the institution of slavery, recurrently surfacing when, for instance, slaves ran away (stole themselves?), committed crimes (with *mens rea*?), or converted to Christianity (property with a soul?). There could be no more tangible symptom of this contradiction than the object of property who reconciled the humanity of the master with that of the slave within the seamless compass of his or her own physical being. In some colonies and states and at some times, even up to the twentieth century, a "mulatto" category was officially acknowledged.<sup>40</sup> Significantly, this tended to occur when whites were demographically outnumbered and, as in the highly labor-intensive rice economy of South Carolina, relied on an intermediary or buffer population to stave off the threat of slave revolt.<sup>41</sup> For a brief period in eighteenth-century Georgia, free blacks could even become white, though this extraordinary exception only obtained while Georgian whites were in a frontier situation and needing all the help they could get to suppress Native Americans and, to the south, the Spanish.<sup>42</sup> In general, however, people who straddled the boundaries whereby the juridical opposition between slave and free was coterminous with the racial opposition between black and

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of its framers: "Throughout the Constitutional Convention the framers used the terms 'blacks,' 'negroes,' and 'slaves' interchangeably. In fact, the framers used the racial designation more frequently than the term 'slave.' Similarly, white is used instead of 'free person.' In the end they chose not to use any of these terms, in hopes that the proslavery aspects of the Constitution would be hidden from voters in the North. Race is present even if the words 'black,' 'Negro,' and 'white' are not." Paul Finkelman, "The Color of Law," *Northwestern University Law Review* 87 (1993): 937-91, 958-59. As Leon Higginbotham noted, "It was not until 1865, with the passage of the Thirteenth Amendment and slavery's abolition, that the word 'slavery' was mentioned in the United States Constitution." Higginbotham, *Shades of Freedom: Racial Politics and Presumptions of the American Legal Process* (New York, 1996), 71.

<sup>40</sup> After coming and going, the mulatto category finally vanished for good from the U.S. Census in 1920. George Reid Andrews, "Racial Inequality in Brazil and the United States: A Statistical Comparison," *Journal of Social History* 26 (1992): 229-63, 234; Paul R. Spickard, "The Illogic of American Racial Categories," in Maria P. P. Root, ed., *Racially Mixed People in America* (London, 1992), 12-23, 433, n. 27.

<sup>41</sup> Holt, *Black over White*, 66; Peter H. Wood, *Black Majority: Negroes in Colonial South Carolina from 1670 through the Stono Rebellion* (New York, 1974), 131-66. In this light, it is consistent that increased white immigration should be associated with a reduction of what David W. Cohen and Jack P. Greene termed the "small middle tier." "Introduction," in Cohen and Greene, eds., *Neither Slave nor Free: The Freedmen of African Descent in the Slave Societies of the New World* (Baltimore, Md., 1972), 1-18, 16.

<sup>42</sup> Though it seems that this theoretical possibility was never actually realized. See A. Leon Higginbotham and Barbara K. Kopytoff, "Racial Purity and Interracial Sex in the Law of Colonial and Antebellum Virginia," *Georgetown Law Journal* 77 (1989): 1967-2029, 1979; Winthrop D. Jordan, "Modern Tensions and the Origins of American Slavery," *Journal of Southern History* 28 (1962): 18-30; Wiecek, "Statutory Law," 261.

white presented so many problems that they were not granted the acknowledgment that a separate category would have entailed.

Although the picture is, therefore, admittedly uneven, something remarkable begins to happen once the slaves are emancipated. Along with the category free black, which ceases to have any meaning when all blacks are free, the mulatto category recedes as well.<sup>43</sup> This had begun to happen before the Civil War in the northern states, where all blacks, whether mulatto or otherwise, were subjected to oppressive restrictions that in many ways anticipated the Jim Crow system that was not to be established in the South until the 1880s.<sup>44</sup> This is very significant. What does it mean to free slaves and at the same time to homogenize the status of blackness? Apart from anything else, it means that the boundary that previously separated a free black from a slave disappears, which is to say that, in place of the slaves, a new and more inclusive oppressed category emerges, one that, being defined by race, does not admit the awkward exceptions and contradictions manumission had entailed for the peculiar institution of slavery.<sup>45</sup> Emancipation, in

<sup>43</sup> David Theo Goldberg, *Racial Subjects: Writing on Race in America* (New York, 1997), 35–42; Paul R. Spickard, *Mixed Blood: Intermarriage and Ethnic Identity in Twentieth-Century America* (Madison, Wis., 1989), 433, n. 27; Gilbert Thomas Stephenson, *Race Distinctions in American Law* (London, 1910), 13. Contending that “free Negroes were tolerated” in antebellum Alabama (to the extent that “numerous free mulattoes were permitted to cross the color line into white society in spite of obvious Negro physical features and a well-remembered ancestry”), Gary B. Mills disputed the link that Ira Berlin had asserted between sectional polarization and the demise of the free black category. By Mills’s own account, however, antebellum Alabama was a stable society in which slavery was firmly established. In any event, far from “numerous,” the proportion of the population that free blacks constituted (1 percent) is hardly distinguishable from Berlin’s “edge of extinction.” Once slavery was abolished, of course, white Alabama’s racial attitudes became anything but tolerant. Significantly for the argument to come, Mills also noted (n. 37) that “67 percent of the ‘free people of color’ who moved in and out of white ranks in Anglo Alabama possessed some degree of Indian as well as Negro ancestry, and many who sought to escape racial discrimination . . . admitted only their Indian heritage.” Mills, “Miscegenation and the Free Negro in Antebellum ‘Anglo’ Alabama: A Reexamination of Southern Race Relations,” *Journal of American History* 68 (1981): 16–34, 29, 31–32. The mulatto category declined in the South in the tense decade leading up to the Civil War. “While black slavery increased in numbers only 19.8% in the decade [of the 1850s], mulatto slavery rose by an astounding 66.9%.” Joel Williamson, *New People: Miscegenation and Mulattoes in the United States* (New York, 1980), 63.

<sup>44</sup> Davis, *Problem of Slavery in the Age of Revolution*, 305. See also George M. Fredrickson, *The Black Image in the White Mind: The Debate on Afro-American Character and Destiny, 1817–1914* (New York, 1971), 4–5; Jordan, *White over Black*, 131; Stephenson, *Race Distinctions*, 36–39; Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, 1: 299. For a full account, see Leon F. Litwack, *North of Slavery: The Negro in the Free States, 1790–1860* (Chicago, 1961), but also see Stephen Riegel’s questioning of C. Vann Woodward’s watershed analysis in *The Strange Career of Jim Crow* (New York, 1955), Riegel, “The Persistent Career of Jim Crow: Lower Federal Courts and the ‘Separate But Equal’ Doctrine, 1865–1896,” *American Journal of Legal History* 28 (1984): 17–40. It is important to keep in mind that antislavery was not incompatible with anti-black, for the simple reason that slavery involved the presence of blacks. Thus Larry Kincaid saw northern fears of being engulfed by emancipated blacks as motivating Reconstruction: “If the nation guaranteed black people that they would be as free (or freer) in the South as in the North, they would have no reason to leave the South . . . Some northerners even predicted that black northerners soon would move to the South.” Kincaid, “Two Steps Forward, One Step Back: Racial Attitudes during the Civil War and Reconstruction,” in Gary B. Nash and Richard Weiss, eds., *The Great Fear: Race in the Mind of America* (New York, 1970), 45–70, 57. More systematically, though two decades later, Joanne Pope Melish documented the “visceral discomfort on the part of northern whites with the actual, physical presence of individual persons of color in the landscape.” Melish, *Disowning Slavery: Gradual Emancipation and “Race” in New England, 1780–1860* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1998), xii.

<sup>45</sup> As Dorothy Roberts expresses it in “The Genetic Tie,” *University of Chicago Law Review* 62 (1995): 228, “most Blacks were slaves, all were subordinate to whites.” The brutal logic of the situation lends itself to pithy formulations. See also, for example, Ariela J. Gross, “Litigating Whiteness: Trials

short, canceled out the exemption—you can be an ex-slave but you can't be ex-black.<sup>46</sup> In common with emancipation itself, this expansion of race was initially a piecemeal process. Joanne Melish has documented how, as early as the late eighteenth century, perceptions of difference began to harden into “notions of permanent and innate hierarchy—that is, ‘race.’” This development was not simply a response to the problems that revolutionary rhetoric posed for the continuation of slavery, however. Rather, the intensified discourse of race “began to emerge in the course of the first northern implementation of systematic emancipation.”<sup>47</sup>

Though born of slavery, therefore, race came into its own with the demise of slavery.<sup>48</sup> For all its usefulness as a justification, so long as slavery persisted, race was relatively redundant as a mode of domination. The point is, though, that the reverse applies—given race, slavery becomes redundant as a mode of domination. Since slavery was becoming redundant anyway (to put it mildly) on account of its irreconcilability with the flexible labor requirements of the emerging industrial economy, this consideration links race to industrial capitalism in a manner that cannot be expressed by means of a simple reduction of race to class.

Prior to emancipation, although blacks had been spatially internal to U.S. society, their slavery had constituted a juridical barrier that insulated them from white society as decisively as physical externalization had separated Indians. Thus the consequence that emancipation had for blacks was comparable to that which containment had for Indians. Both became anomalies within. Before emancipation, the juridical barrier had not been absolute—although they were outside society, blacks could move closer in by way of manumission. It had been a social—and, accordingly, partly negotiable—barrier as well as a natural one. In the wake of emancipation, when this part social/part racial barrier gave way to an exclusively

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of Racial Determination in the Nineteenth-Century South,” *Yale Law Journal* 108 (1988): 109–88, 177; Cheryl Harris, “Whiteness as Property,” *Harvard Law Review* 106 (1993): 1709–91, 1717; Jordan, *White over Black*, 410; Woodward, *Strange Career*, 93.

<sup>46</sup> Which is to say that “passing” frustrates rather than furthers the regime. In Cheryl Harris’s words, “Whiteness as Property,” 1711, the practice involves “not merely passing, but *trespassing*.”

<sup>47</sup> Melish, *Disowning Slavery*, 5. Peggy Pascoe has observed that “it was only when slavery had been abandoned that miscegenation laws came to form the crucial ‘bottom line’ of the system of white supremacy later embodied in legislation.” Pascoe, “Race, Gender, and the Privileges of Property: On the Significance of Miscegenation Law in the U.S. West,” in Valerie J. Matsumoto and Blake Allmendinger, eds., *Over the Edge: Remapping the American West* (Berkeley, Calif., 1999), 216. In a related vein, Martha Hodes has contended that, given slavery, “white Southerners could respond to sexual liaisons between white women and black men with a measure of toleration; only with black freedom did such liaisons begin to promote a near-inevitable alarm, one that culminated in the tremendous white violence of the 1890s and after.” Hodes, *White Women, Black Men: Illicit Sex in the Nineteenth-Century South* (New Haven, Conn., 1997), 1–2. It is consistent with this perspective that attitudes toward interracial sex in antebellum New York City should have been distinctly less tolerant. See Leslie M. Harris, “From Abolitionist Amalgamators to ‘Rulers of the Five Points’: The Discourse of Interracial Sex and Reform in Antebellum New York City,” in Martha Hodes, ed., *Sex, Love, Race: Crossing Boundaries in North American History* (New York, 1999), 191–212.

<sup>48</sup> Compare Robert Brent Toplin’s comment on post-abolition Brazil: “It appears that whites gave heightened attention to racial identification in the years immediately following abolition. Since the slave status was no longer a mark of inferiority, color increasingly became an identifying factor. Under the new conditions, Brazilian intellectuals became receptive to European racist ideas which related the technological advances of Western civilization to the alleged mental superiority of whites.” Toplin, *The Abolition of Slavery in Brazil* (New York, 1972), 263. Thomas Holt has elaborated a comparable point in relation to Jamaican emancipation. See Holt, *The Problem of Freedom: Race, Labor, and Politics in Jamaica and Britain, 1832–1938* (Baltimore, Md., 1992).

racial division between blacks and whites, it became unrelievedly natural. This occurred when, rather than merely threatening to let blacks in by the force of abstract logic, as in the case of Jeffersonian rhetoric, emancipation actually did let them in. Thus it was no accident that a concomitant response to the crisis provoked by emancipation should have been the colonization movement, which, in advocating the spatial externalization of blacks, proposed an alternative natural barrier with which to effect their separation.<sup>49</sup>

An objection may suggest itself. If, in the absence of slavery, blacks became anomalous, like Indians inside the frontier, why did white society not seek to eliminate blacks in the same way as Indians—by assimilation? Indeed, in a passage removed from subsequent editions of the *Jeffersoniad*, Thomas Jefferson himself has been cited as suggesting just this solution to the problem posed by emancipation: “The course of events will likewise inevitably lead to a mixture of the whites and the blacks and as the former are about five times as numerous as the latter the blacks will ultimately be merged in the whites.”<sup>50</sup> But five to one is not nearly as comfortable a disproportion as fifty or a hundred to one. Not that demography is an answer in itself. Nor is it simply a natural occurrence. Rather, demographic imbalance is a product of history.<sup>51</sup> In this case, it represents the difference between one group of people who had survived a centuries-long genocidal catastrophe with correspondingly depleted numbers and another group who, as commodities, had been preserved, their reproduction constituting a singularly primitive form of accumulation for their owners. Moreover, these histories were ongoing. In large areas of the agricultural South, for instance, the ending of slavery did not mean that blacks became anomalous overnight. On the contrary, they continued to furnish a cheap source of labor.<sup>52</sup> Even when unemployed, their mere presence as a hyperexploitable alternative depressed white workers’ wages. Thus we need to be clear: in the wake of slavery, blacks did not become physically anomalous as labor; they became juridically anomalous as equals. In the case of Indians within, by contrast, their very presence was anomalous—as Gary Nash put it, whites “coveted Indian land but not land with Indians on it.”<sup>53</sup>

Since the oppression of blacks outlived emancipation, we should not allow the discontinuation of slavery to distract us from the continuities that obtain. As Frederick Cooper, Thomas Holt, and Rebecca Scott (one of them, at least) observed of histories that fail to link the slave era to the present, “Slave labor could be analyzed in economic, social, and political terms, but free labor was often

<sup>49</sup> P. J. Staudenraus, *The African Colonization Movement, 1816–1865* (New York, 1961). In this connection, it should be acknowledged that the idea of colonization had black support, both at the time (Paul Cuffe, John B. Russworm) and later (Marcus Garvey, who also endorsed a form of segregation).

<sup>50</sup> In J. A. Rogers, *Sex and Race: Negro-Caucasian Mixing in All Ages and All Lands*, 3 vols. (New York, 1940–44), 2: 186.

<sup>51</sup> And, as will be argued below, of culture.

<sup>52</sup> For a recent account, see Rebecca J. Scott, “Fault Lines, Color Lines, and Party Lines: Race, Labor, and Collective Action in Louisiana and Cuba, 1816–1912,” in Thomas C. Holt, Scott, and Frederick Cooper, eds., *Beyond Slavery: Explorations of Race, Labor, and Citizenship in Postemancipation Societies* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 2000), 61–106.

<sup>53</sup> Gary B. Nash, *Red, White, and Black: The Peoples of Early North America*, 3d edn. (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1992), 297. This is not, of course, to suggest that whites have failed to exploit Indian labor. After all, it has been there for the exploiting. The point is that the continuing presence of Indian labor occurs in spite of rather than as a result of the primary tendency of settler-colonial policy.



defined as simply the ending of coercion, not as a structure of labor control that needed to be analyzed in its own way.”<sup>54</sup> With the fading of the false dawn of Reconstruction, race intensified as a structure of social control,<sup>55</sup> its increased salience being expressed in a variety of ways, from mob barbarity to juridico-bureaucratic nicety. Miscegenation discourse encompassed the full range of race’s domain, from the “black beast rapist” that animated the rhetoric of lynching to the tortuous formulations with which legislators and judges sought to locate the point where whiteness stopped and blackness began.<sup>56</sup> Even though some states retained legislation that technically whitened people with a blood quantum of no more than (usually) one-sixteenth African descent, the trend—at least, after the landmark 1896 case of *Plessy vs. Ferguson*<sup>57</sup>—was steadily in the direction of what came to be known as the “one-drop rule,” in which any evidence of any African ancestry whatsoever, no matter how far back or remote, meant that one was classified as black.<sup>58</sup> There is, of course, considerable irony in the fact that the one-drop rule makes black blood immeasurably stronger than white (or, for that matter, any other) blood, even though, in white discourse, this strength consists in an unlimited power to contaminate. The corollary to—or ideological product of—the hyperpotency attributed to black blood is white racial purity.

Jim Crow laws, whose obsessive quarantining of every drop of black blood reflected a wider segregation, was but one development in a series. There had been

<sup>54</sup> “In the United States, the Civil War and emancipation ran like a river Jordan across the pages of American history.” Cooper, Holt, and Scott, *Beyond Slavery*, 2–3.

<sup>55</sup> In Jim Crow North Carolina, for instance, mixed-race people “slipped back and forth across the color line and defied social control.” Glenda Elizabeth Gilmore, *Gender and Jim Crow: Women and the Politics of White Supremacy in North Carolina, 1896–1920* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1996), 71.

<sup>56</sup> Citing a number of antebellum precedents, George Fredrickson, *Black Image*, 58, questioned the notion that “the kind of ‘hard’ racism that manifests itself in the image of ‘the Negro as Beast’ originated in the segregation era late in the nineteenth century.” Origins apart, however, the myth/pretext (white shibboleth) of the black beast rapist acquired new and fatally intensified currency from the late 1880s on. Jacqueline Dowd Hall, “‘The Mind That Burns in Each Body’: Women, Rape, and Racial Violence,” in Ann Snitow, Christine Stansell, and Sharon Thompson, eds., *Powers of Desire: The Politics of Sexuality* (New York, 1983), 328–49, 335. In addition to Hall, see, for example, W. Fitzhugh Brundage, *Lynching in the New South: Georgia and Virginia, 1880–1930* (Urbana, Ill., 1993), 58–71; Glenda E. Gilmore, “Murder, Memory, and the Flight of the Incubus,” in David S. Cecelski and Timothy B. Tyson, eds., *Democracy Betrayed: The Wilmington Race Riot of 1898 and Its Legacy* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1998), 73–93; I. A. Newby, *Jim Crow’s Defense: Anti-Negro Thought in America, 1900–1930* (Baton Rouge, La., 1965), 137–38; Robyn Wiegman, “The Anatomy of Lynching,” *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 3 (1993): 445–67, 458–61; Joel Williamson, *The Crucible of Race: Black-White Relations in the American South since Emancipation* (New York, 1984), 307–09.

<sup>57</sup> Homer Plessy, a light-skinned black man who unsuccessfully sued a railroad company because their employee refused to let him sit in the whites-only first-class car, “expected to win in New Orleans, where 1/8 black was sort of white. We always refer to this as the ‘separate but equal’ decision, but really it was the Supreme Court’s recognition of the one-drop rule.” Glenda Gilmore, personal communication with the author. For the case itself, see Brook Thomas, ed., *Plessy v. Ferguson: A Brief History with Documents* (Boston, 1997).

<sup>58</sup> F. James Davis, *Who Is Black? One Nation’s Definition* (University Park, Pa., 1991), has attributed complete hegemony to the one-drop rule. Davis overlooks some important counterexamples, though, so his account should be approached with caution, hence my claiming no more than a steady trend. For qualifications, counterexamples, and regional variations, see, for example, Finkelman, “Color of Law,” 954–57; Ian F. Haney López, *White by Law: The Legal Construction of Race* (New York, 1996), 118–19; C. Harris, “Whiteness as Property,” 1738–39; A. E. Jenks, “The Legal Status of Negro-White Amalgamation in the United States,” *American Journal of Sociology* 9 (1915–16): 666–78; Charles S. Mangum, Jr., *The Legal Status of the Negro* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1940), 245–47; and especially Pauli Murray, ed., *States’ Laws on Race and Color* (1950; Athens, Ga., 1997), *passim*.

no need for segregation in the antebellum South, when slavery had precluded any doubt as to who was in power. That situation in turn was different from the one prevailing before the rise of the plantocracy in the seventeenth-century mainland colonies, when slaveowners' ranks had included blacks, Indians, and whites. So, too, with miscegenation discourse. It is a long way back from the lynch mob's black beast rapist to the Virginia of 1630, when Hugh Davis was sentenced to be "soundly whipt before an assembly of negroes & others for abusing himself to the dishonor of God and shame of Christianity by defiling his body in lying with a negro"<sup>59</sup>—especially since the unfortunate Hugh would probably have been whipped whoever he had been caught fornicating with.

The twentieth-century intensification of the one-drop rule took place in the continuing vacuum created by the abolition of slavery and the demise of the Black Codes, as post-Reconstruction state legislatures sought new mechanisms to deliver the across-the-board system of racial control that had previously been delivered by slavery. As C. Vann Woodward remarked, the Jim Crow laws "put the authority of the state or city in the voice of the street-car conductor, the railway brakeman, the bus driver, the theater usher, and also into the voice of the hoodlum of the public parks and playgrounds."<sup>60</sup> The zeal with which blackness was excluded in the Jim Crow era was one aspect of a wider polarization in which whiteness was being consolidated at a time when it was multiply threatened, not only by the persistent absence of the slavery that had once served to define it but by the continually renewed immigration of people who were neither Anglo-Saxon nor Protestant. This is not to say that a concern with whiteness was by any means new to the twentieth century. The term "white" had figured in opposition to blacks and Indians since at least 1691, when the Virginia assembly had passed their much-quoted statute designed to prevent "that abominable mixture and spurious issue which hereafter may increase in this dominion, as well by negroes, mulattoes, and Indians intermarrying with English, or other white women, as by their unlawful accompanying with one another."<sup>61</sup> During the nineteenth century, in the United States as in much of Europe, race came to be bound up in nation-building, whiteness becoming entangled with manifest destiny under the aegis of what George Fredrickson termed "white nationalism."<sup>62</sup> Even though white consciousness was not, therefore, new, it was not until the twentieth century that whiteness was first defined in law, under the Virginia anti-miscegenation legislation of 1924.<sup>63</sup> Leon Higginbotham and Barbara Kopytoff strikingly summarized the accelerating polarization in which this innovation participated:

In the early twentieth century, Virginians made the first change in their definition of mulatto in 125 years. From the Act of 1785 to 1910, a mulatto, or "colored" person was someone who

<sup>59</sup> Quoted in Higginbotham, *In the Matter of Color*, 23, who notes that we do not know whether Davis's partner was male or female, slave or free or whether Davis himself was slave, indentured, or free.

<sup>60</sup> Woodward, *Strange Career*, 93.

<sup>61</sup> William Waller Hening, *The Statutes at Large: Being a Collection of All the Laws of Virginia from the First Session of the Legislature in the Year 1619*, 13 vols. (Philadelphia, 1809–23), iii, 87.

<sup>62</sup> Fredrickson, *Black Image*, 130–64.

<sup>63</sup> The term "white" figured in the Articles of Confederation (Art. 9) but did not make it into the Constitution (Higginbotham, *Shades of Freedom*, 71).

had one-fourth or more Negro blood. In 1910, that category was expanded to include anyone with one-sixteenth or more Negro blood, and many people previously classified as white became legally colored. Then, in 1924, in a statute frankly entitled "Preservation of Racial Integrity," the legislators for the first time defined "white" rather than "mulatto" or "colored." The statute, which forbade a white person to marry any non-white, defined "white" as someone who had "no trace whatsoever of any blood other than Caucasian" or no more than one-sixteenth American Indian blood. In 1930, the Virginia legislature defined "colored" in a similar, though slightly less restrictive way as any "person in whom there is ascertainable any negro blood."<sup>64</sup>

The contrast between the one-drop rule and the Australian assimilation policy, together with the crucial opposition of land and labor, could hardly be clearer. Moreover, as already indicated, when we move to policies on Indians, we find a similar contrast. In the U.S. case, however, we not only see the contrast, we also see how these seemingly antithetical regimes of difference interact and complement each other in practice. Indeed, the following section is intended to show that, through an examination of discourses on Indians, we also come to understand more about discourses on blacks, and vice versa. Thus it is an argument of this essay that established accounts of the two histories have suffered from treating them in isolation from each other.<sup>65</sup>

IN A LETTER OF MARCH 1757 to his brother Moses, Peter Fountaine, a Huguenot descendant of Westover, Virginia, complained of the "many base wretches among us" who took up with Negro women, "by which means the country swarms with mulatto bastards" who, once three generations removed, would, "by the indulgent laws of the country," be allowed to intermarry with whites. As he continued:

Now, if, instead of this abominable practice which hath polluted the blood of so many among us, we had taken Indian wives in the first place, it would have been some compensation for their lands. They are a free people, and the offspring would not have been born in a state of slavery. We should become the rightful heirs to their lands and should not have smutted our blood, for the Indian children when born are as white as the Spaniards or Portuguese, and were it not for the practice of going naked in summer and besmearing themselves with bears grease, etc., they would continue white.<sup>66</sup>

Peter was nothing if not succinct. This short passage bristles with themes that would animate American racial discourse for centuries to come: the recruitment of Indians to furnish their usurpers with sovereign rights to the soil, the hereditary nature of the stain of slavery, the vulnerable purity of white blood,<sup>67</sup> and the

<sup>64</sup> Higginbotham and Kopytoff, "Racial Purity," 2020–21.

<sup>65</sup> Although I cannot demonstrate the point here, the same could be said for discourses on Afro-Brazilians and Native Brazilians, especially in regard to the issues of enslavement and conversion to Catholicism. For suggestive analyses that do treat the two together, see Marvin Harris, *Patterns of Race in the Americas* (New York, 1964), 13–17; Stuart B. Schwartz, *Sugar Plantations in the Formation of Brazilian Society: Bahia, 1550–1835* (New York, 1985), 66.

<sup>66</sup> Quoted in James Hugo Johnston, *Race Relations in Virginia and Miscegenation in the South, 1776–1860* (Amherst, Mass., 1970), 170, who also quotes Colonel William Byrd to almost identical effect.

<sup>67</sup> The reference to the compromised whiteness of Iberians, imperial rivals whose blood was as much

environmental determination of Indians' physical characteristics. For our purposes, however, the key theme is the stark contrast between Indian women's acceptability as marriage partners and the taboo on African blood.

Few Australians would be pragmatic enough openly to advocate miscegenation as a solution to the ideological conundrum presented by the fact that civic institutions rested on the seizure of Aboriginal lands. Nevertheless, the perception that indigenous people's physical substance was assimilable into the European stock is common to the two national histories. In both cases, this perception occurred in contexts that also encompassed other eliminatory strategies, notably homicide, removal, confinement to reservations, child abduction, and a range of procedures intended to bring about cultural assimilation, from missions and boarding schools for the young to legislation that sought to transform Native Title into a scattering of alienable private lots. Moreover, all but the first of these strategies could unite hard-line native-haters and philanthropists who saw in assimilation an opportunity for native uplift. Noting how some assimilationists began to propose miscegenation as a solution to the "Indian problem" at around the same time as state legislatures began to introduce laws against Indian/white intermarriage, for instance, Alden Vaughan stressed the consistency of outcome: "But whatever the solution—miscegenation, allotment of farmlands in the East, removal to the West, or education in white-controlled boarding schools—the Indian was marked for gradual extinction by the uneasy coalition of his friends and foes."<sup>68</sup> In combination, the attributes of marriageability and cultural malleability provided for Indians' difference to be erased either physically, culturally, or both. This was, of course, in complete contrast to the regime imposed on blacks, whose difference was made absolute, essential, and refractory.<sup>69</sup> The disparity between blacks' and Indians' respective eligibility for assimilation reproduced a deeper distinction between the complementary discourses of land and labor on which U.S. society was ultimately predicated. As Ronald Takaki summarized this complementarity, "[I]n order to make way for white settlement and the expansion of both cotton cultivation and the market, some 70,000 Choctaws, Creeks, Cherokees, Seminoles, and Chickasaws

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smutted with Catholicism, feudalism, and monarchical absolutism as with the Moorish residue, attests to this vulnerability.

<sup>68</sup> Alden T. Vaughan, *Roots of American Racism: Essays on the Colonial Experience* (New York, 1995), 32. More tersely still, Philip J. Deloria characterized U.S. social and political policy toward Indians as "a two-hundred-year back-and-forth between assimilation and destruction," both of which have been "aimed at making Indians vanish from the landscape." Deloria, *Playing Indian* (New Haven, Conn., 1998), 3–4, see also 103–04.

<sup>69</sup> "In appropriately altered circumstances Indians could become white men, a happy transformation indeed. It was precisely this transformation which Jefferson thought the Negro could never accomplish. By constantly referring to environment for one group and to nature for the other he effectively widened the gap which Americans had always placed between the two." Jordan, *White over Black*, 478. The deeper moorings of Jefferson's distinction are suggested in Vaughan's observation that, though sixteenth and seventeenth-century Englishmen's descriptions of Native Americans could be "almost as negative as their accounts of Africans, their criticisms are of customs, not bodies, of nurture, not nature." Vaughan, *Roots of American Racism*, 11. See also Brian W. Dippie, *The Vanishing American: White Attitudes and U.S. Indian Policy* (Hanover, N.H., 1982), 248–58.



were uprooted and deprived of their lands, and hundreds of thousands of blacks were moved into the Southwest to work the soil as slaves."<sup>70</sup>

The fact that Europeans generally found Indians to be less viable objects of enslavement than Africans was not a consequence of Indian (let alone of African) biology.<sup>71</sup> Rather, it was first and foremost a consequence of the fact that successful regimes of slavery characteristically involve alienation—not just the natal alienation that Orlando Patterson has made famous,<sup>72</sup> since indigenous societies in both Australia and the United States have also had their children taken away, but the spatial alienation that slave transportation effected. There was nothing inherently unenslaveable about Indians. Rather, there is an inherent tension between enslavement and indigeneity. Thus the problems attending the enslavement of Indians largely ceased to apply if they were exchanged for Africans from Caribbean plantations—indeed, as Jean-Baptiste Le Moyne de Bienville, founder of New Orleans, urged upon the French crown early in the eighteenth century, such exchanges would prevent either group of slaves from escaping, since Indians could hardly run away from the islands, while Africans in Louisiana would be contained by fear of the surrounding Indians.<sup>73</sup> When we look behind the unstable distinctions of race and color to the historical relationships that they encode and reproduce, it is entirely consistent that the racial regimes to which Aboriginal people in Australia, for all their blackness, have been subjected should be antithetical to those that have been imposed on blacks in the United States but closely parallel to those that have been imposed on Indians.

In formal terms, there is, of course, a major discrepancy between the colonization of North American Indians and the colonization of Aboriginal people in Australia. No matter how often treaties were broken, their mere existence presupposed the acknowledgement of at least some form of native title, even sovereignty.<sup>74</sup> In practice, however, there is less to this difference than meets the eye. For instance, sovereignty emerges as at best a mixed blessing when it makes relations international enough to allow the army to be used against you. In general, as the regularity of their breakage indicates, we should see treaties as tactical advances, designed to pacify, not to compensate, rather than as concessions. Moreover, when we look beyond straightforward treaty violation, a practice whose conformity with the logic of elimination hardly needs elaborating, we encounter a string of ostensibly respectable policy innovations whose practical outcomes led to the same end. With post-treaty Indians contained within the settler-colonial nation-state, however, a

<sup>70</sup> Ronald T. Takaki, *Iron Cages: Race and Culture in Nineteenth-Century America* (New York, 1979), 79.

<sup>71</sup> This is not to overlook the fact that West Africans combined immunities to both the European and the tropical diseases that ravaged Indian societies.

<sup>72</sup> Orlando Patterson, *Slavery and Social Death: A Comparative Study* (Cambridge, Mass., 1982).

<sup>73</sup> Joe Gray Taylor, *Negro Slavery in Louisiana* (New York, 1963), 5. For comparable examples from British North America, see Higginbotham, *In the Matter of Color*, 160–61.

<sup>74</sup> Although the conventional distinction between dominion or sovereignty and possession/usufruct generally assigns sovereignty to the discovering European power (see Francis Paul Prucha, *The Great Father: The United States Government and the American Indians* [Lincoln, Neb., 1984], 7), as Chief Justice John Marshall famously acknowledged in *Johnson v. M'Intosh* (21 U.S. [8 Wheat] 584 [1823]), preemption merely diminished (as opposed to precluded or exhausted) Indian tribes' "right to complete sovereignty, as independent nations." See, for example, Milner S. Ball, "Constitution, Court, Indian Tribes," *American Bar Foundation Research Journal* (1987): 24–25.

specifically racial component, blood quanta, becomes a key feature of policy, converting international relations into identity politics. Genetic admixture serves to detach individuals from the tribe, rendering them assimilable (as in the Australian case) to mainstream society.<sup>75</sup> After internalization, in other words, the racialization of Indians presents a mirror image of the post-emancipation racialization of U.S. blacks that we have already observed.

Despite this fundamental discrepancy between the racialization of Indians and of blacks, in either case we find race intensifying when social space becomes, or threatens to become, shared.<sup>76</sup> To this extent, the Indian experience and the black experience are comparable after all. The analogy ends here, however, since, though their sharing of social space with whites led to both being (re-)racialized, the forms that the respective racializations took were diametrically opposed, in a manner that reflected and preserved the foundational distinction between land and labor. For, whereas race for black people became an indelible trait that would survive any amount of admixture, race for Indians became an inherently descending quantity that was terminally susceptible to dilution. Mixed-bloodedness became the post-frontier version of the vanishing Indian. The point is worth stressing because it enables us to see how race is a manifold regime that, in conducting to a plurality of outcomes, is at once both unitary and heterogeneous. In that it marked Indians and blacks out for diametrically separate destinies, race was heterogeneous. Unless this heterogeneity is understood, various aspects of the two groups' histories become paradoxical in relation to each other. For instance, whereas Indians who assimilated conformed to the requirements of this regime, blacks who passed as whites frustrated it. In a similar vein, without an appreciation of the antithetical but complementary histories involved, the 160-acre allotments with which the Bureau of Indian Affairs sought to break up Indian society could seem to represent a much better deal than the forty acres and a mule with which black people hoped to establish an independent social basis for themselves after the Civil War. This essential heterogeneity notwithstanding, the separate destinies that race inscribed harmoniously reproduced the foundational structures of U.S. society, simultaneously providing for both the elimination of Indians and the exclusion of blacks. As such, the two disparate racializations together served a unitary end.

On the basis of these considerations, we can now turn to post-treaty era federal Indian policy with a focus on the problems presented by Indians' interiority. As I hope to show, this focus brings out the strategic continuity linking a series of measures that might otherwise seem discontinuous. Although the details are complex, and the differences between the various policy initiatives substantial, each

<sup>75</sup> As in the case of Maryland's patrilineal exception to the transmission of blackness, it is surprising how small a difference the gender of the Indian parent seems to have made. Next to nothing has been published on this (though we wait on Peggy Pascoe's forthcoming book). Nonetheless, it seems safe to say, albeit provisionally, that the difference was merely one of degree. The Indian males whom respectable white women chose as spouses were highly acculturated, their joint offspring being maximally susceptible to assimilation. The Hampton experience would seem to bear this out. See Katherine Ellinghaus, "Assimilation by Marriage: White Women and Native American Men at Hampton Institute, 1878-1923," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 108 (2001): 279-303.

<sup>76</sup> In this regard, the U.S. experience anticipated by something like a century the post-World War II experience of European metropolises that attracted large-scale migration from colonies and former colonies.

of them combined a rhetoric of Indian improvement with assimilative measures that sought to reshape Indian institutions into conformity with dominant-society models in a manner that facilitated the transfer of Indian resources into white hands.

In the case of the 1887 General Allotment (or Dawes Severalty) Act and associated legislation, tribal ownership of land was to be broken down into individual allotments.<sup>77</sup> In addition to substituting the propertied individual for the clan or tribe as the basic unit of Indian society, this legislation provided for the alienation of surplus reservation land left over after the allotments had been parceled out. Ostensibly, this surplus would arise because, as John Locke had pointed out, agriculture is more efficient—it takes up less space—than hunting.<sup>78</sup> But there was another, less remarked but crucial, factor in the generation of surpluses: restrictions that prevented “full bloods” from selling their allotments (to prevent them from being duped) did not apply in the case of the presumed more civilized “mixed bloods.”<sup>79</sup> In the event, Indians lost about two-thirds of their land (down from around 155 million acres to around 52 million acres) between the early 1880s and 1934.<sup>80</sup> In addition, the “checkerboarding,” or interpenetration of reservation land with white-owned allotments that resulted from the sales of surplus, contributed to further Indian/white intermarriage and, thus, to an increased number of ineligible heirs. Allotment was brought to an end by the New Deal reforms associated with John Collier’s dynamic stint as commissioner of Indian Affairs, which sanctified the principle of tribal self-government. Nonetheless, tribes that reorganized under the 1934 act found themselves adopting a distinctly Anglo-Saxon form of governance by way of the Bureau of Indian Affairs’s model constitution, which usually specified blood quantum-based membership criteria and included the phrase “subject to the approval of the Secretary of the Interior,” whereby elected tribal authorities did not have the final say over

<sup>77</sup> The wider process of legislatively dismantling the tribe as the primary or sovereign unit of Indian society is probably best dated from the Seven Major Crimes Act of 1885. With specific reference to the privatization of tribal property, the process summarized by reference to the 1887 Dawes Act includes the modifications and extensions effected by the 1891 Amendment to the Dawes Act (which enabled the leasing of Indian land), the establishment of the Dawes Commission in 1893, the Curtis Act of 1898, the Dead Indian Act of 1902, the Burke Act of 1906, and the Non-Competent Indian Act of 1907. See, for example, Elsie Mitchell Rushmore, *The Indian Policy during Grant’s Administrations* (New York, 1914); Hagan, *American Indians*, 165; Russell Thornton, *American Indian Holocaust and Survival: A Population History since 1492* (Norman, Okla., 1987), 122–23.

<sup>78</sup> “And therefor he, that incloses Land and has a greater plenty of the conveniencys of life from ten acres, than he could have from a hundred left to Nature, may truly be said, to give [!] ninety acres to Mankind.” John Locke, *Two Treatises of Government* (1698; Cambridge, 1963), 312. For the more immediate links between Lockean theory and English colonial interests in America, see Barbara Arneil, *John Locke and America: The Defence of English Colonialism* (Oxford, 1996).

<sup>79</sup> Graham D. Taylor, *The New Deal and American Indian Tribalism: The Administration of the Indian Reorganization Act, 1934–45* (Lincoln, Neb., 1980); Donald L. Parman, *Indians and the American West in the Twentieth Century* (Bloomington, Ind., 1994), 53. The act also provided for Indians who took up allotments or elected to reside apart from their tribes to be made citizens. Theodore H. Haas, “The Legal Aspects of Indian Affairs from 1857 to 1957,” *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 311 (1957): 12–22, 13.

<sup>80</sup> Janet A. McDonnell, *The Dispossession of the American Indian, 1887–1934* (Bloomington, Ind., 1991); Hagan, *American Indians*, 165; M. Annette Jaimes, “Federal Indian Identification Policy: A Usurpation of Indigenous Sovereignty in North America,” in Jaimes, ed., *The State of Native America: Genocide, Colonization, and Resistance* (Boston, 1992), 123–38, 126; Parman, *Indians and the American West*, 9; Prucha, *Great Father*, 227.

expenditure or land use.<sup>81</sup> As many have complained, this form of co-optation facilitated concessionary arrangements in which Indian resources came to be made available to non-Indian interests at inequitable rates. The post-World War II drive to termination, or withdrawal, represented a thoroughgoing rejection of, and diametrical departure from, Collier's policies. In combination with the policy of relocation, which provided subsidies for reservation Indians, particularly mixed bloods, to move to cities, assimilating to mainstream urban culture and leaving a predominantly full-blooded traditional remnant to wither away on reservations, termination provided for Indians to be freed from federal controls and granted the ordinary rights and duties of citizenship.<sup>82</sup> The legislation sought to remove a burden on federal (as opposed to state) expenditure while facilitating private land sales on the part of individual Indians who opted out of tribal management plans in a manner that recalled severalty as it had operated until 1934.<sup>83</sup> Thus it is not surprising that the post-1960s policy of self-determination, a term initially coined by President Richard Nixon in a context of American Indian Movement militancy, should hark back in significant ways to the Collier reforms. In particular, even though tribal governments acquired the power to contract a number of government services, not only was their capacity to do so tightly bureaucratically circumscribed, but official permission was required before they could enter into contracts, which were subject to the political vicissitudes governing congressional appropriations. To a considerable extent, self-determination has involved Indians implementing federal policies rather than deciding how to run their own lives—as Joyotpaul Chaudhuri has put it, “The ‘self’ in self-determination remains in large part non-Indian.”<sup>84</sup> Moreover, through all the above policy shifts, mixed bloodedness has operated as a synonym for—or at least a conduit to—a wider cultural and political assimilation whose achievement would amount to a dissolution of Indian-ness, a process that Annette Jaimes has termed “statistical extermination.”<sup>85</sup>

<sup>81</sup> Felix S. Cohen, *Handbook of Federal Indian Law* (Washington, D.C., 1942), 130; Michael G. Lacy, “The United States and American Indians: Political Relations,” in Vine Deloria, Jr., ed., *American Indian Policy in the Twentieth Century* (Norman, Okla., 1985), 83–104, 92–93; Prucha, *Great Father*, 338; Ernest L. Schusky, *The Right to Be Indian* (San Francisco, 1970), 21.

<sup>82</sup> Laurence A. French, *The Winds of Injustice: American Indians and the U.S. Government* (New York, 1994), 65–67; Russell Thornton, Gary D. Sandefur, et al., *The Urbanization of American Indians: A Critical Bibliography* (Bloomington, Ind., 1982), 228–31; Thornton, *American Indian Holocaust and Survival*, 225–30.

<sup>83</sup> By the 1950s, though, when termination was becoming established as policy, Indians had lost most of the useful agricultural land that they had once owned, so, increasingly, the issue was no longer so much land ownership as access to the resources (timber, water, minerals) that their otherwise predominantly marginal land contained. Indeed, so long as land remains part of an Indian reservation, activities conducted on it need not be subject to state environmental and safety regulations.

<sup>84</sup> Joyotpaul Chaudhuri, “American Indian Policy; An Overview,” in V. Deloria, *American Indian Policy*, 29.

<sup>85</sup> Jaimes, “Federal Indian Identification Policy,” 137. Patricia Limerick is almost as succinct: “Set the blood quantum at one quarter, hold to it as a rigid definition of Indians, let intermarriage proceed as it has for centuries, and eventually Indians will be defined out of existence. When that happens, the federal government will finally be freed from its persistent ‘Indian problem.’” Limerick, *Legacy of Conquest*, 338. See also Ward Churchill, “The Crucible of American Indian Identity: Native Tradition versus Colonial Imposition in Postconquest North America,” in Duane Champagne, ed., *Contemporary Native American Cultural Issues* (London, 1999), 39–67, esp. 48–58. For general discussion, see, for example, William T. Hagan, “Full Blood, Mixed Blood, Generic, and Ersatz: The Problem of Indian Identity,” *Arizona and the West* 27 (1985): 309–26; Russell Thornton, “Tribal Membership Requirements and the Demography of ‘Old’ and ‘New’ Native Americans,” *Population Research and Policy*



Like severalty itself, this principle has deeper roots than the Dawes legislation, or even the 1871 act that brought treaty-making to an end. In the 1858 treaty between the Ponca and the U.S. government, for instance:

The Ponca being desirous of making provision for their half-breed relatives, it is agreed that those who prefer and elect to reside among them shall be permitted to do so, and be entitled to and enjoy all the rights and privileges of members of the tribe, but to those who have chosen and left the tribe to reside among the whites and follow the pursuits of civilized life . . . there shall be issued scrip for one hundred and sixty acres of land each, which shall be receivable at the United States land-offices in the same manner, and be subject to the same rules and regulations as military bounty-land warrants.<sup>86</sup>

For those left this (white) side of the frontier—which is to say, those who become internalized—the essential features of the post-treaty, Dawes-style assimilation program are already in place here. The tribe goes. In its stead, individual mergers into white society are effected by means of allotments of land. (Even the extent, 160 acres, anticipates the post-1887 agricultural standard.) Mixed-bloodedness is a key operator. Thus it is important not to see the different modalities of the logic of elimination as a tidy chronological sequence. Here, geographical removal and socio-cultural assimilation are two sides of the same coin. Either way, the Ponca tribe ceases to obstruct white access to its territory.

One aspect of the Ponca treaty does, however, stand out as contrasting with the post-Dawes regime. Although mixed-bloodedness is an operator (in that it denotes those eligible for assimilation), it has no implications for tribal membership. Here, the relationship between blood quantum discourse and the internalization of Indian societies is particularly clear. For the Poncas whose mixed-bloodedness is without consequence are those who remain external by virtue of consenting to removal. Externally, the U.S. government's Indian problem was a tribal one. Assimilating individual members would not make tribal territory—which was collectively held—available. Moreover, for treaty purposes, it was in the U.S. interest for tribes to be as composite as possible. Breaking them down into smaller units would only necessitate additional treaties. Prior to internalization, in other words, the federal government depended on the very tribal governments that it would subsequently seek to dismantle.<sup>87</sup> Once a tribe was internalized, however, its government formed an intervening layer that obstructed the U.S. government's access to individual Indians. The impediment to assimilating tribes into the body politic was not simply that they were collective entities, since the United States encompassed other collectivities—in particular, of course, the states. Rather, tribes were unassimilable

*Review 7* (1997): 1–10; Pauline Turner Strong and Barrik Van Winkle, "Indian Blood: Reflections on the Reckoning and Refiguring of Native North American Identity (Resisting Identities)," *Cultural Anthropology* 11 (1996): 547–77; Melissa L. Meyer, "American Indian Blood Quantum Requirements: Blood Is Thicker Than Family," in Matsumoto and Allmendinger, *Over the Edge*, 231–49.

<sup>86</sup> Quoted in Thornton, *American Indian Holocaust and Survival*, 188. For earlier examples, see Churchill, "Crucible," 48–49.

<sup>87</sup> The institutional career of the Bureau of Indian Affairs neatly symptomatizes the progressive containment of Indian nations in the nineteenth century. At its creation, in 1824, the bureau was frankly placed within the War Department. In 1849, however, it was transferred to the newly established Department of the Interior. See Bolt, *American Indian Policy and American Reform*, 54; Donald L. Fixico, *Termination and Relocation: Federal Indian Policy, 1945–1960* (Albuquerque, N.Mex., 1986), x.

because they were separately and independently constituted entities whose organizing principles were discordant with those that governed the structurally regular institutions of U.S. society, which were uniformly organized around the centrality of private property. Thus the obstacle to the Indian Territory's admission to statehood was not its collective constitution but its commitment to collective ownership. Failing the allotment of tribal land, as Vine Deloria and Clifford Lytle explained,

It was inconceivable to the federal officials that a state could be admitted to the Union that did not provide for free commerce with other states, and the communal holding of land struck directly at the personal land tenure system already entrenched in the other states. If an Indian could not sell a tract of land within a state, how could the other states have equal status with the newly admitted Indian state and how could commerce proceed when the best that white citizens might ever achieve within the new Indian state might be the leasing of lands?<sup>88</sup>

Allotment, in sum, had two inseparable aspects: the end of tribal government and the production of the propertied individual. As a means of converting tribal membership into a fragile form of property ownership on an individual basis, blood quantum discourse became central to this transformation. Thus it is important to stress that the Dawes legislation invented neither severalty nor the accelerated dispossession/assimilation of mixed bloods.<sup>89</sup> Rather, it set the seal on a deeper and more diffuse historical tendency that derived its logic from the most elementary premise of the settler-colonial project, the requirement for undisputed (or "quiet") possession of territory.<sup>90</sup> The resultant maximization of mixed bloods' access to the dubious privilege of assimilation antithetically complements the increasingly rigorous exclusion of the once-enslaved, whose involuntary contribution to the North American colonial formation had been one of labor rather than of land.

Summarized thus, the situation is bound to appear more regular than it actually was. In practice, there were all sorts of exceptions to the general rule. The example of enslaved Indians has already been noted, to which we might add the phenomenon of slaves being owned and traded by Indians and by other blacks.<sup>91</sup> In some

<sup>88</sup> Vine Deloria, Jr., and Clifford M. Lytle, *The Nations Within: The Past and the Future of American Indian Sovereignty* (Austin, Tex., 1984), 24–25.

<sup>89</sup> "[T]he Dawes Severalty Act of 1887 enshrined as general policy what had been taking place piecemeal for years." Hagan, *American Indians*, 159.

<sup>90</sup> Hence the cultural purchase of General Phil Sheridan's deathless "The only good Indian is a dead Indian." It is also striking that, with the possible exception of scalping, the Indian characteristic that has become most familiar to western popular culture is an eschatological trait, the happy hunting ground, that renders their deaths benign.

<sup>91</sup> R. Halliburton, Jr., *Red over Black: Black Slavery among the Cherokee Indians* (Westport, Conn., 1977); Holt, *Black over White*, 63; Theda Perdue, *Slavery and the Evolution of Cherokee Society, 1540–1866* (Knoxville, Tenn., 1979); Annie H. Abel, *The American Indian as Slaveholder and Secessionist: An Omitted Chapter in the Diplomatic History of the Southern Confederacy* (Cleveland, 1915); J. H. Russell, "Colored Freeman as Slave Owners in Virginia," *Journal of Negro History* 1 (1916): 233–42. Black slaveowners were principally a Louisiana (and, to a lesser extent, South Carolina) phenomenon. See Eugene D. Genovese, "The Slave States of North America," in Cohen and Greene, *Neither Slave nor Free*, 258–77, 269. In the case of Indian "slaveowners," a more appropriate parallel would be that of indenture, since slaves, and particularly their descendants, were often able to intermarry with and become full members, even leaders, of their captor communities, as in the famous case of the Seminole "rebellion," possibly the most effective armed resistance to be maintained by an Indian nation, whose leadership included a significant proportion of ex-slaves, either runaways or Africans previously owned by Seminole masters. Kenneth W. Porter, "Relations between Negroes and

respects, blacks could be treated like Indians, as in the colonization movement. It provided for blacks' removal to geographically remote places, while, at various points in the nineteenth century, the fear was expressed by some whites that blacks could die out.<sup>92</sup> Yet these two counter-tendencies both surfaced as part and parcel of their proponents' programs for post-slavery U.S. society. The exceptions are, therefore, arguable. Nonetheless, they should not be dismissed. This is because, sharing a language of race, rhetoric and policies on Indians and blacks did tend to bleed into one another, producing occasions when a common vocabulary of difference could apply indiscriminately to either or both. Thus I would not want to be taken to be legislating for every individual situation or event. On the level of the whole, though, there is no doubt that eliminatory policies such as warfare, removal, and assimilation were characteristically applied to Indians and not to blacks. Such regularities are empirically real and should not be particularized out of historical description. On the same basis, so far as discourses of miscegenation are concerned, some states' opposition to intermarriage between Indians and Europeans notwithstanding,<sup>93</sup> the overall picture is one of a tolerance extending to encouragement, whose contrast with policies toward blacks could hardly be more marked. Even the Virginia anti-miscegenation legislation of 1924, notorious as a high-water mark in Jim Crow codification, conceded the so-called Pocohontas exception, in which certain categories of Indian-European unions were specifically exempted from the statute's otherwise draconian catalog of proscriptions.<sup>94</sup> Given the manifest continuity between this legislation and the regularities that we have noted, it would be misleading to dismiss it as an idiosyncrasy of the legislature concerned or to attribute it to the cultural half-life of John Rolfe.<sup>95</sup> While such factors may well have played a part, a different level of analysis is also required, lest we fail to recognize the deeper historical motivation to which the legislation conformed, and which it thereby reproduced.<sup>96</sup>

Just as the assimilation of Indians into the white population was consistent with

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Indians within the Present Limits of the United States," *Journal of Negro History* 17 (1932): 297-367, 325-50; John K. Mahon, *History of the Second Seminole War, 1835-1842* (Gainesville, Fla., 1967).

<sup>92</sup> In the later case of the Radicals, this "fear" would better be expressed as a hope or, perhaps, determination. See Williamson, *Crucible of Race*, 111-19.

<sup>93</sup> This opposition was formalized in some states' legislation. See, for example, Mangum, *Legal Status*, 253, n. 103 (5 states); Vaughan, *Roots of American Racism*, 267, n. 96 (3 states); Nash, *Red, White, and Black*, 283 (2 states). See also David D. Smits, "'Abominable Mixture': Toward the Repudiation of Anglo-Indian Intermarriage in Seventeenth-Century Virginia," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 95 (1987): 157-92. For instances of encouragement (Jefferson being the best-known example), see Chaplin, "Natural Philosophy," 252; Jordan, *White over Black*, 163; Gary B. Nash, "The Hidden History of Mestizo America," *Journal of American History* 82 (1995): 941-62, 943.

<sup>94</sup> "It shall hereafter be unlawful for any white person in this State to marry any save a white person, or a person with no other admixture of blood than white and American Indian" (1924 Va. Acts, chap. 371, sect. 5). See also Higginbotham and Kopytoff, "Racial Purity," 1977, n. 48; Peggy Pascoe, "Miscegenation Law, Court Cases, and Ideologies of 'Race' in Twentieth-Century America," *Journal of American History* 83 (1996): 44-69, 59.

<sup>95</sup> In this connection, it seems almost too good to be true that, in the same year as the Virginia act, Congress passed both the Indian Citizenship Act, which extended citizenship to all Indians born within the territorial limits of the United States, and the eugenicist Johnson-Reed Immigration Act.

<sup>96</sup> Thus we need to look behind culturalist explanations such as those hazarded by Leon Higginbotham and Barbara Kopytoff: "Why was there a difference in the legal treatment of white-Indian mixtures and white-Negro mixtures? Perhaps it was related to the degree to which a mixed-race individual looked white to eighteenth-century white Virginians. Perhaps it was also because

the logic of elimination, so was the assimilation of whites into the Indian population anathema to it ("squaw men," etc.).<sup>97</sup> If this much is obvious, it should also be noted that Indian-black unions became problematic to the extent that they threatened to produce part-black Indians.<sup>98</sup> Part-Indian blacks did not occasion comparable concern (a contradiction that became incarnate in the person classified red when on the reservation and black when off it).<sup>99</sup> It was stated above that discourses on Indians and on blacks should be situated in relation to each other. Even the one-drop rule, apparently so specifically targeted at African descent, emerges in a fuller light once it is recognized as not only sanitizing the white population<sup>100</sup> but as simultaneously eliminating the Indian population through its assimilation of red-black people to the black category. A logic that once made slaves of "mustees" today makes blacks of Indians by excluding mixed categories from census forms (a situation that compounds the irony of Zora Neale Hurston's "I am the only Negro in the United States whose grandfather on the mother's side was *not* an Indian chief").<sup>101</sup> Providing as it does for any color so long as it's black, the one-drop rule makes black unhyphenable. Accordingly (and *pace* Jack Forbes), there is no such category as red-black people—indeed, no such category as anything-black people. There are only black people. Thus even in Louisiana, where creole classification attains a complexity that might seem to confound the rigid binarism of the one-drop

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Europeans tended to see Indians as higher on the scale of creation than Negroes, though still lower than themselves." Higginbotham and Kopytoff, "Racial Purity," 1977.

<sup>97</sup> In relation to Congress's destruction of the governments of the Five Civilized Tribes, Felix Cohen asserted, "These governments ceased to exist as governments primarily because they had admitted to citizenship and the rights of occupancy in tribal lands, so many white men that the original Indian communities could no longer maintain a national existence apart from the white settlers." Cohen, *Handbook of Federal Indian Law*, 131.

<sup>98</sup> On a profounder dimension than that of discourse, a basic difference separates Indian/black unions from the generality of intergroup unions involving whites. As William Loren Katz eloquently observed, "Europeans forcefully entered the African blood stream, but Native Americans and Africans merged by choice, invitation, and love." Katz, *Black Indians: A Hidden Heritage* (1986; New York, 1991), 2.

<sup>99</sup> Jack D. Forbes, *Black Africans and Native Americans: Color, Race and Caste in the Evolution of Red-Black Peoples*, 2d edn. (Urbana, Ill., 1993), 91; Mangum, *Legal Status*, 6.

<sup>100</sup> Thus the one-drop rule is also central to the historical production of whiteness, which, as an ever-growing number of scholars have described, expanded from the Anglo-Saxon "free white person" of the 1790 naturalization law to incorporate Germans, Celts, Slavs, Alpines, Mediterraneans, Jews, and eventually such non-European groupings as Armenians, Syrians, and Hindus into the wider category of Caucasian. See, for example, Theodore W. Allen, *The Invention of the White Race*, Vol. 1: *Racial Oppression and Social Control* (London, 1994); Ruth Frankenberg, "Whiteness and American-ness: Examining Constructions of Race, Culture, and Nation in White Women's Life Narratives," in Steven Gregory and Roger Sanjek, eds., *Race* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1994), 62–77; Noel Ignatiev, *How the Irish Became White* (New York, 1995); Jacobson, *Whiteness of a Different Color*; David R. Roediger, *The Wages of Whiteness: Race and the Making of the American Working Class* (London, 1991); or Ignatiev's irrepressible *Race Traitor* journal. While the discursive labor involved in subordinating these initially separate categories under the overarching heading of whiteness is a major topic, the differences that distinguished these immigrant groups from each other were not of the same order as the racialization that insulated black people. I am less sure (and know less) about the racialization of Chinese people, especially on the west coast of the United States.

<sup>101</sup> Forbes, *Black Africans and Native Americans*, 203; see also Thornton, *American Indian Holocaust and Survival*, 210–20. Hurston quoted by Spickard, *Mixed Blood*, 323. See also Cohen, *Handbook of Federal Indian Law*, 2–5.



rule<sup>102</sup>, one category—the white one—stands out as monolithically undivided, leaving the rest as so many permutations of black.

Thus the key factor in colonial and “post”-colonial race relations is not, as some have argued, simple demographic numbers,<sup>103</sup> since populations have to be differentiated before they can be counted. Difference, it cannot be stressed enough, is not simply given. It is the outcome of differentiation, which is an intensely conflictual process. If a one-drop rule applied in Australia, for instance, the Aboriginal population would escalate overnight. Hence the incendiary effect of a Queensland bumper sticker, the display of which was truly for none but the brave, which proclaimed an “Aboriginal family reunion—invite your white relatives.”<sup>104</sup> Rather than simple counting, demography involves the most complex and tortuous contestation, as in native Virginians’ century-long struggle to refuse categorization as “colored,” a struggle that was waged, as Forbes remarked, “with uneven success and . . . which served to poison African-American Indian relations as well as to split communities, churches, and even families.”<sup>105</sup> Miscegenation discourse is about holding the line when it comes to power, privilege, and access to resources. As such, it is at the material core of identity politics, which should not be discounted as merely aesthetic or superstructural.

In the context of capitalist property relations, there is no tension between the antithetical discourses of race to which blacks and Indians have been subject. This is because the simple undifferentiated product of the encounter between African labor and Indian land was European property. In this connection, obvious though it may seem, it is surely significant that the most durable names that have been applied to the two groups, Negro and Indian, refer respectively to a bodily characteristic and a territorial designation.<sup>106</sup> As observed in relation to the doctrine of *terra nullius*, the mixture of labor and land was central to the ideological edifice of private property. As slaves, blacks were chattels or instruments comparable to plows or horses, whose application to vacant land realized its value and converted it from wilderness into property. Chattel slavery, one’s appropriation of another’s body, presupposed a prior alienation. One was appropriated, the other expropriated. The twin dimensions of this Janus-faced procedure cannot be appreciated separately.

Having reached this point, we are in a position to appreciate the distinctiveness of the Brazilian situation.

<sup>102</sup> Raymond T. Diamond and Robert J. Cottrol, “Codifying Caste: Louisiana’s Racial Classification Scheme and the Fourteenth Amendment,” *Loyola Law Review* 29 (1983); Virginia R. Dominguez, *White by Definition: Social Classification in Creole Louisiana* (1986; New Brunswick, N.J., 1994).

<sup>103</sup> William A. Green, *British Slave Emancipation: The Sugar Colonies and the Great Experiment, 1830–1865* (Oxford, 1976); Green, “The Perils of Comparative History: Belize and the British Sugar Colonies after Slavery,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 26 (1984): 112–19; compare O. Nigel Bolland, “Systems of Domination after Slavery: The Control of Land and Labor in the British West Indies after 1838,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 23 (1981): 591–619.

<sup>104</sup> I owe this snippet to Jeremy Beckett.

<sup>105</sup> Forbes, *Black Africans and Native Americans*, 258.

<sup>106</sup> I read Nathaniel Field’s dual epithet “wilde Virginia, Black Affricke” as primarily expressing this opposition between territoriality and corporeality, or between settlement and enslavement, rather than the relative malleability of the two populations, which is Vaughan’s interpretation (*Roots of American Racism*, 13).

COMPARE THE RIGOROUS BINARISM of the one-drop rule or the simple unidirectionality of the Australian assimilation policy with the extravagance of the Brazilian<sup>107</sup> system of color classification (see Figure 2).<sup>108</sup> If ever there was a worthy challenge to class analysis, this system surely offers it. Truly baroque in its excess, it establishes an apparently unassailable limit to racial classification. What was it about Brazilian race relations that could have produced such a scheme?

The fact that this system so spectacularly abjures a hard and fast binarism has sustained a misleading historiography of slavery and race relations in Brazil. The inspiration for this stems principally from the Brazilian historian Gilberto Freyre, whose *Casa-grande & senzala*, originally published in Portuguese in 1933, appearing in English translation as *The Masters and the Slaves* in 1946, fostered the myth that the Portuguese had been relatively benign slavers. Freyre's claims inspired a number of American historians—in particular Frank Tannenbaum, Stanley Elkins, and even, to a lesser extent, Winthrop Jordan—to assert that Brazilian slavery had been milder than the North American variant because, whereas Iberians in the New World were familiar with slavery, which had been codified and regulated in a reasonably humane manner derived from Roman Law and filtered through the Catholic Church, slavery had not been institutionalized in England for centuries, so there existed no rules to regulate the practice and restrain its excesses.<sup>109</sup> The complex Brazilian system of color classification testified to this comparative mildness, since it indicated that, rather than a rigorously polarized society that ruthlessly distinguished between master and slave, the Portuguese had presided over an integrated polity in which manumission had been commonplace and people could move up and down the hierarchy with relative ease.<sup>110</sup> So far as the

<sup>107</sup> Brazil is not homogeneous. A number of English-language scholars have overlooked the substantial differences between the different types of slavery obtaining in different regions (Bahia, Minas Gerais, etc.), different industries (sugar, mining, coffee, domestic slavery), between town and country, and between different historical eras. The following analysis refers to the sugar industry in Bahia, which was Freyre's focus and the cradle of the Atlantic slave trade. Thus "Brazil" always includes that industry and sometimes but not always includes others.

<sup>108</sup> This list is not comprehensive; Marvin Harris found over 490 such classifications: Harris, "Referential Ambiguity in the Calculus of Brazilian Racial Identity," in Norman E. Whitten, Jr., and John F. Szew, eds., *Afro-American Anthropology: Contemporary Perspectives* (New York, 1970), 75–85, although it should also be acknowledged that many of these terms are neither widely distributed nor regularly used. For our purposes, the point is simply the system's comparative complexity—which, even by the standards of Louisiana, Mexico, or Jamaica, can hardly be doubted.

<sup>109</sup> Frank Tannenbaum, *Slave and Citizen: The Negro in the Americas* (New York, 1946); Elkins, *Slavery*; Winthrop D. Jordan, "Unthinking Decision: Enslavement of Negroes in America to 1700," in T. H. Breen, ed., *Shaping Southern Society: The Colonial Experience* (New York, 1976). For critiques of the perspective, see Sidney Mintz's review of Elkins's *Slavery*, in *American Anthropologist* 63 (1961): 579–87; Davis, *Problem of Slavery in Western Culture*, 224–25 n.; compare Arnold Sio, "Interpretations of Slavery: The Slave Status in the Americas," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 7 (1965): 289–308. Arnold Toynbee's claim that "race feeling" in the contemporary West had no precedent in medieval Europe, which included colonizing Spain and Portugal but not colonizing England, bears marked similarities to the Freyre/Tannenbaum thesis but does not appear to have influenced its formulation. Toynbee, *A Study of History* (Oxford, 1934), 1: 223–25.

<sup>110</sup> "Portuguese colonization produced a fluid structure, making possible the transmutation from class to class, from race to race, and producing a new biological type, and new values in human beauty . . . In Brazil and Spanish America the law, the church, and custom put few impediments in the way of vertical mobility of race and class, and in some measure favored it. In the British, French, and United States slave systems the law attempted to fix the pattern and stratify the social classes and the racial groups." Tannenbaum, *Slave and Citizen*, 119–20, 127.

branco	preto
mulato	moreno
mulato claro	mulato escuro
moreno claro	moreno escuro
negro	caboclo
escuro	cabo verde
claro	araçuaba
roxo	amarelo
sará escuro	cor de canela
preto claro	roxo claro
cor de cinza	vermelho
caboclo escuro	pardo
branco sarará	mambebe
branco caboclado	moreno escuro
mulato sarará	negro
cor de cinza clara	creole
louro	vermelho
mambebe	pelé
roxo de cabelo bom	preto escuro

FIGURE 2: Brazilian Color Classifications

Portuguese are concerned—and without holding any brief for Anglo-American slavers—the notion of a mild form of slavery could hardly be further from the truth.

In comparison to North American slaves, whose lives represented a valuable commodity to their masters and were accordingly carefully—albeit not kindly—preserved, Africans who were enslaved into the Brazilian sugar industry could expect brutally truncated lives unless they were manumitted.<sup>111</sup> Although estimates continue to diverge as to the precise numbers involved, a negative demographic regime in which high death and low fertility rates were accompanied by a major gender imbalance in favor of male imports necessitated constant resupplies from Africa. Few would now quarrel with Stuart Schwartz's characterization of the adult mortality and general fertility rates among slaves in eighteenth-century Brazil as “staggering . . . far worse than recorded in other slave regimes.”<sup>112</sup>

<sup>111</sup> Contemporary accounts put eighteenth-century Brazilian slave life expectancy at between seven and fifteen years. C. R. Boxer, *The Golden Age of Brazil, 1695–1750: Growing Pains of a Colonial Society* (Berkeley, Calif., 1962), 174; Robert Edgar Conrad, *World of Sorrow: The African Slave Trade to Brazil* (Baton Rouge, La., 1986), 17, although such estimates have been qualified by Emília Viotti da Costa, *The Brazilian Empire: Myths and Histories* (Chicago, 1985), 134–35, and challenged, though for the era succeeding the termination of the slave trade in 1851, by Robert Slenes, “The Demography and Economics of Brazilian Slavery, 1850–1888” (PhD dissertation, Stanford University, 1976), 370.

<sup>112</sup> The term “negative demographic regime” comes from Stuart B. Schwartz, *Slaves, Peasants, and Rebels: Reconsidering Brazilian Slavery* (Urbana, Ill., 1992), 11. The quotation comes from Schwartz, *Sugar Plantations*, 373. As the French émigré Charles Auguste Taunay put it in 1839, Brazil “devoured” Africans: “if continued importation were not supplying them, the race would shortly disappear from our midst”; Stanley J. Stein, *Vassouras: A Brazilian Coffee County, 1880–1900: The Roles of Planter and Slave in a Plantation Society* (1957; Princeton, N.J., 1985), 227. See also C. R. Boxer, *The Portuguese Seaborne Empire, 1415–1825* (New York, 1969), 173–75; Mary C. Karasch, *Slave Life in Rio de Janeiro, 1808–1850* (Princeton, 1987), 92–110; Joseph C. Miller, *Way of Death: Merchant Capitalism and the Angolan Slave*

Even though the importation of slaves into the United States declined substantially from the 1790s on, this did not greatly affect the system of slavery there, since the slaves could and did reproduce themselves, albeit with a little help from their masters, so that slave numbers actually grew in the nineteenth-century South.<sup>113</sup> In Brazil, on the other hand, there was no pretense of natural increase. Rather, the lives of slaves were simply used up, whereupon they were replaced with what Thomas Nelson, a British surgeon resident in Rio during the 1840s, referred to as "the shoals of doomed Africans who are annually drawn from the opposite shore to supply the defects."<sup>114</sup> The importation continued apace until 1851, when the British finally terminated it by means of a naval blockade, and Brazilian slavery began to break down. Although Brazilian slaves were not to be finally emancipated until 1888, the combination of the curtailment of the trade from Africa, which had ceased altogether by 1853, and the effects of the Rio Branco (or "free womb") law of 1871, in which the condition of slavery was no longer transmitted to offspring once they had reached their majority, meant, in the words of Richard Graham, that "no new slaves would be available either from Africa or from procreation."<sup>115</sup> The predominantly Brazilian-born group of slaves who remained after the 1870s were well equipped to resist their subjection in a variety of ways, culminating in the mass flights from slavery that took place in the 1880s, often along the very railroad system that had been installed to improve plantations' export efficiency.<sup>116</sup>

One can discern all sorts of reasons for this apparently profligate waste of human resources on the part of the Portuguese and their Brazilian successors. The immediate financial returns on putting an African to work on a Brazilian sugar plantation were much higher than in the case of a Virginian tobacco plantation.<sup>117</sup> Apart from anything else, the distance involved was considerably—almost 50 percent—shorter, so it was much cheaper to ship Africans to Brazil.<sup>118</sup> The Portuguese controlled both ends of the Brazil slave trade, so there were fewer middlemen and levies to be encompassed in the price paid by their ultimate owners.

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*Trade, 1730–1830* (Madison, Wis., 1988). The bare figures should, of course, be approached with caution, especially since a significant proportion of the Brazilian slaves being replaced by newcomers from Africa had passed on as a result of manumission rather than of death.

<sup>113</sup> "The endurance and even expansion of United States slavery, without any substantial additions from importation, is unique in the world history of slavery." Carl N. Degler, *Neither Black nor White: Slavery and Race Relations in Brazil and the United States* (New York, 1971), 61. The importations into the United States were banned altogether from 1808 on.

<sup>114</sup> Quoted in Robert Edgar Conrad, *The Destruction of Brazilian Slavery, 1850–1888* (Berkeley, Calif., 1972), 24.

<sup>115</sup> Richard Graham, "Action and Ideas in the Abolitionist Movement in Brazil," in Magnus Mörner, ed., *Race and Class in Latin America* (New York, 1970), 51–69, 63.

<sup>116</sup> George Reid Andrews, *Blacks and Whites in São Paulo, Brazil, 1888–1988* (Madison, Wis., 1991), 37–40; Slenes, "Demography and Economics," 549–51; Robert Brent Toplin, "Upheaval, Violence, and the Abolition of Slavery in Brazil: The Case of São Paulo," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 49 (1969): 639–55, 655; Ademir Gebara, *O mercado de trabalho livre no Brasil, 1871–1888* (São Paulo, 1986), 99.

<sup>117</sup> Boxer, *Golden Age of Brazil*, 173; Conrad, *World of Sorrow*, 14–15; Carl N. Degler, "Slavery in Brazil and the United States: An Essay in Comparative History," *AHR* 75 (April 1970): 1004–28, 1018; compare Slenes, "Demography and Economics," 370.

<sup>118</sup> Robin Blackburn, *The Making of New World Slavery: From the Baroque to the Modern, 1492–1800* (London, 1997), 170. The journey from Angola to Bahia took forty days; José Honório Rodrigues, "The Influence of Africa on Brazil and of Brazil on Africa," *Journal of African History* 3 (1962): 49–67, 55.



Moreover, since the Portuguese crown imposed per capita levies on both Angolan exports and Brazilian imports, high volumes of trade were encouraged.<sup>119</sup> Above all, from the outset, Portugal's domestic economy had been basically agricultural, producing little for export, a situation that led to a circulation economy, in which a complex range of commodities, including slaves ("black ivory"), indirectly complemented one another at the level of the seaborne empire as a whole. The sugar plantations on the islands of São Tomé and Fernando Po, for instance, from which the Brazilian industry was to be developed, were initially established to provide an outlet for surplus slaves whom the Portuguese had acquired in the course of opening up African markets.<sup>120</sup> Thus slaves were not simply a means to the end of sugar production. Rather, trading in them generated systemic value in its own right as one of the primary links in a global chain of commodity exchanges.<sup>121</sup>

Concerning the question of internal complements, whereby local Brazilian factors converged with these systemic or empire-wide conditions, it is clear, firstly, that constantly replacing slaves with fresh imports from Africa militates against the development of a culture of resistance among them.<sup>122</sup> Moreover—and crucially—the much-vaunted high rate of manumission in Brazil conduced to the same end. In other words, manumission is not inconsistent with the practice of working slaves into the ground only to replace them with fresh consignments. Rather than being mutually inconsistent moral options, the two commonly contribute to the discouragement of slave revolts.<sup>123</sup> In place of a sterile alternation between Lusitanian

<sup>119</sup> Luiz Felipe de Alencastro, "The Apprenticeship of Colonization," in Barbara L. Solow, ed., *Slavery and the Rise of the Atlantic System* (Cambridge, 1991), 151–76, 167–68; Joseph C. Miller, "Some Aspects of the Commercial Organization of Slavery at Luanda, Angola—1760–1830," in Henry A. Gemery and Jan S. Hogendorn, eds., *The Uncommon Market: Essays in the Economic History of the Atlantic Slave Trade* (New York, 1979), 77–106, 105.

<sup>120</sup> Franklin W. Knight, "Slavery and Lagging Capitalism in the Spanish and Portuguese American Empires, 1492–1713," in Solow, *Slavery and the Rise*, 62–74, 69.

<sup>121</sup> This consideration provides a further motive, almost entirely unremarked in the literature, for the preference for African over Indian labor. As Lúcio Kowarick (who does remark it) observed, "Paradoxically, the key to understanding African colonial slavery is the slave trade, and not the other way round." Kowarick, *The Subjugation of Labour: The Constitution of Capitalism in Brazil*, Kevin Mundi, trans. (Amsterdam, 1987), 12.

<sup>122</sup> It is important to distinguish between colonizers' perceptions of the threat posed by slaves and the substance of those perceptions. Fear is not necessarily realistic. The fact, if it is one, that most rebellious activity was conducted by African-born slaves does not mean that the anxieties of planters (who were not necessarily consulting the same statistics as their historians) automatically followed suit. Some have stressed the lengths to which planters were prepared to go to achieve a mix of first-generation slaves from different African backgrounds (Boxer, *Golden Age of Brazil*, 176–77; Degler, "Slavery in Brazil and the United States," 1016). But this suggests a fear of homogeneity rather than of African birth per se, a conclusion that is consistent with the particular concern that planters evinced in relation to Islam—a concern that was realistic in rebellious early nineteenth-century Bahia at least (João José Reis, *Slave Rebellion in Brazil: The Muslim Uprising of 1835 in Bahia*, Arthur Brakel, trans. [Baltimore, Md., 1993]; Clóvis Moura, *Rebeliões da senzala* [São Paulo, 1959]). For varying opinions as to the sources of rebellious activity (including flight and the establishment of *quilombos*, or maroon habitations), see, for example, Andrews, *Blacks and Whites*, 36–37; Michael Craton, *Testing the Chains: Resistance to Slavery in the British West Indies* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1982), 165; Reis, "Slave Resistance in Brazil, Bahia, 1808–1835," *Luso-Brazilian Review* 25 (1988): 111–44, 111; Schwartz, *Sugar Plantations*, 342. Eugene Genovese suggested that a generalized shift in insurgent initiative, from the African-born to creole populations and from rebellion to something closer to revolution, began to set in around the end of the eighteenth century. Genovese, *From Rebellion to Revolution: Afro-American Slave Revolts in the Making of the Modern World* (Baton Rouge, La., 1979), 18–19.

<sup>123</sup> This does not, of course, exclude separate or supplementary motivations for manumission, such as the appeal of more flexible wage labor, the burden of maintaining old, infirm, or alcoholic slaves, the

apologists who stress the manumissions while discounting the mortality rates and critics who reciprocally discount the manumissions in favor of the deaths, we should see the two features of the Brazilian system as harmoniously preempting the threat that slave solidarity would pose to the reproduction of a social system based on slavery. To put this another way, manumission and high mortality together subtended a high turnover strategy that, internally, prevented slaves from developing the consciousness of a social group capable of acting for itself at the same time as, externally, it conformed to the empire-wide requirement for an expanded flow of trade.

What, then, was the internal context in which this rationale came to prevail? Simply put, in the areas of Brazil that the Portuguese colonized, the natives were exterminated, assimilated, or marginalized, while the millions of Africans who were imported over the centuries heavily outnumbered the Portuguese, whether peninsular or creole. Beset by perennial fears of underpopulation, Portugal—which, as observed, lacked England's early industrial experience of enclosure and urban drift—did not feel a comparable need to export an unwanted surplus population to the New World, with the result that the Portuguese stock in Brazil was proportionately much smaller than the white component of Britain's Australian or American colonies. Thus the reason why the Portuguese should have gone to such apparently uneconomical lengths to prevent the development of solidarity among its African slaves and creolized slaves and ex-slaves is only too obvious. The combined group greatly outnumbered the Portuguese, and would have had little trouble in overthrowing them if ever (or, perhaps, if only) they had set their collective mind to it. That they have not done so is a matter of record. Accordingly, throughout Brazilian history, blacks have consistently dominated the lowest, most impoverished and exploited positions in society. To this day, though it is a Brazilian cliché that money whitens, since there are some well-off blacks and a larger number of poor whites, the great majority of blacks are poor and the great majority of the elite are white.<sup>124</sup>

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need to provide an incentive for informers, the sanction afforded by conditional or delayed manumission, consanguineal sentiment, pecuniary advantage (from slaves' purchasing their freedom), salvation anxiety, guilt, or gratitude. For a range of motivations, see, for example, Cohen and Greene, "Introduction," 10–11; Jan Fiola, *Race Relations in Brazil: A Reassessment of the Racial Democracy Thesis* (Amherst, Mass., 1990), 3; Karasch, *Slave Life in Rio*, 338–64; Anthony W. Marx, *Making Race and Nation: A Comparison of South Africa, the United States, and Brazil* (Cambridge, 1998), 62; Kátia M. de Queirós Mattoso, "Slave, Free, and Freed Family Structures in Nineteenth-Century Salvador, Bahia," *Luso-Brazilian Review* 25 (1988): 69–84, 71; Stuart B. Schwartz, "The Manumission of Slaves in Colonial Brazil, Bahia, 1684–1745," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 54 (1974): 603–35, 627–30.

<sup>124</sup> See, for example, Andrews, *Blacks and Whites*, 126–27; Nelson do Valle Silva, "Updating the Cost of Not Being White in Brazil," in Fontaine, *Race, Class and Power in Brazil*, 42–55; Florestan Fernandes, "The Weight of the Past," in John Hope Franklin, ed., *Color and Race* (Boston, 1968), 282–301, 291; Carlos A. Hasenbalg, "Race and Socioeconomic Inequalities in Brazil," in Fontaine, *Race, Class and Power in Brazil*, 25–41, 28–39; Peggy A. Lovell, "Race, Gender and Development in Brazil," *Latin American Research Review* 29 (1994): 7–35, 19–22; Marx, *Making Race and Nation*, 253; Thomas E. Skidmore, *Black into White: Race and Nationality in Brazilian Thought* (1974; Durham, N.C., 1993), 376. As do Valle Silva dryly concluded, "Updating the Cost," 55, "Summarizing our findings, we can say that we now know the cost of not being white in the Brazilian 'racial democracy': about 566 cruzeiros a month in 1976." Updating these figures into the present, Peter Fry has recently brought together an authoritative range of studies that map Afro-Brazilian deprivation along such revealing axes as infant mortality rates, educational attainments, income ("the average income of blacks and mestizoes [mulattos] is a little less than half that of whites"), and incarceration. Fry, "Politics,

Slave creolization is inherently ambivalent. On the one hand, a shared language and a degree of shared cultural experience contribute to diasporan solidarities, while, on the other hand, the same qualifications also provide avenues for the maintenance of planter control. As Schwartz has shown, this ambivalence manifested itself in Brazil as a division between two schools of slaveowners, "those who thought that permitting slaves to maintain their African cultures was a positive way of stimulating differences among them and thus an effective social control, and those who thought that such cultural persistence stimulated rebellion."<sup>125</sup> Dividing around such questions, the planters were not, however, divided to an extent comparable to the divisions that fragmented those of African descent. In times of crisis, planters of all persuasions knew only too well where their collective interest lay, and seamlessly closed ranks.

In postcolonial Brazil's nineteenth-century imperial era, the significance of the divisions that plantation society strove to impose on slaves, ex-slaves, their successors and descendants lies in the simple fact of division itself. Juridically, Afro-Brazilians were divided into slave versus free, with freed slaves in turn being divided into those born free versus those who had been manumitted (*libertos*) and, after about 1830, those who had been released from slave ships intercepted by the British (*emancipados*). After the passing of the free womb law of 1871, children born to slave mothers but destined for freedom became known as *ingénuos*. In addition to these formal juridical distinctions, a range of informal social distinctions obtained: African versus creole; black versus mulatto; Indian versus black, mulatto, and *caboclo* (Indian/white); together with a locally various range of phenotypical oppositions. None of these divisions were coterminal. On the contrary, they cut across each other, broke each other up, and multiplied the fragmentation. In combination, they secured and maintained the dominance of the ruling group, the only group whose divisions could be relied on to dissolve when collective interests were threatened.<sup>126</sup> The baroque system of nomenclature grew out of and compounded this fragmentation, on whose reproduction across time Brazilian society depended. This is why creole homogeneity presented such a threat, and why, therefore, the number of creole slaves had to be kept in check—which, in turn, is why the number of fresh imports and manumissions had to be kept up. Creolization was a matter of degree—slaves who had been around for a while, like Ira Berlin's Atlantic creoles, posed more of a threat than those who had not.<sup>127</sup> Every year on

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Nationality, and the Meanings of 'Race' in Brazil," *Daedalus* 129 (2000): 83–118, 92. See also John Burdick, *Blessed Anastácia: Women, Race, and Popular Christianity in Brazil* (New York, 1998), 1–2.

<sup>125</sup> Schwartz, *Sugar Plantations*, 342.

<sup>126</sup> "Colonial slave society had created a set of racial and status divisions that effectively interdicted cooperation . . . The distinctions between crioulos and Africans and between blacks and mulattoes were not simply census takers' conveniences or descriptive designations. They were important categories that described the multiple and complex divisions of Bahian society and circumscribed political action." Schwartz, *Sugar Plantations*, 473.

<sup>127</sup> "The characteristics that distinguished Atlantic creoles—their linguistic dexterity, cultural plasticity, and social agility—were precisely those qualities that the great planters of the New World disdained and feared . . . Simply put, men and women who understood the operations of the Atlantic system were too dangerous to be trusted in the human tinderboxes created by the sugar revolution." Ira Berlin, "From Creole to African: Atlantic Creoles and the Origins of African-American Society in Mainland North America," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d ser., 53 (1996): 263.

Brazilian soil was another year of creolization. Thus we can understand how it should be that a plural but not unduly Gordian set of social classifications should begin to complexify in the nineteenth century, during the very period when Brazilian slavery was finally and decisively shifting, through a period of creole majority, to the impossible situation of an entire slave population that was only distinguishable from the surrounding population by virtue of its slavery.

Since Afro-Brazilian deprivation survived the emancipation decree of 1888, it is important not to exaggerate the significance of that decree.<sup>128</sup> Nonetheless, along with the juridical condition of slavery, emancipation automatically abolished the juridical distinctions that had previously served to divide Afro-Brazilians. This left the unofficial distinctions, which were predominantly couched in terms of color. In the twentieth century, these informal distinctions effloresced into the full extravagance of the Brazilian baroque.<sup>129</sup> Clearly, there are significant correspondences between this phenomenon and the post-emancipation racialization of U.S. blacks. In particular, both emancipations signaled an intensification of miscegenation discourse. Yet the outcomes of this intensification could hardly have differed more profoundly between the two societies. Whereas, in the United States, the one-drop rule enforced the most thoroughgoing of racial polarities, the Brazilian baroque obscured an empirical polarity in which African extraction overwhelmingly correlated with deprivation. Where one promoted solidarity among a white majority, the other promoted fragmentation among an Afro-Brazilian majority. In fragmenting, of course, it also contained.

In a very straightforward way, the contrast between the Brazilian and U.S. regimes of difference reflects the bare demographics involved. In Brazil, a one-drop rule would have resulted in instant engulfment for the elite. This consideration casts light on a post-emancipation complement to the color-classification system, the energetic program of white immigration that gathered impetus from the 1880s on.<sup>130</sup> In terms of conventional economic rationality, the logic of this program is hardly less baroque than that of the color terminology, since the Brazilian economy already had millions of laborers on hand and available to it without the trouble and expense of importing foreigners. Yet this labor force had hardly evinced docility in the run up to emancipation.<sup>131</sup> As an impoverished potential alternative, however, the beneficiaries of emancipation served, by their very presence, to discipline the newcomers.<sup>132</sup> Indeed, when the immigrants showed signs of having imported disruptive European ideologies such as socialism or syndicalism, they could find

<sup>128</sup> As David Baronov put it, the decree involved "abolishing the slave while simultaneously failing to emancipate the African." Baronov, *The Abolition of Slavery in Brazil: The "Liberation" of Africans through the Emancipation of Capital* (Westport, Conn., 2000), 166. See also Emília Viotti da Costa, *Da senzala à colônia* (São Paulo, 1966), 466.

<sup>129</sup> Andrews, *Blacks and Whites*, 249.

<sup>130</sup> This was the centerpiece of the official policy of "whitening." See Skidmore, *Black into White*, esp. 68; Thomas E. Skidmore, "Racial Ideas and Social Policy in Brazil, 1870–1940," in Richard Graham, ed., *The Idea of Race in Latin America, 1870–1940* (Austin, Tex., 1990), 7–36, 12, 23; Andrews, *Blacks and Whites*, 135–36, 177–78. For an earlier precedent, see Karasch, *Slave Life in Rio*, 321.

<sup>131</sup> A number of scholars have noted that slave and ex-slave dissidence provided a pretext for the immigration program. See, for example, Fernandes, "Weight of the Past," 282–301, 285; Robert M. Levine, "'Turning on the Lights': Brazilian Slavery Reconsidered One Hundred Years after Abolition," *Latin American Research Review* 24 (1989): 201–17, 207.

<sup>132</sup> Lúcio Kowarick, *Capitalismo e marginalidade na América latina*, 3d edn. (Rio de Janeiro, 1983).



themselves passed over in favor of Afro-Brazilians.<sup>133</sup> Such situations were, however, limited exceptions to the rule. In general, Brazilian authorities acted as if, along with slavery, they had also dispensed with the slaves. Ex-slaves in Brazil were much more marginalized than blacks in the U.S. South, whose labor continued to be exploited under changed forms of control.<sup>134</sup> Thus it is consistent that, unlike U.S. blacks, but like the anomalous Indians and Aborigines within, blacks in Brazil should have been targeted for assimilation under the policy of whitening (*branqueamento*). Even the iconography anticipated the Australian three-generation lap-count to whiteness (see Figure 3).<sup>135</sup>

In sum, the Brazilian system of color classification performs a socially reproductive function complementary to that which, in the slave era, was also performed by the combination of manumission, high mortality, and juridical heterogeneity. These factors operated to prevent a hyperexploited Afro-Brazilian majority from realizing its community. Following the protracted (1851–1888) build-up to emancipation, distinctions of color acquired increased salience as the other factors became obsolete. Subsequently, in combination with the program of white immigration, the elaboration of the color-classification system helped prolong the oppression of Afro-Brazilians into the post-slavery era. Rather than elucidating this situation, historians such as Tannenbaum and Elkins recapitulated Brazilian racial ideology. On the other hand, although Carl Degler's famous "mulatto escape hatch" was not well received by Brazilian critics at the time, we should recognize the value of the insight that the categories intervening between black and white function to discourage non-whites from electing to be the majority.<sup>136</sup> We should, however, amend Degler's thesis, since the reprieve that counts is not opened up for individual mulattos but for the dominant group as a whole. The Brazilian baroque is a ruling-class escape hatch.

IT FOLLOWS THAT THE BRAZILIAN CATEGORIES are not racial in the sense that applies to the racialization of black people in the United States—after all, full siblings in

<sup>133</sup> George Reid Andrews, "Black and White Workers: São Paulo, Brazil, 1888–1928," in Rebecca J. Scott, et al., *The Abolition of Slavery and the Aftermath of Emancipation in Brazil* (Durham, N.C., 1988), 85–118, 103–07, 115–18; Andrews, *Blacks and Whites*, 55, 58, 151. In Bahia and other depressed areas that did not attract white immigrants, high unemployment kept wages down. Moreover, when white immigration was cut back (for instance, during World War I), internal migration from these areas maintained the labor surfeit in more dynamic zones such as São Paulo (Kowarick, *Subjugation of Labour*, 81, 88).

<sup>134</sup> Florestan Fernandes, *The Negro in Brazilian Society* (New York, 1969); Fernandes, *A revolução burguesa no Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro, 1975); Viotti da Costa, *Da senzala à colônia*, 466.

<sup>135</sup> João Batista Lacerda, director of the Rio de Janeiro National Museum, included a reproduction of this painting by M. Broccos, of the School of Fine Arts in Rio de Janeiro, in the introduction to the paper that he had been invited to present to the First Universal Races Congress, held in London in 1911. He captioned the image: "The negro passing into the white in the third generation as a result of racial crossing." Taken from Lilia M. Schwarcz, *The Spectacle of the Races: Scientists, Institutions, and the Race Question in Brazil, 1870–1930*, Leland Guyer, trans. (New York, 1993), 3–4.

<sup>136</sup> For the "mulatto escape hatch," see Degler, *Neither Black nor White*, esp. 224–25. In a critical response, Eduardo de Oliveira e Oliveira suggested substituting the term *alcapao* for the mulatto escape hatch, *alcapao* signifying both an emergency exit and an animal trap: "emergency exit from the system itself, but a prison for the mulatto, incapable of acquiring a sense of himself [*uma consciência própria*]." Oliveira, "O Mulato, um obstáculo epistemológico," *Argumento* 1, no. 3 (1974): 70.



Painting by M. Broccos (see n. 135).

Brazil can be assigned different classifications, and even these vary with the judgments of individuals.<sup>137</sup> This is the reason for referring to the Brazilian system

<sup>137</sup> Nearly half a century ago, Oracy Nogueira distinguished cogently between prejudices based on "mark" and on "origin," respectively associated with Brazilian and U.S. social classifications. A prejudice of mark is based on external appearance (hence full siblings can be differently classified), while a prejudice of origin is based, selectively, on heredity, which may or may not harmonize with external appearance, and which necessarily classifies full siblings together. Nogueira, "Preconceito racial de marca e preconceito racial de origem," *Anais do XXXI Congresso Internacional de Americanistas* (São Paulo, 1955); Nogueira, "Skin Color and Social Class," in Pan American Union, *Plantation Systems of the New World* (Washington, D.C., 1959), 164–78.

as one of color rather than of race. For all the stark differences between the systems, however, race in the United States (or, for that matter, in Australia) and color in Brazil are alike in being regimes of difference that reproduce relations of power, whether by maintaining social divisions that would otherwise be incoherent or by effacing social divisions that would otherwise be coherent. To focus on miscegenation discourse is to focus on that incoherence at the point where it is most conspicuous, which is the point at which the ideological resources of a colonial or "post"-colonial society that is premised on distinguishing between colonizer and colonized are most intensely summoned. At that point, those resources become maximally visible. The primary issue is not, therefore, race or sexuality *per se* but the maintenance of social divisions, an imperative that requires difference to be configured and reconfigured in highly contextual manners. By the same token, I am presenting an approach or methodology, not a model. Accordingly, if we were to turn our attention to, say, the differentiation of Loyalist from Republican in Northern Ireland, or of Mizrahi from Palestinian in Israel, or of Anglo- from French-Canadian in Quebec, we should not expect to find differences configured in the ways we have seen them configured in Brazil, the United States, or Australia. Even where the discourses of race and/or color are cognate, we should expect to find context specificity. In South Africa, for example, the Coloured (or "Cape Coloured") population has occupied a crucial interstitial position whose social and political significance has been far in excess of its numbers. In stark contrast to the Australian case, where an Anglo-Celtic majority embarked on a policy of assimilation, assimilation in South Africa would have threatened white society with disappearance. Hence the need for a barrier category to ensure that the boundaries of whiteness remained rigidly intact. For most of the twentieth century, therefore (and particularly under Afrikaner administrations), the Coloured population has been officially treated, as if immaculately conceived, as a discrete and self-generating third entity rather than a (con)fusion of black and white.

It follows that shifting social divisions should lead to shifts in miscegenation discourse.<sup>138</sup> The example of the frontier situation in Georgia was noted above. Such examples are crucial to the approach, since structural analyses have only too often been ahistorically static, as if structure and event were mutually exclusive analytical options. As opposed to this unsatisfactory characteristic of traditional structuralism, the approach being advocated here enables us to distinguish between historical shifts that actually transform social relations and those whose practical consequences are more apparent than real. (Reconstruction comes to mind.)<sup>139</sup> A particularly clear example of structural conditions altering fundamentally over time is provided by the changing situation of Anglo-Indians (or "Eurasians"), who moved from an influential and fairly elevated social position in the eighteenth century to a situation that became increasingly marginalized and depressed as the nineteenth century wore on. It would be hard to find a clearer symptom of the social consequences of a transition from a mercantile form of capitalism—in which Europeans employed creole intermediaries to broker their trading relationships

<sup>138</sup> See especially Stoler, "Making Empire Respectable."

<sup>139</sup> Thus the fortunes of the Coloured group will be an important long-term indicator of how complete a break with the past the ANC government has achieved.



with native producers—to an industrial mode of capitalism in which Europeans directed a system of mines and plantations that employed native labor to produce raw materials to meet the specifications of European factories.

Miscegenation discourse addresses the central contradiction bedeviling any colonial regime of difference, whether framed in terms of race, nation, culture, or otherwise. In broader terms, therefore, miscegenation is but a physical metaphor. In some contexts (one thinks, for instance, of religious conversion in Israel/Palestine), the requisite confusion need not involve constructions of biology. In the situations that we have surveyed here, however (and, it would seem, in the majority of cases), miscegenation discourse recruits biology to install systems of social relations at the level of the individual's own bodily experience. Thus miscegenation discourse is a central site for the myriad mundane ways in which colonial and postcolonial divisions are contested, defended, refurbished, and transformed. At stake in the unending struggle over differentiation is the fundamental issue defining any social system—who exploits whom in the production and reproduction of power, wealth, and privilege?

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*Review Essay*  
Remembered Realms: Pierre Nora and French  
National Memory

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HUE-TAM HO TAI

THE IMPACT IN FRANCE of *Lieux de mémoire*, the magisterial seven-volume collaborative project led by Pierre Nora, was consecrated in 1993 when the phrase “site of memory” entered the *Grand dictionnaire Robert de la langue française*. The publication of a three-volume English-language edition under the title *Realms of Memory* makes accessible to American readers 46 of the original 132 articles that were published in *Lieux de mémoire* between 1981 and 1992.<sup>1</sup> They have been superbly translated by Arthur Goldhammer and come with a useful foreword by Lawrence Kritzman and a new preface by Nora.

The gap of nearly two decades between the publication of the first volume of *Lieux de mémoire* in 1981 and the third volume of *Realms of Memory* in 1998 makes the task of evaluating the impact of Nora’s project on scholarship outside France difficult. During that time span, the field of memory studies exploded, with works by David Lowenthal, John Bodnar, John R. Gillis, Raphael Samuel, and Simon Schama, to name but a few.<sup>2</sup> Nor has the field been confined to analyses of representations of the past in North America and Europe, as the growing body of scholarship on memory work in Asia suggests.<sup>3</sup> Nonetheless, it is useful to review *Realms of Memory* separately because of the currency the phrase “memory site” has gained as well as the differences between the English version and the French original.

I gratefully acknowledge the helpful comments and suggestions by Jeffrey Wasserstrom, Michael Grossberg, and anonymous readers of an earlier version.

<sup>1</sup> These include the introduction, “Between Memory and History,” and the afterword, “The Era of Commemoration,” both by Pierre Nora. *Realms of Memory: Rethinking the French Past*, 3 vols. (New York, 1996–98).

<sup>2</sup> David Lowenthal, *The Past Is a Foreign Country* (Cambridge, 1985); John Bodnar, *Remaking America: Public Memory, Commemoration, and Patriotism in the Twentieth Century* (Princeton, N.J., 1992); John R. Gillis, ed., *Commemorations: The Politics of National Identity* (Princeton, 1994); Raphael Samuel, *Theatres of Memory* (London, 1994); and Vol. 2: *Island Stories: Unravelling Britain*, Alison Light, Sally Alexander, and Gareth Stedman Jones, eds. (London, 1998); Simon Schama, *Landscape and Memory* (New York, 1995).

<sup>3</sup> See, for example, Carol Gluck, “The Past in the Present,” in Andrew Gordon, ed., *Postwar Japan as History* (Berkeley, Calif., 1993); Rubie S. Watson, *History, Memory and Opposition under State Socialism* (Santa Fe, N.Mex., 1994); Vera Schwarcz, *Bridge across Broken Time: Chinese and Jewish Cultural Memory* (New Haven, Conn., 1998); Grant Evans, *The Politics of Ritual and Remembrance: Laos since 1975* (Honolulu, 1998); Shigeharu Tanabe and Charles F. Keyes, eds., *Cultural Crisis and Social Memory: Politics of the Past in the Thai World* (London, forthcoming); Hue-Tam Ho Tai, ed., *The Country of Memory: Remaking the Past in Late Socialist Vietnam* (Berkeley, forthcoming).

Often lost from view as the phrase migrated from its original context is the beginning of the project in a seminar series, which Nora launched in 1979 to explore the construction of the French past. This research agenda is worth examining because of the questions it poses about nation, nationalism, and national identity, as well as its implications for the conceptualization of the relationship between history and memory offered by Nora. I write this review from the margins of both French history and of the French nation, as a historian (not of France but Vietnam) and as a postcolonial subject. Born in Saigon when it was still the capital of French Cochinchina, I began my schooling the very year the French were defeated at Dien Bien Phu. As a result, unlike my father and even my older siblings, I was spared from having to recite “Nos ancêtres sont les Gaulois.” With numerous relatives permanently settled in France, I also write with a personal appreciation of the impact of postcolonial immigration on the French social and cultural landscape and on French notions of national identity.

Nora’s concept of “memory sites” is contained in the introduction, “Between History and Memory,” which appeared in English translation in *Representations* in 1989; his concept then migrated rapidly from its discipline (history) and place of origin (France) to other disciplines and areas, much as did Benedict Anderson’s “imagined communities” around the same time.<sup>4</sup> Nora took his title from Frances A. Yates’s book *The Art of Memory* (1966), but his theme is not only different from Yates’s—French national identity rather than religious experience—his definition of memory sites is also far more catholic: “The archives and the tricolor; libraries and festivals; dictionaries and the Pantheon; museums and the Arc de Triomphe; the *Dictionnaire Larousse* and the Wall of the Fédérés (where defenders of the Paris Commune were massacred by the French Army in 1871).”<sup>5</sup> The collection also includes real people (René Descartes and Joan of Arc), mythic ones (the Good Soldier, Nicolas Chauvin), battles (Verdun), competitions (the Tour de France), and novels (Marcel Proust’s *Remembrance of Things Past*).

*Realms of Memory* belongs to the genre known as *histoire des mentalités*, which grew out of the desire of French historians to free themselves from the Comtean determinism of nineteenth-century historical writings and the Marxist-inspired *Annales* without lapsing into the perceived elitism of the history of ideas.<sup>6</sup> Nora characterizes his enterprise, which eschews the linearity of previous historical narratives, as a “history of the second degree.” He defines it as “a history in multiple voices . . . less interested in causes than in effects; . . . less interested in ‘what actually happened’ than in its perpetual re-use and misuse, its influence on successive presents; less interested in traditions than in the way in which traditions

<sup>4</sup> Two quite different works, both citing Nora’s article, appeared in the same year: Takashi Fujitani, *Splendid Monarchy: Power and Pageantry in Modern Japan* (Berkeley, Calif., 1997); and Marita Sturken, *Tangled Memories: The Vietnam War, the AIDS Epidemic, and the Politics of Remembering* (Berkeley, 1997).

<sup>5</sup> Nora, *Realms of Memory*, 1: 6.

<sup>6</sup> Pierre Nora co-edited with Jacques Le Goff *Constructing the Past: Essays in Historical Methodology* (New York, 1984) (originally published as *Faire de l’histoire*, Paris, 1974), in which Le Goff contributed the article “Mentalities: A History of Ambiguities.” On the link between *mentalité* and memory, see Alon Confino, “Collective Memory and Cultural History: Problems of Method,” *AHR* 102 (December 1997): 1388–89. For a defense against elitism, see Michel Vovelle, *Idéologies et mentalités* (Paris, 1982).

are constituted and passed on.”<sup>7</sup> As Nora rightly observes, his approach to studying the past is far more prevalent and better developed in the United States than in France.

The ruthless process of selection involved in condensing seven volumes into three gave Nora an opportunity to refine his ideas. Some of the articles deleted from *Realms of Memory* are no doubt of limited interest to nonspecialists. This is probably the case with essays on various professions and administrative divisions. I regret that the article on painterly representations of the French landscape has been dropped, since twentieth-century imaginings of “la France profonde” bear the ineluctable imprint of nineteenth-century painters. The literary construction of France is represented by a single article on Proust by Antoine Compagnon. Proust may be the writer of memory par excellence, but a full appreciation of Alain Corbin’s disquisition “Paris-Province” might conjure up images from Balzac, Flaubert, Stendhal, or Choderlos de Laclos, to name but a few. Despite these deletions, *Realms of Memory* still represents a commodious compendium and typology of the memory sites that map the vicissitudes of French national identity, especially since the revolution.

Several ghosts hover over the discussions of both memory and French national identity in this work. The first is the ghost of the French Revolution, a continual site of contestation during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The conflicts and divisions that arose out of that experience are foregrounded in *Realms of Memory* as a way of introducing non-French readers to some themes that run through the rest of the articles. (They appeared in the first volume of *Les France*, the fifth in the larger collection.) The principal and often overlapping lines of tension over the last two centuries were those between monarchists and republicans, Catholics and seculars, French and foreigners, and Right and Left. Equally powerful is the ghost of Ernest Lavissee, the Third Republic historian whose self-imposed mission was to teach French schoolchildren to love the motherland through the study of history and whose primary textbook, *Le petit Lavissee*, has been read by millions of those children.<sup>8</sup> Nora’s aim is no less than to dislodge Lavissee from his pedagogical pedestal and offer his own project as France’s new memory site.<sup>9</sup>

Lavissee’s *Histoire*, on which the condensed *Petit Lavissee* was based, embodied the synthesis of nation and republic that Ernest Renan expounded in his influential lecture of March 11, 1882, “What Is a Nation?” The loss of Alsace and Lorraine to Prussia in 1870 was a palpable force behind his argument that a nation is a “soul, a spiritual principle” founded on “a rich legacy of memories” and the “clearly

<sup>7</sup> Nora, *Realms of Memory*, 1: xxiv.

<sup>8</sup> “[D]onner aux enfants de la France cette *pietas erga patriam* qui suppose la connaissance de la patrie.” Quoted in Jean-François Sirinelli, “Début de la publication de l’Histoire de France d’Ernest Lavissee, 1900,” available on the World Wide Web at [www.culture.fr/culture/actualites/celebrations2000/index-celebrations.htm](http://www.culture.fr/culture/actualites/celebrations2000/index-celebrations.htm), accessed April 25, 2001. Lavissee’s 27-volume *Histoire de la France*, covering the period up to the revolution, was published between 1900 and 1911; it was augmented by the 9-volume *Histoire de la France contemporaine* (Paris, 1920–22).

<sup>9</sup> “Only certain works of history are *lieux de mémoire*, namely those that reshape memory in some fundamental way or that epitomize a revision for pedagogical purposes.” Nora, *Realms of Memory*, 1: 17.

expressed desire to continue a common life.”<sup>10</sup> Against German determinism based on language and race, Renan represented the nation as a “daily plebiscite.” Just as Lavissee’s *Histoire* bears the imprint of Renan’s influence, so does *Realms of Memory* reflect that of the late François Furet.<sup>11</sup> It was Furet who pointed out in *Penser la Révolution française* (1978) the pivotal role of the French Revolution both as the end of monarchical history and beginning of the republican narrative and who observed that “the French Revolution is over.”<sup>12</sup> Nora began his project still very much in the shadow of Lavissee and Renan. The original four volumes of *Lieux de mémoire* consisted of one volume devoted to “La République,” two to “La nation,” and one to “Les France.” According to Nora, the publication of *La nation* in 1986 reversed a trend in which leading historians seemed to “have rejected the nation as a framework for doing history.”<sup>13</sup> The return to a nation-centered approach gave Nora the impetus to resume his project. Meanwhile, the publishing hiatus<sup>14</sup> allowed him to incorporate more fully Furet’s idea that “the revolution is over.” Perhaps the best sign that it is truly over is the dropping of an article on Marianne, the symbol of the embattled Republic, from *Realms of Memory*. Indeed, the underlying theme of *Realms of Memory* is that the great divisions and conflicts that began with the revolution have now lost their power to convulse the French nation and topple governments.

Nora traces the death of the monarchical idea to that of Charles de Gaulle (in 1970), of the conjunction between Catholicism and French national identity to Vatican II, and the terminal decline of the agrarian idea of “la France profonde” to the 1960s, when the rural population dropped to less than 10 percent. A once-powerful current whose demise is also felt through the collection is Communism as both a political and an intellectual force. As it collapsed, Communism lost ground not just as an object of study but also as an epistemology. While these trends began well before François Mitterrand’s presidency (1981–1995), it was during his tenure in office that their full implications were absorbed by the French political and scholarly worlds. Lawrence Kritzman is thus entirely right to describe Nora’s project as “one of the great French intellectual achievements of the Mitterrand era.”<sup>15</sup> With so many ghosts hovering over the collection, no wonder it has a strong autumnal quality (Kritzman calls it *fin-de-siècle* melancholia).

As Nora moved away from using post-revolution fault lines as the organizing principle of French national history, he came to put greater emphasis on diversity and polyphony. While the study of the revolutionary legacy occupied a single volume, *La nation* expanded to three, as did the exploration of diversity (*Les France*). But more than the revolution and fantasies of monarchical restoration were over, so was France’s long colonial career: its bloody end came in 1957 in Algeria. Yet neither Lavissee, writing during the Third Republic, nor Nora, during

<sup>10</sup> Ernest Renan, “What Is a Nation?” translated by Martin Hom, in Homi K. Bhabha, ed., *Nation and Narration* (London, 1990), 19.

<sup>11</sup> Furet contributed the article “The Ancien Régime and the Revolution.”

<sup>12</sup> François Furet, *Penser la Révolution française* (Paris, 1978), 11.

<sup>13</sup> Nora, *Realms of Memory*, 1: xii.

<sup>14</sup> During that hiatus, Furet and Mona Ozouf collaborated on the *Dictionnaire critique de la Révolution française* (Paris, 1988); others also participated in preparations for the bicentennial of the French Revolution.

<sup>15</sup> Lawrence D. Kritzman, foreword to Nora, *Realms of Memory*, 1: ix.



the Fourth, takes the experience of empire into his consideration of how the French nation and national identity were constructed, or assesses its role in French collective memory. This is all the more striking since, four years after the loss of Algeria, Nora published *Les Français d'Algérie*.<sup>16</sup>

For all of Nora's embrace of polyphony and polysemy, the French nation of *Realms of Memory* is a given rather than a problem or project. The contests and conflicts that are so amply documented in the collection are not about France per se but about the nature of its national identity. The overall effect is, while there may be many perspectives on France (monarchic, republican, Catholic, among others), they have only one object. This is a France that is indivisible even when understood differently over time and by different segments of the population. One article that has not been retained in the English edition is Eugen Weber's, which suggests that the Hexagon as a symbol of France's territorial boundaries, rather than being deeply rooted in the past, is largely a post-World War II image. Neither has another article by Charles-Robert Ageron on the Colonial Exposition of 1931. The France of *Realms of Memory* includes Corsica (acquired in 1768) and Alsace and Lorraine (lost to Germany between 1870 and 1919) but not what used to be known as "la France d'outre-mer." This vast overseas empire included the Indian enclaves of Pondicherry and Chandernagor and various islands that had come under French rule well before Corsica,<sup>17</sup> as well as parts of Africa (Tunis, Madagascar, the Congo, Niger) and Asia (Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia) that were conquered during the Third Republic.

Jean-Jacques Rousseau's idea of the noble savage was deeply influenced by *Paul et Virginie* (1788), Bernardin de St. Pierre's tale of innocence corrupted by civilization, which was set on the island of Mauritius (under French rule since 1715). The dynastic drama of the First Empire involved characters who were marginal: Napoleon Bonaparte, who was born one year after Corsica became French and spoke French badly; his first wife, Joséphine, born in Martinique in 1763, one year before it became crown property; and his Austrian second empress, Marie Thérèse. Luckier than Rochester's mad wife, Joséphine spent her last years not in an attic but in the splendor of Malmaison, outside Paris. As for Napoleon, who had aimed to rule far more than the Hexagon, he spent his in damp exile on British-ruled St. Helena. Though central to French history, Napoleon (and Joséphine) thus exhibited the alienation and displacement (double in their cases) out of which whole careers in postcolonial theory have been carved. Even though postcolonial studies have reshaped scholarship on both former colonial countries and one-time colonial powers, their influence is noticeably absent from *Realms of Memory*.<sup>18</sup> Poor Napoleon: although he gave France its *Code civil* and the Third

<sup>16</sup> Pierre Nora, *Les Français d'Algérie* (Paris, 1961).

<sup>17</sup> Pondicherry was acquired by the French East India Company in 1668. Other French posts were opened in Mahé (1725), Yanam (1731), Karikal (1739), and Chandernagor (1688). Occupied by the British in 1778 and 1793, they were returned to France in 1816. Under the Second Republic, Indian residents of these French territories in India were granted universal suffrage. These reverted to India after 1947. *Encyclopedia Britannica*, s.v. "Pondicherry" and "Chandarnagar."

<sup>18</sup> In this, Nora's approach is in sharp contrast with that of Samuel in *Island Stories*; see in particular "Empire Stories: The Imperial and the Domestic," 74–97. For an example of the importance attached to colonialism in the construction of European societies, see Frederick Cooper and Ann Laura Stoler, "Between Metropole and Colony: Rethinking a Research Agenda," in Cooper and Stoler, eds.,

Republic realized his dream of empire—in different places, to be sure—he does not rate an article of his own.

Parts of the French empire predated the revolution, but both its nineteenth-century expansion and its problematic twentieth-century legacy derive from the revolution itself. As Eugen Weber pointed out in *Peasants into Frenchmen* (1976), the Third Republic's chief architect, Jules Ferry, presided over a double colonialism emanating from Paris: internally, through the imposition of universal conscription and free compulsory education and the expansion of the bureaucracy to the provinces, and externally, through the expansion of the empire in Indochina and Africa. Renan ignored this colonial reality when he affirmed: "A nation never has any real interest in annexing or holding on to a country against its will."<sup>19</sup> But it had been a slave revolt in her native Martinique that brought Joséphine de Beauharnais to Paris in 1788. The conjunction of republic and empire was as powerful as that between republic and nation, and it resulted in forced attempts to reconcile the *oeuvre coloniale* with lofty revolutionary ideals.<sup>20</sup> Those who opposed French colonialism often argued that it was a betrayal of the ideal of "liberté, égalité, fraternité." Equally germane was the contradiction between the universalism of the concept of "Man" and the more narrow definition of community embedded in the notion of the "citizen" contained in the Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen of 1792. Universalism was a Janus-faced principle in whose name Frenchmen were enfranchised while other people were subjugated. Lavissee's conceptualization of the French national community withstood waves of immigration from other parts of Europe (which, as Gérard Noiriel points out in "French and Foreigners," rivaled those experienced by the United States during the same period). Postcolonial immigration reveals the elasticity of the French demarcation of citizenship outside the Hexagon, where it was neither fully inclusive nor fully realized (as suffrage was granted only to naturalized colonials) and did not entirely reject German notions of common racial origins as the foundation of nations. Being required, as were my father and older siblings, to recite "Nos ancêtres sont les Gaulois" was a reminder to colonized people of their own powerlessness; it was also the logical outcome of the Third Republic's policy of popular empowerment through compulsory, uniform education. Dutifully claiming Gallic ancestry, however, did not give the Vietnamese the right to vote, even though, as a French "overseas territory," French Cochinchina sent a deputy to Paris. Still, after French rule ended, France's ambivalent views on race and citizenship allowed Cochinchinese natives like myself to claim, if they so wished, "reintegration" into French

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*Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World* (Berkeley, Calif., 1997). The authors' premise is that "Europe was made by its imperial projects as much as colonial encounters were shaped by events and conflicts in Europe."

<sup>19</sup> Renan, "What Is a Nation?" 20.

<sup>20</sup> See, for example, Albert Sarraut: "A great nation like ours, wherever it might go, whatever it might do, must be able to say that it remains everywhere faithful unto itself. It must be able to look squarely even into its colonial policies as the mirror of its conscience" (my translation). Sarraut, *Projet de loi de mise en valeur des colonies françaises* (Paris, 1921), 15. Sarraut, then minister of colonies, had served two terms as governor-general of Indochina.

nationality (and the right to vote) on the grounds that they had not freely chosen to relinquish it.<sup>21</sup>

The shrinking of its territory from far-flung empire to compact hexagon, coupled with its ambiguous policy of partial inclusion, left France with a highly diverse and contentious population. It has moved far from the France of Franks and Gauls. The presence in France of large immigrant communities, a product of the paradoxes of empire, is one of the reasons behind Nora's attempt at historical revisionism. But while the old historical narrative is unable to capture the new complexities of the French social landscape, the pull of that narrative remains so strong that Nora has not quite succeeded in fashioning an American-style embrace of multi-ethnicity and multiculturalism or achieving true polyphony while avoiding cacophony. In *Realms of Memory*, in fact, Nora attempts to restore some of the thematic unity to his enterprise that was being lost as it proceeded through the later volumes.

The fierce conflicts that raged through most of the nineteenth century and much of the twentieth are a thing of the past, but the arrival of new immigrants in the Hexagon complicates old fault lines between religion and secularism, French and foreign. The historical link between religion and politics, in particular between Catholicism and nation, makes it difficult to separate discussion of old tensions and new battles neatly into "Political Divisions" and "Minority Religions" as in *Realms of Memory*. Partly as a means of protecting themselves from Catholic oppression, both Protestants (studied here by Philippe Joutard) and Jews (studied by Pierre Birnbaum) identified themselves with republican, secular France. Identification with the republican bureaucracy (which was opposed by the Catholic-supported monarchist forces) led to two cruel betrayals of French Jews, first in the Alfred Dreyfus case and more tragically during World War II. As Birnbaum (whose article, "Gregory, Dreyfus, Drancy and Copernic," should be read in tandem with Claude Langlois's "Catholics and Secular") makes clear, it was Vichy bureaucrats who delivered Jewish colleagues into Nazi hands. French anti-Semitism has diminished in virulence, but is it a consequence of the final triumph of the secular republic over the Catholic monarchy, or have both secularism and Catholicism found a new and common "other" in Islam? As Langlois observes, the proliferation of mosques poses a challenge to the religio-monarchist amalgamation that is at the heart of "la France profonde" and that even the staunchest republicans have accepted: "In terms of monuments . . . France is either Catholic or secular. There is no middle term."<sup>22</sup>

On one side of the great nineteenth-century divide, Jean-Marie Le Pen's National Front combines residual Catholic allegiances with anti-immigrant sentiment to produce a virulent strain of racism that is mostly directed at Muslims. On the other side, the proclaimed secularism of the French state poses nearly as great a challenge to Muslims. Many Muslims do not abide by the official demarcation between secular public education and private religion that was arrived at in 1904, when Catholics were stripped of their former role in education. Sporadically, Muslim girls come into conflict with upholders of educational secularism when they

<sup>21</sup> Until Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher's reforms, Hong Kong natives residing in Britain could vote but could not work there without a work permit.

<sup>22</sup> Claude Langlois, "Catholic and Secular," in Nora, *Realms of Memory*, 1: 116.

insist on wearing the veil in school. From a Muslim perspective, however, French public life, organized as it is around Catholic-inflected notions of time, is anything but secular. It is no coincidence that the famed French "mois de vacance" usually begins with the celebration of the Republic on July 14 and ends with a Catholic holy day, the feast of the Assumption.<sup>23</sup>

If race is an unstable basis of national identity, what about language? *Lieux de mémoire* contained several articles devoted to the French language, a measure of its importance in French identity politics. The only one that has been retained in *Realms of Memory*, by Marc Fumaroli, chronicles the stages whereby the language of Ile-de-France gradually displaced Latin, and how this language, which was originally based on the linguistic and rhetorical practices of the French court, nonetheless survived the demise of the monarchy because of its adoption by the people of Paris. Still, as Weber showed, it did not become widely spoken throughout the country until the Third Republic's public schools turned *patois*-speaking peasants into French-speaking citizens.<sup>24</sup> The role of language as national unifier perhaps explains the innate conservatism of the Académie Française and its periodic attempts to protect the French language from the pollution of *franglais*, although that issue is not taken up by Fumaroli.

The success of another component of the Third Republic's nationalizing and republican project, universal conscription, is attested to by the monuments to war dead that dot the French landscape and by the importance given to Verdun as the distillation of war experience. Antoine Prost, who contributed articles on both topics, attributes the importance of Verdun to the fact that the entire French army was involved as a result of Marshal Pétain's policy of sending each unit to that front for only a short time (to reduce the horrors to which it was exposed). Equally important, the army that fought at Verdun was made up of conscripts from all over the country. Verdun, as the battleground of this republican and national army, thus presents an interesting contrast to another World War I site of memory, the Somme, which has become, in English literature, a symbol for the passing of the old aristocratic order in Europe. Now that peasants are disappearing, television may prove a more powerful unifier than military conscription.

A third component of the Third Republic's nationalizing project was the spread of the bureaucracy. Like the expansion of empire, the spread of the bureaucracy, when viewed from the center, can seem like an act of integration, but when seen from the periphery, it can look like oppression. Among the bureaucracy's many achievements is the organization of public memory. Despite the deletion of several articles devoted to this topic, *Realms of Memory* stands as a monument to bureaucratic centralization. Its polyphonic aspirations notwithstanding, *Realms of Memory* offers a vision of France that is more top-down and Jacobinist than *Lieux de mémoire*'s. Gone are articles on *départements*, regions, north-south divisions, center and periphery. The problem of regionalism is not altogether absent from *Realms of Memory*, but it tends to be analyzed from the vantage point of Paris, as

<sup>23</sup> Having a Muslim relative by marriage has sensitized me to the problems posed by French calendrical time. It has been noted that Thanksgiving is the most widely observed holiday in the United States because people of all religions (as well as atheists) can observe it.

<sup>24</sup> Even in the 1940s and 1950s, it was not unusual for rural children to speak *patois* at home and only begin to speak French after they started school.



in Corbin's article "Paris-Province." Corbin does an excellent job of laying out the role of Paris in the construction of French national identity, but readers might wish to know if the rest of France has accepted the overweening role of Paris as both focus of the national imagination and shaper of it, as well as Parisians' perception of anywhere but the capital as a place of exile. France today is a country where regional stereotypes remain plentiful and deeply entrenched. Are regional identities and loyalties, then, signs of diversity, or do they contain an element of resistance to the national idea?

Pétain's vision of a France built on "Work, Family, Fatherland" was already obsolete in the 1930s. It might be premature to sound the death knell of "la France profonde" just because the proportion of the French population engaged in agriculture has fallen. The agrarian nostalgia of "la France profonde" was always infused by a strong anti-Parisian sentiment. This has carried over into the National Front, whose stronghold in the south is a hotbed of hostility toward both the center (Paris) and the periphery (foreigners, international organizations, globalization). The targets of this hostility can be human (African immigrants) as well as inanimate (cars with Parisian license plates, for example). In his chapter on "Gastronomy," Pascal Ory asks plaintively: "Will French cuisine be all that remains when everything else has been forgotten?"<sup>25</sup> Like the rest of the contributors, he fastens on its elite manifestation (*haute cuisine*) rather than its cherished regional variations from *cassoulet* to *choucroute d'Alsace* to *tripes à la mode de Caen*. But can that last bastion of Frenchness withstand the combined onslaught of American fast food and Asian-inspired fusion cuisine? The fight against McDonalds is less about the inroads of American mass culture (McDonalds met little resistance when they first opened in France in the 1970s) than about a conception of Frenchness that a dwindling number of French farmers, their villages rapidly being converted into vacation homes for Parisians, insist on preserving. That the farmers' fight has gained wide support has probably less to do with concerns over genetically altered food than with the enduring power of "la France profonde" as a rallying cry in French culture wars.

Subnationalism—as distinct from regionalism—is notably absent in the collection as well. A. L. Rowse entitled his memoirs of his Oxford University days *A Cornishman Abroad* (1976). Devolution has changed the shape of politics in Tony Blair's New Britain. By contrast, in the introduction to *Realms of Memory*, Nora dismisses the problem of Corsican separatism and Breton resentment in a couple of sentences.<sup>26</sup> Corsicans may have to work hard at remaining Corsicans, as Nora suggests, but one might ask whether their self-conscious attempts to cling to a Corsican identity is fundamentally different from the attempts of French farmers to slow down the invasion of American fast food or of the Académie Française to safeguard the purity of the French language. Furthermore, subnationalism has gained an ally in globalism in its fight against the Jacobin nation-state. Bretons performing Druid rituals as a way of affirming their cultural distance from (the rest of) France are finding new supporters among New Age enthusiasts. Globalism works both ways: Thich Nhat Hanh, the displaced Vietnamese monk who runs

<sup>25</sup> Pascal Ory, "Gastronomy," in Nora, *Realms of Memory*, 2: 443.

<sup>26</sup> Nora, *Realms of Memory*, 1: 11.

retreats in France and the United States, has gained adherents from diverse religious backgrounds and ethnic origins on both sides of the Atlantic for his synthesis of the teachings of Buddha and Jesus. While the legacy of empire has not been fully absorbed, neither have the challenges to fixed notions of French national identity that come from the forces of both trans and subnationalism.

THE CONJUNCTION OF COLLECTIVE MEMORY and national identity that provides the structure of *Realms of Memory* arises from Ernest Renan's definition of nation as being constructed from a rich legacy of memories.<sup>27</sup> His and Nora's focus on the national and the relative neglect of both the colonial and the local, far more evident in the English version than in the original, shape how the relationship between history and memory is conceptualized throughout the collection. Nora's formulation of this relationship is based on a sharp distinction between history and memory, *lieux* and *milieux de mémoire*. Yet there is a certain fuzziness in the way Nora defines and deploys the concepts of "history" and "memory," which allows him to make claims that at times seem to contradict one another.

In his introduction, Nora avers that history is made necessary when people no longer live in memory but become conscious of the pastness of the past and need the aid of written documents to recall it. According to him, *lieux de mémoire* come into being when *milieux de mémoire* disappear. Such a distinction comes close to paralleling the distinction between orality and literacy. Historians of non-Western societies may well take exception to his assertion that "among the new nations, independence has swept into history societies only recently roused from their ethnological slumbers by the rape of colonization."<sup>28</sup> It echoes the discredited notion that only the West has history, while others have culture, with the West providing appropriate subjects of historical inquiry, while the changeless cultures of the rest can be studied through the lens of Lévi-Straussian structuralism.<sup>29</sup> As structuralism's dominance waned, the historically constituted dimension of culture gained acceptance among anthropologists just as historians turned their gaze away from the national and toward the local. As anthropologists moved beyond the study of the purely local, they did not shed their distrust of the state, and this distrust was extended to the nation. The growth of scholarship on memory in the United States thus coincided with increasing disenchantment with nationalism and nationalist projects. This constitutes a significant point of difference from Nora's project: social memory is as likely to be invoked as a counterweight to the modern nation-state as it is a shaper of national identity. Anthropologists, in particular, have pointed out that collective memory is far from being unmediated and unself-conscious.<sup>30</sup>

Some American scholars, under the influence of Michel Foucault, Antonio Gramsci, and other theorists of power, are more concerned with the potential for memory to be shaped by the nation-state or some other powerful group as well as

<sup>27</sup> Renan, "What Is a Nation?" 19.

<sup>28</sup> Nora, *Realms of Memory*, 1: 1–2. Eric R. Wolf made ironic reference to this Eurocentric perspective on history and culture in *Europe and the People without History* (Berkeley, Calif., 1982).

<sup>29</sup> The colonial origins of anthropology are themselves the subject of a vast body of literature.

<sup>30</sup> See, for example, Evans, *Politics of Ritual and Remembrance*. Also see Rubie S. Watson, "Introduction," *History, Memory and Opposition under State Socialism*.

to serve as a source of opposition to power.<sup>31</sup> American scholarship on memory also bears the influence of dissident writings from the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe (such as those of Milan Kundera), especially on the need for counter-hegemonic memory. The collective memory of certain interpretive communities exists in a state of tension with national identity and history, unlike the symbiosis that Nora, after Renan and Lavissee, seeks to preserve.<sup>32</sup> The importance of scholarship on the Holocaust in American studies of memory has been profound. As Michael Schudson observed: "There are two kinds of studies of collective memory—those that examine the Holocaust, and all the others. Even people whose own work lies in that second group find Holocaust studies inescapably important, capable of illuminating every corner of the general topic with intellectual clarity and urgency."<sup>33</sup> By its very nature, Holocaust scholarship focuses on memory that is not linked to national identity or imagination.<sup>34</sup> Memory—localized, diffuse, polysemic—is thus often seen as undermining nationalizing, totalizing projects. Studies written in that vein tend to argue the need to preserve or salvage the memories of individuals or small communities as antidotes to the narrative of dominant groups and oppressive states and to emphasize the importance of counter-memory. It is instructive to note that *Lieux de mémoire* contained only two articles on counter-memory: one on the Vendée, a region associated with the counter-revolution, and one on the Mur des Fédérés, which commemorates the Paris Commune. Both have been dropped from the English version. Such deletions would be more difficult to imagine in an American collection. Adding to the complexity, post-socialist scholarship suggests a quite different relationship between history and collective memory than is envisaged in *Realms of Memory*. Instead of presenting memory as either providing the raw material of history or subverting official narratives, some scholars have focused on the way in which official history shapes memory.<sup>35</sup>

<sup>31</sup> "[T]he main problem is how is it possible to struggle against a cultural power which has a monopoly of the production and diffusion of information and images?" Alain Touraine, in Michael Ignatieff with Ralf Dahrendorf and Alain Touraine, "The New Politics," in Bill Bourne, Udi Eichler, and David Herman, eds., *Voices: Modernity and Its Discontents* (Nottingham, England, 1987), 76. See also Gail Hershtatter, "Can the Subaltern Speak? Reflections on Subaltern Theory and Chinese History," in *positions* 1 (Spring 1993): 103–30. Hershtatter makes the point that, in the 1950s, at the moment of their greatest apparent agency, namely acquiring a voice, Chinese prostitutes were made to speak the language of victimization given to them by the Chinese state to recall their experiences in the 1920s. Also see James C. Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts* (New Haven, Conn., 1990).

<sup>32</sup> An example of that trend is Bodnar, *Remaking America*, in which he opposes vernacular and official memory. For a critique of Bodnar's approach, see Confino, "Collective Memory and Cultural History," 1401–02.

<sup>33</sup> Michael Schudson is the author of *Watergate in American Memory: How We Remember, Forget, and Reconstruct the Past* (New York, 1992). He was responding to a query about "breakthrough" books on collective memory from *Lingua Franca* (March/April 1996), available on the World Wide Web at [www.linguafranca.com/Special/books.9603.html](http://www.linguafranca.com/Special/books.9603.html), accessed May 8, 2001. Another example is the journal *History and Memory*, founded in 1989 by the Holocaust scholars Saul Friedländer and Gulie Ne'eman Arad, and dedicated to "understanding the National Socialist and Fascist epoch and its massive impact on the contemporary imagination as well as the perplexing aspects of its representation." Pierre Nora is on its editorial board.

<sup>34</sup> An important exception, of course, is the link between Zionism and studies of the Holocaust. See Alon Confino's discussion of Yael Zerubavel, *Recovered Roots: Collective Memory and the Making of Israeli National Tradition* (Chicago, 1995), in "Collective Memory and Cultural History." An attempt to link and compare different communities of memory is by Schwarcz, *Bridge across Broken Time*.

<sup>35</sup> See, for example, the essays in Watson, *Memory, History, and Opposition under State Socialism*; and

Nora's project exhibits a problem that Alon Confino has suggested is common to memory studies, an emphasis on construction at the expense of reception.<sup>36</sup> Nora's project is very much dominated by historians, even if they practice "history in the second degree." Not all take up the more theoretical issues explored in his introduction. Some prefer to write in the style of conventional historians rather than as students of memory; they discuss how certain sites came to be constructed and have evolved over time but do not seek to assess their present place in the French commemorative landscape.

The predominance of historians among Nora's collaborators and the focus on the national at the expense of the local have had a major influence on the way the study of memory is approached. Noteworthy is their heavy reliance on the kind of archival records that forms the basis of traditional historical writing. Despite Nora's distinction between history and memory, it is not evident in the scholarly scaffolding of much of the project. Closely linked to this approach is the accent on elite opinion-makers (who left behind records) as opposed to ordinary localized communities of memory. It is here that the scholarly strategy employed in the project differs most strikingly from the more anthropological one, and where it becomes difficult to distinguish between history and memory, ideology and *mentalité*. Nora claims for history as a profession a critical spirit that is not always borne out by the evidence. Indeed, as he notes, French history is a *lieu de mémoire*: "History was holy because the nation was holy."<sup>37</sup> The several articles dealing with French history textbooks by Mona Ozouf and Nora himself, as well as the analysis of debates about Franks and Gauls by Krzysztof Pomian, make the case that French collective memory has been indelibly shaped by a primary and secondary curriculum that was put in place under the Third Republic. The great conflicts of the last two centuries in France were fanned in large part by practitioners of history. Debates about Franks and Gauls and their respective contributions to the making of France began well before the French Revolution. But it is the spread of compulsory education that kept the Franks and the Gauls from disappearing from French popular memory. It is not necessary to have labored over Julius Caesar's *De bello Gallico* or to have participated in debates about the origins of France to appreciate *Astérix*, but that cartoon hero could not have been possible without these antecedents. Memory thus does not exist outside of history.

Besides Frances Yates, Nora was influenced by Maurice Halbwachs, whose *Les cadres sociaux de la mémoire* was published in 1925 (although it was not translated into English until 1975). Yet it is not easy to discern the socioeconomic and regional bases of the different and conflictual images that make up French national identity, or the power relations that governed their construction, much less their reception. This lack of focus on the social bases of memory gives the impression that, on the whole, national memory transcends boundaries of region and class. There are, to be sure, certain exceptions: the discussion of the role of the Museum of the Desert in sustaining Protestant memory (although this is not offered as an example of

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the essay by Peter Zinoman, "Reading Revolutionary Memoirs," in Tai, *Country of Memory* (forthcoming).

<sup>36</sup> Confino, "Collective Memory and Cultural History," 1395–99.

<sup>37</sup> Nora, "Between Memory and History," 1: 5.



counter-memory), or Maurice Agulhon's description of the division of Paris between the working class and revolutionary eastern sector and the more affluent and more conservative western sector.<sup>38</sup> In general, however, the lack of attention to the "social frames" of memory—to borrow from Halbwachs—leaves unanswered some important questions.

Who defines the nation and national identity? How well is that definition accepted? By whom? Renan's claim, that "every French citizen has to have forgotten the massacre at St. Bartholomew,"<sup>39</sup> is dubious, given its central place in Protestant memory. Does the definition change over time as new events lead to reinterpretations of the past?<sup>40</sup> Do even the most committed republicans take pride in the royal, Catholic legacy—the cathedrals, the palaces and chateaus, even certain rituals—in spite of the triumph of the Republic or precisely because the vanquishing of the Catholic monarchy has made available its symbolic resources to non-Catholic, secular French? Who selects memory sites? With which segment of the population is the enduring notion of "la France profonde" associated, especially since the rural population declined rapidly in the twentieth century? Is memory of "la France profonde" slowly melting away like the watch in Salvador Dali's painting, the *Persistence of Memory*, or is it just a vocabulary that remains useful in fighting back against various targets: Paris, immigrants, globalization, modernity, and postmodernity? How can the pastoral nostalgia for "la France profonde" coexist with disdain for "la province"? Could the answer be found in Corbin's observation that "la province" should not be confused with "la campagne," where, long before Marie-Antoinette played shepherdess, Parisians sought refuge from the stresses of urban life and continue to do so today?

If variations by region and class are not made salient in most discussions, the same is true as well for gender. Certainly, there is a wide range of female voices throughout the volumes, such as those of Mme. de Sévigné and the nuns of Port-Royal; Joan of Arc is given an article of her own as the quintessential symbol of the three bases of national identity that are claimed to have died: monarchism, religious faith, and agrarian roots (the shepherdess from Domrémy) and as a focus of veneration by both the Left and the Right. But I am not talking about images of women or even of writings by individual women. I am suggesting instead that gender plays a role in shaping collective memory that could be usefully explored. This is particularly true since so much of French national identity is constructed around battles. Were the horror and heroism of World War I, as symbolized by Verdun, remembered the same way by men and women, or is war defined strictly in masculinist terms? The question is only tangentially addressed in Prost's discussion of war memorials that feature grieving widows and orphans.<sup>41</sup> Philippe Burrin observes in "Vichy" that "France has tended to conceive of its conflicts in historical

<sup>38</sup> Philippe Joutard, "The Museum of the Desert: The Protestant Minority," in Nora, *Realms of Memory*, 1: 353–78; Maurice Agulhon, "Paris: A Traversal from East to West," in Nora, 3: 523–54.

<sup>39</sup> Renan, "What Is a Nation?" 11.

<sup>40</sup> See, for example, Paul Fussell, *The Great War and Modern Memory* (New York, 1975), and George L. Mosse, *Fallen Soldiers: Reshaping the Memory of the World Wars* (New York, 1990). Both works, especially Mosse's, show the impact of the Vietnam War on American scholarship of World War I.

<sup>41</sup> A useful contrast is provided by Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707–1837* (New Haven, Conn., 1992).

terms, and to conceive of its history in terms of conflict."<sup>42</sup> Such an identification of history, memory, and politics can only marginalize the experience of women, who did not gain the right to vote in France until 1945.

Memory seems at times to assume the dimension of an autonomous causative factor in shaping behavior precisely because it is not anchored in a specific social community.<sup>43</sup> This is most visible in Jacques Revel's article on the monarchical style in French politics. He sees in contemporary presidents successful emulators of Louis XIV's absolutist rule. But is the governing style of every president since de Gaulle—one is tempted to call it the imperious presidency—attributable to the enduring influence of Louis XIV, a conscious strategy to distract the French public from unpalatable truths (in the case of de Gaulle, the loss of empire), or a consequence of their attempts to make the most of the peculiarities of the French political system in the twentieth century? To what extent does present action reinforce the power of memory and ensure its continuation? Is memory product, process, cause, or a bit of all?

The issue of forgetting is perhaps more prominent in American studies of memory than it is here. Nora and a few of his contributors, notably Ozouf, bring up the issue of amnesia as a necessary component of collective memory (a point made by Renan originally). In his afterword, however, Nora suggests that there may be an overabundance of memory and commemoration, particularly of World War II. Yet one can argue that what today looks like compulsive remembering may be the delayed result of decades of willful amnesia during which the French conveniently forgot the small and large compromises they made in order to survive. Until recently, as Burrin shows in "Vichy," the issue that long dominated discussions of France's record during World War II was the very narrow one of governmental legitimacy rather than the extent of French responsibility—collective as well as individual—for the shameful betrayal of the Jews. The controversies that have surrounded the sensational trials of Vichy-era criminals owe their heat not only to the nature of their crimes but also to the long silence that enveloped them. It is worth noting how much our knowledge of this period of French history owes to American scholarship—something fully borne out by the bibliographies contained in *Realms of Memory*.<sup>44</sup>

If we are to take Halbwachs's theory seriously, then the distinction between *lieux* and *milieux* is not really tenable. Today, viewers look at religious paintings of the Renaissance as desacralized objects of beauty. But as Yates showed in *The Art of Memory*, at the time they were painted, they were mnemonic devices that drew on viewers' familiarity with biblical stories and at the same time reinforced their recollection of these stories: they were sites that were both saturated with memory and worked to promote memory. In the Renaissance, then, one may claim that *lieux*

<sup>42</sup> Philippe Burrin, "Vichy," in Nora, *Realms of Memory*, 1: 182.

<sup>43</sup> It shares that problem with ideology, which *histoire des mentalités* was supposed to avoid.

<sup>44</sup> The American historian of France Robert O. Paxton was called as a witness in the trial of Maurice Papon in 1999 to testify about Vichy France. For an account of that trial, see Paxton, "The Trials of Maurice Papon," *New York Review of Books*, December 16, 1999. For an insightful discussion of issues raised by Henry Rousso, *The Vichy Syndrome: History and Memory in France since 1944*, Arthur Goldhammer, trans. (Cambridge, Mass., 1991), see Confino, "Collective Memory and Cultural History."

and *milieux* coexisted and reinforced each other. The same can be said about Verdun. Prost laments that, with the passing away of veterans of the Great War, Verdun will lose its potency as a site of memory. Until then, it will be a *lieu de mémoire* because there still is a *milieu de mémoire*. In the Balkans, history and memory are constantly recycling each other to reproduce violence: in this setting, the pastness of the past does not exist. Tragedies that occurred several centuries ago are as vivid in the ethno-national consciousness as if they had happened yesterday. As William Faulkner wrote in *Requiem for a Nun*, "In the South, the past is never dead. It's not even past."<sup>45</sup> As a result, the Balkans are full of both *lieux* and *milieux de mémoire*, and, unlike Verdun, they are unlikely to lose their potency any time soon.

The references to "modern societies" and to the "modern metamorphosis of memory" beg the question, when do societies become modern? When did France? It would appear that Nora equates modernity with the nation-state, hence his polarization between national history and memory on the one hand and collective and atomized memory on the other. Nora briefly distinguishes between "dominant" and "dominated" *lieux de mémoire*. (In American scholarship, the trend seems to be more toward a distinction between "winners' history" and anti-hegemonic counter-memory.) What Nora takes to be a "unified national consciousness" may be only the result of the ability of winners to impose their interpretation on the past, relegating other interpretations to "dominated sites," "places of refuge, sanctuaries of instinctive devotion and hushed pilgrimages."<sup>46</sup> The fragmentation of this national consciousness may thus be due not only to the diversification of the French population but also to the work of critical historians who, "turning everything into prose," have exposed the-history-as-commemoration that is another name for official history. If there seems to be a surfeit of commemoration, it is because hitherto-silenced minorities have become vocal even as the politics of both history and memory have been exposed.

In a sense, the distinction between history and memory is too simplistic. Even atomized memory uses the milestones of official, national history to construct or reconstruct the past. "During the Great War," "Under the Khmer Rouge" are used as markers in both national and individual biographies. In certain societies, personal histories are constructed collectively, contradicting Western notions of individual autonomy. It is the lack of alignment between the personal and the national that makes it difficult to preserve a history of rural decline in France. Despite the persistence of the idea of "la France profonde" as a slogan, the agrarian past is disappearing from French memory not just because of the dwindling number of farmers but for lack of specific sites and milestones around which to construct stories of loss.<sup>47</sup> They just do not hew to the same chronological scaffolding as national history. Loss of farms, the exodus of the young from the land, technological obsolescence, all these are undramatic occurrences and long-term trends that are experienced in isolation rather than collectively. This contrasts with working-class

<sup>45</sup> William Faulkner, *Requiem for a Nun* (1951; New York, 1975), 80.

<sup>46</sup> Nora, *Realms of Memory*, 1: 19.

<sup>47</sup> See, in particular, Michel Bozon and Anne Marie Thiesse, "The Collapse of Memory: The Case of the Farm Workers (French Vexin, Pays de France)," in Marie-Noëlle Bourguet, Lucette Valensi, and Nathan Wachtel, eds., *Between History and Memory* (Chur, 1990).

memory, which is structured around strikes, acts of heroism, and martyrdom, that is, around specific individuals and dates, all of which generate the type of records, archival as well as oral, that organize and preserve memory. Moreover, working-class memory, unlike agrarian memory, is constructed and maintained collectively.

What, then, of the *nation-mémoire*, the memorial nation? It would seem that nations are most likely to be in need of *lieux de mémoire* when they are in their most liminal states: when they are being born and are in need of instant antiquity or when they are besieged, either by internal or external forces. Nora observes what he calls an “acceleration of memory”<sup>48</sup> as a result of ever-multiplying technologies of remembering; these technologies also have the effect of undermining traditional nation-states. Fax machines, the Internet, the telephone, and television help preserve memories and even create instant pasts; they also transcend borders, making possible both what Benedict Anderson calls “long-distance nationalism” and what Aihwa Ong calls “flexible citizenship.”<sup>49</sup> The memorial nation may not survive disenchantment with the nation-state, a stage of relatively limited duration in the scope of history. Sites of memory may become confused with theme parks.<sup>50</sup> Unified national histories may become even harder to write. This notion was at the heart of Raphael Samuel’s *Theatres of Memory*: because he was less concerned with defining the nation, he was more fully aware of the impact of colonialism on British identity and more willing to incorporate vernacular sites than Nora and his collaborators. And because he more readily acknowledged the contingent nature of historical knowledge, he did not seek to draw a sharp distinction between history and memory but saw both as being joined in a symbiotic relationship.

If imperialism is the nineteenth-century version of universalism, globalism is its late twentieth-century reincarnation. This time, however, it is not the French republic that is spreading its ideals and practices abroad but a one-time colony (of Britain, not France), the United States. French identification with the feisty but parochial Gaul, *Astérix*, is a far cry from the self-assured rhetoric of “mission civilisatrice.” While Caesar’s rampaging legions have been replaced by tourist hordes, a new threat to the descendants of the Gauls comes from distantly located techno-nerds. In the new world order, France’s role has been reduced from one of “mission civilisatrice” to “francophonie.” This consists of international jamborees often held in former colonial countries whose natives never spoke French in great numbers in the first place, the free and compulsory education of Jules Ferry having largely been denied them.

An article by Samuel that never saw the light was to be called “The Difficulty of Being English.” It stemmed from “his unstable sense of nationality”<sup>51</sup> and his commitment to Communism, which encouraged him to write from the margin and from below, to subtitle *Island Stories* “Unravelling Britain.” By contrast, *Realms of Memory* is written from the center and embodies a top-down approach to its subject. It is, as well, the product of a peculiar conjuncture: the rise of critical historiogra-

<sup>48</sup> Nora, *Realms of Memory*, 1: 1.

<sup>49</sup> Quoted in Aihwa Ong, *Flexible Citizenship: The Cultural Logics of Transnationality* (Durham, N.C., 1999).

<sup>50</sup> See, for example, John Pemberton’s discussion of the Suharto theme park “Mini-Indonesia” in *On the Subject of “Java”* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1994).

<sup>51</sup> Editors’ preface, Samuel, *Island Stories*, ix.



phy, of “history of history,” and of the combined pressures of internal diversity and globalization, whether owing to the growth of the European idea or to the spread of American popular culture, on French national consciousness.

“The nations are not something eternal,” declared Renan, predicting a European confederation.<sup>52</sup> A unified Europe was the dream of another Frenchman, Jean Monnet (1888–1979), who died the very year Nora launched the seminars that gave rise to *Lieux de mémoire*. Monnet’s dream has yet to be realized. Meanwhile, for Nora, the revolution is over but not yet the nation. In that sense, his publishing project is as much an artifact of the late twentieth century as Lavissee’s history was of the nineteenth.

<sup>52</sup> Renan, “What Is a Nation?” 20.

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## Reviews of Books

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### METHODS/THEORY

DAVID ELTIS *et al.* *The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade: A Database on CD-ROM*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2000. \$195.00.

The age of digital publishing has arrived for the history of the Atlantic slave trade with the publication of a CD-ROM that contains the records of 27,233 slaving voyages made between 1595 and 1866. Editors David Eltis, Stephen D. Behrendt, David Richardson, and Herbert S. Klein are prominent scholars with an impressive collective record of publications on the quantification of the slave trade. The CD-ROM makes available data that summarize research in this field over the last twenty years. More importantly, the CD-ROM allows the user to command the data from this digital archive with the click of a mouse. While studies of the slave trade have utilized computer models to analyze data for decades, the publication of this CD-ROM breaks new ground by making a digital database available to scholars and the public. It seems a foregone conclusion that the database will be the new benchmark for quantitative studies of the slave trade.

Users of the CD-ROM should be aware of its limitations. An eighty-nine-page booklet describes the assumptions and methodology that went into its creation. The editors argue that the database contains approximately seventy percent of all slave voyages made after 1600, based on what they call "scholarly consensus figures" of 11.4 million slave departures and ten million arrivals in this period (p. 5). Based on different assumptions about the size of the slave trade, the percentage included rises or falls. This fact is fundamental to understanding the results of queries to the database. No query will produce numbers equal to the scholarly consensus. On average, all queries will give numbers approaching two-thirds to three-quarters of those totals.

Users should be aware that the quality of the data varies from century to century, which means that most of the missing voyages occur in the first century and a half of the period (1600–1750). This was evident in the graphs produced by queries to the database. Almost all the graphs I produced showed larger numbers for the period from 1750–1867, even when scholarly consensus

figures show that the slave trade was larger in the earlier period. This is because the criterion for entry into the database is shipping data that shows the name of the ship, the port of departure, and other crucial data on a specific voyage. Historians have used other kinds of data (records of slave purchases in Africa and slave sales in the Americas that do not include specific shipping data) to arrive at the global estimate that informs the scholarly consensus on the size of the slave trade.

The strengths and limitations of the database flow from its basis in shipping data. The editors claim a rough comparability in the quality of the data from different European countries (with the exception of Portuguese and Brazilian voyages in the South Atlantic). I am skeptical of this claim, because the research upon which the database is based is far more complete for the English slave trade than for any other national carrier. For the French case, the shipping data published by Jean Mettas and Serge Daget between 1978 and 1988 was pioneering work, while scholars have been pouring over and debating the English data for decades. The slave trade and its history have played a much more important role in the historiography of England and its colonies than they have in that of France.

While it is important for users to understand the limitations of the database, its strengths are remarkable. A query to the database produces results based on the entire database of 27,233 voyages. The query page allows users to select time periods; regions in Africa, Europe, and the Americas; specific ports of trade; and other options from pull-down menus, including information on the vessel, its owners and crew, slaves embarked and disembarked, mortality rates, and much more. The results of the query appear in the form of a list of voyages, with additional screens that provide a summary of the data, an analysis, and a graph. There is a map that allows users to zoom in on any selected rectangular region, displaying regions and ports that are included in the database. If the user desires more information on a specific voyage, double clicking on the voyage will open a window displaying all the information in the database for that voyage.

The CD-ROM will place a powerful tool in the hands of researchers and teachers, which can be

customized for specific purposes. If an instructor wants to demonstrate the importance of the slave trade for specific port cities in Europe, the answers are only a few mouse clicks away. For researchers or teachers who ask questions about the regional origins of African slaves arriving in a specific region of the Americas, such as the Carolinas, Jamaica, or Bahía, a series of queries will produce a list of vessels, accompanied by summaries and graphs that can easily be printed out. Queries about where slaves leaving a particular region in Africa were disembarked will produce similar results. In all cases, very specific and detailed information based on seventy percent of all transatlantic slave voyages is at the command of users of the CD-ROM.

One can only applaud the publication of this database and hope that it will lead to new approaches to the study of the slave trade over the next decades. Cambridge University Press, the publisher, and the Du Bois Institute, which sponsored much of the research, deserve recognition for the results, as do the editors.

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PATRICIA NELSON LIMERICK. *Something in the Soil: Legacies and Reckonings in the New West*. New York: W. W. Norton. 2000. Pp. 384. \$27.95.

Larger than life with her humor, brilliance, and ease, Patricia Nelson Limerick has once again written an engaging, stimulating, and thought-provoking book consisting of a series of essays on important themes regarding the American West. This time, the issues she takes up are complexity, religion, culture, ethnicity, gender, and violence in the creation of the ever-evolving West, while at the same time she discusses the role of the public intellectual in conveying information and perspective on these issues to the American public.

In the first chapter, "Haunted America," Limerick lays out a nuanced and complex explanation of the causes and outcomes of the Modoc Indian war of the late nineteenth century finding that an unfortunate string of poor communication, misunderstandings, and confusion led to a disastrous result for the Modocs—one exacerbated by language differences. Surely this must have occurred throughout the nation in Anglo dealings with Native peoples, and it raises an important question about the unintended consequences of actions in other places at other times, including the current conflicts in Africa, where tribal peoples and former colonial states are engaged in what seem to be fratricidal conflicts. How many of those events were precipitated by poor communication, how many by greed and racism? As Limerick points out, making those distinctions in a clear manner is much more difficult than it might seem. One of the suggestions to scholars in this first chapter is to examine the complexity of relations among—in this case—Indians and Anglos, as well as those between them. Often there are

no heroes, only mediocre muddling that leads to disaster in situations of conquest. Another significant factor that Limerick points to is the undervalued and understudied role of emotion in the creation of events. She strongly advocates the right of historians to interpret and impute reasons and emotions to historical actors. This is indeed a refreshing and needed addition to historical analysis, but its use requires candor from the historian doing so.

Other chapters take on some of the familiar themes of the new history of the American West: the Turnerian frontier thesis; the mythologization of key historical figures that glosses over their true, often less than pure behaviors (e.g. John Sutter); the neglected role of immigrants and women, which Limerick beautifully illustrates by showing how little historians know about what members of these groups thought of their immigrant experience in the West or their attitudes toward nature; the importance of religion; and the ethnic complexity of the "western" immigrant experience.

The chapter on "Disorientation and Reorientation" is particularly eloquent about the layering of meaning that makes up the West. It demonstrates how the West has been interpreted by explorers from many backgrounds and then delves into the relatively unexplored experience of the Chinese and Japanese in the West. Limerick skillfully demonstrates how complicated and varied Japanese and Chinese perceptions of the West were and uses this discussion to strike at essentialism, that preference for a single truth or a single interpretation that muffles subtlety and difference for ideological reasons.

For all of its brilliance and eloquence, the book does seem addressed to an inside crowd, to Limerick's peers and those of us who have spent a great deal of time thinking about the West and what makes it so special: "something in the soil," in the climate, in the timing of its exploration and development. For us, this book provides encouragement to continue developing a multilayered, complex, humanized view of the land that takes into account exploitation and injustice, but in their proper historical context.

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MILES FAIRBURN. *Social History: Problems, Strategies and Methods*. New York: St. Martin's. 1999. Pp. viii, 325. Cloth \$59.95, paper \$21.95.

This is a text of considerable utility. Few historians take the time to reflect on method in historical practice, to locate specific interpretive dilemmas and the ways in which we can resolve them. Miles Fairburn has done so. The result is a rational progression through some specific problems of historical analysis.

The strengths of this book are its detailing of seven problems facing all historians: how to address a past holistically, given the inevitable process of excluding certain peoples from our accounts and the issue of absent social categories; generalizing from fragmen-

tary evidence; understanding causality; establishing differences and similarities; social constructionism; presentism and appropriate concepts; and evaluating competing explanatory accounts. In discrete discussions of these heuristically separated dilemmas, where the interface of evidence and interpretation is always central, Fairburn presents a three-tiered elaboration. First, he offers an overview of the issue, in which he develops key concepts, bolded in the text and explained in a glossary. Second, a specific related reading of particular historical writing relevant to the problem is provided, be it of Leonore Davidoff's and Catharine Hall's *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780–1850* (1987) or Daniel Jonah Goldhagen's *Hitler's Willing Executioners: Ordinary Germans and the Holocaust* (1996), to name but two of many texts addressed. The purpose of these focused readings is not polemical but pedagogical, albeit in ways that are often too compressed to satisfy those with a deep grasp of the analytic complexity of the writings. Finally, a third concluding section summarizes the discussion, bringing it to a close.

As a primer, which it was intended to be, this book is highly successful, and we are in Fairburn's debt for developing a series of discussions that all Ph.D. candidates should be engaged with. Such problems as there are with this text in some ways reach beyond its stated purpose, posing perhaps larger dilemmas than Fairburn could grapple with consisely.

The first sentence of Fairburn's introduction, for instance, suggests an almost cavalier rationale for the focus on social history, claiming that it is the discipline's fastest-growing and most fashionable area. If this was arguably true in the 1970s, it is a more problematic assertion at the end of the century. With the resurgence of intellectual history and a reconfigured cultural history, both characterized by an unambiguous concern with theory and counterposed understandings of method via postmodernism (which Fairburn largely contests), it is unfortunate that much of Fairburn's argument will be seen as anachronistic. Moreover, what privileges social history over the economic and the political, where, of course, the issues Fairburn raises are also relevant but often posed differently? Was not social history always scaffolded on the notion that it aimed to integrate these realms the better to provide a more totalizing representation? This is not unrelated to a chapter presented almost as an aside—"To Count or Not to Count?"—that relates to quantification, wherein Fairburn presents a number of valuable arguments about the potential strengths for counting, balanced by an appreciation of some of its practitioners' limitations. Finally, in locating his discourse on method within a social history that was generally written, Fernand Braudel notwithstanding, on national canvases (increasingly opting for microhistory), Fairburn evades what might well be the next methodological frontier: as transnational, even global, histories develop, will there not be different challenges in terms of method? In many ways, Fairburn's focus on

social history is unfortunate, for it will allow opponents, particularly those enamored of postmodernism, to dismiss it by typecasting the discussion as yet another attempt to muck about in the structure/agency debate or reify the experiential. Others, addressing new kinds of histories and genuinely looking for guidance, may find Fairburn less helpful than he could have been.

Finally, there is a debate to be had with Fairburn on fundamentals. How much of his discussion is really about method, methods, or methodology, terms that he employs somewhat indiscriminately, and how much is about conceptualization, analytic sensibility, and theory? Such groupings are not absolutely discrete, but neither are they quite the same things. Fairburn shies away from this problem by "lumping" rather than "splitting" (terms he borrows from J. H. Hexter). Sensitive to the application of this dualism to historical writing in general, he seems less conscious of its relevance in his own treatment of problems and strategies in historical practice. But if this is an issue, it is precisely the kind of dialogue that historians and their students should be having with texts out of which teaching grows. And that is why this book should be assigned and read. Will it be?

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NOEL PARKER. *Revolutions and History: An Essay in Interpretation*. Malden, Mass.: Blackwell. 1999. Pp. vi, 232. \$59.95.

There have been many attempts to set forth a typology of revolutions: one thinks of the work of Crane Brinton, Chalmers A. Johnson, John Dunn, and many others. The latest in this line is by Noel Parker, whose book is an "essay" on the subject, covering in a couple of hundred pages the topic from its beginnings in modern European history up to the present.

Parker has more in mind than a mere typology. He wishes also to give a structural-analytic explanation of revolutions, along with a hermeneutically inflected history of their appearance over time. He aims to align revolution with modernity, arguing that attempts to deal with modernization lie at the core of all such upheavals after the seventeenth century; to analyze revolution as a narrative, in the currently popular terms of discourse; to judge the role of structure and agency; and to assess the possibilities of revolution in the present.

In establishing categories of revolution, Parker posits the earliest form as Reformation-like revolts, not full revolutions, which are directed at centralizing monarchies, and generally do not end up transforming them. Only the English events of 1640–1660 and 1688 succeed in crossing the boundary, because they embody a special force: the needs of a new organization of finance capital. Other categories are constitutional-republic, communist (social democratic), national liberation, and contemporary revolutions.



Next, the author concentrates on how theorists account for revolution and sets forth three broad explanations: breakdown, overall direction of change, and agency. Parker argues that revolution is a European innovation that moves from the center out to the peripheries. The shadow of Immanuel Wallerstein's core-periphery analysis looms over the book. The more removed from the center, according to Parker, the less chance there is for the exercise of agency. Looking further again at contemporary revolutions, he categorizes them as pro or antimodernization.

On the hermeneutic side, much influenced by Paul Ricoeur, Parker seeks to understand the nature of revolutionary narratives and the role they play in regard to revolution itself, as the narratives merge into ideologies. Last, at the conclusion of the twentieth century the question of the future of revolution arises. In an age of globalization, the classic revolutionary narrative as played out in opposition to the classic nation-state seems dated, for the nation-state is not what it used to be. Parker would like us to consider how revolutions on the transnational scale can be legitimated.

In the course of tackling aspects of revolution, Parker relies heavily on the work of others. Much of his analysis seems stitched together from their writings, and we are given short summaries of the theories of Theda Skocpol, Barrington Moore, Charles Tilly, and innumerable others. In a work of such tight compression and ambitious synthesis as Parker's, perhaps this is inevitable and even cost effective. For many readers, however, it may induce a form of stupor in the face of so many demanding analyses crying out for sustained critical examination and evaluation.

Historians and political scientists/sociologists may, in general, have a different reaction to the book. Many of the latter, I believe, will find the work congenial. Many of the former, however, will have reservations. It will not be because the author has not done his homework. His account, for example, of what he calls Reformation revolts is highly informed, and the same can be said for many of his other treatments. It is simply that, once again, too many problems remain. For example, although the French Revolution is recognized as the "classic" case, very little is said about its actual features. Paying lip service to the need for a history of revolutions, Parker's account is devoid of any actual history. The "meaning" of 1789 is glossed over in its actuality and asserted only in the most abstract of terms. The same can be said about his treatment of globalization.

Evaluation of this book may be a matter of taste. Although I am sympathetic to works of synthesis and admiring of authorial ambition, I found my eyes glazing over in response to the cascade of details and the flat style by which the book advanced. My mind was still lingering over the author's synthesis of the corpus of one important scholar's work when we were off to another such attempt. Thus, while I ended up admiring Parker's effort, I was frankly bored. Others, however,

may find his book an interesting read and a major advance (a view with which I partially agree) on previous typologies of revolution.

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ARNO J. MAYER. *The Furies: Violence and Terror in the French and Russian Revolutions*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 2000. Pp. xvii, 716. \$35.00.

Arno J. Mayer undertakes to counter what he sees as an unjustified tendency to stigmatize 1789 and 1917 as disasters whose "human and material costs [were] morally and historically indefensible," a perspective he sees as both a distortion of the past and a denial of the possibility that revolution may be the only way to alter the "unjust and oppressive social order" that still prevails in much of the present-day world (p. 3). No one can accuse Mayer of having tried to elude the difficult questions posed by the two revolutions he analyzes. Rather than emphasizing the positive achievements of revolution, as Isser Woloch has done for the Jacobins in *The New Regime: Transformations of the French Civic Order, 1789-1820s* (1994), Mayer hones in exclusively on the issue of revolutionary violence and the chronology of its development. In his view, "there is no revolution without violence and terror," but this violence stems from the "inevitable and unexceptional resistance of the forces and ideas opposed to it, at home and abroad," rather than, as many recent historians of both movements have claimed, from the ideological obsessions of the revolutionaries (p. 4).

In Mayer's view, the initial successes of the French and Russian revolutionary movements masked the strength and determination of their opponents. Furthermore, he argues, the old regimes in both societies had depended on force to maintain themselves, as indeed all societies do, and revolutionaries should not be blamed for resorting to the same means to change things. The necessity of uprooting established religious institutions and beliefs and the deep-seated conflict between urban-based forces for change and peasants mired in the "muck of ages" (p. 58) ruled out peaceful compromise between reformers and their opponents. Finally, because both France and Russia were key players in the international systems of their day, their domestic revolutions inevitably generated wars, which in turn exacerbated internal passions.

Mayer is certainly correct to insist that there were good reasons why 1789 and 1917 did not and could not resemble the "velvet revolutions" of 1989 in Eastern Europe. In his eagerness to make his case, however, Mayer sometimes resorts to one-sided presentations of the evidence, and he does not always fully acknowledge the philosophical issues at stake in the debate about revolutionary violence. Furthermore, the scope and duration of violence in postrevolutionary Russia was so much greater than in France that one can legitimately ask whether it is justifiable to conflate the

two. Mayer's argument depends on demonstrating the power and intransigence of the French and Russian old regimes, and this leads him, for example, greatly to exaggerate both the influence and the reactionary character of the prerevolutionary French Catholic Church. In both cases, he paints a caricatural picture of the complex world of the peasantry and ignores the degree to which peasants demonstrated a clear sense of their own interests and a clear ability to pursue them. On a more philosophical level, Mayer takes it for granted that both revolutions represented progress and that the end of defeating their opponents justified the means of terror and violence. He does not grapple with the issue that has troubled so many critics of both movements, at the time and later: was there an inherent contradiction between the goals proclaimed by both revolutions and the means used to reach them?

The most controversial part of Mayer's book will undoubtedly be his discussion of the Stalinist period in Russia. Most of the violence of the French Revolution bore at least some relationship to the real dangers the movement faced, and the excesses of the Great Terror led to Maximilien Robespierre's overthrow within a few months. After Thermidor, France endured another two decades of almost continuous foreign warfare without a recrudescence of the mass imprisonments and executions that characterized 1793–1794. In the Soviet Union, however, the worst excesses of revolutionary terror occurred long after armed resistance to the movement had been crushed and at a time when the country was not immediately menaced from abroad. Although Mayer cites some of the post-1989 scholarship on the Soviet era, he opts for very low estimates of the human losses caused by Joseph Stalin's policies and advances strained arguments to justify them.

Despite the one-sided character of some of his arguments, the questions Mayer strives to raise are important ones. His book should serve to reopen discussion of the role of resistance in shaping revolutionary movements, the significance of revolutionary violence, and the similarities and differences between the two great revolutions that shaped so much of modern European and world history.

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JAMES SWENSON, *On Jean-Jacques Rousseau: Considered as One of the First Authors of the Revolution*. (Atopia: Philosophy, Political Thought, Aesthetics.) Stanford: Stanford University Press. 2000. pp. xiii, 320. Cloth \$55.00, paper \$19.95.

The question of Jean-Jacques Rousseau's influence on the French Revolution has occupied a unique niche in historiography for more than two hundred years. From such actors in the revolution as the terrorist Maximilien Robespierre and the aristocrat Charles-François Lenormant to contemporary commentators, establishing or denying a causal link between the "Sage of

Europe" and the political upheavals that put an end to the *ancien régime* continues to stimulate controversy. Compared to Montesquieu, whose contribution to revolutionary thought has been well documented and relatively uncontroversial, Rousseau and his legacy have not ceased to elicit at times strongly emotional arguments and paradoxical formulations. The problematic of Rousseau and the revolution is further complicated by his vexed relationship to the Enlightenment itself as well as by the question of the Enlightenment's role in providing the impetus for the revolution. To add to these uncertainties, literary critics, historians, and political scientists have weighed in to the Enlightenment-Rousseau-French Revolution triangle from very different perspectives, often appropriating one another's methodologies with varying success.

With great ingenuity and erudition, James Swenson enters this arena of multiple disputes through an exploration of the resonances of the word "author" as formulated by Louis-Sebastien Mercier's 1791 text *On Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Considered as One of the First Authors of the French Revolution*. Swenson shows how "author" carried the specific meaning of "cause" in eighteenth-century parlance, differentiating it from the literary definitions of "writer" (*écrivain*) and "man-of-letters" (*homme de lettres*), both imbued with other social and political nuances. Swenson uses this ambiguous appellation to structure an original analysis of the question, placing it in the larger context of debate over the connections between literature and political thinking.

Swenson undertakes the reexamination of the central issues by attempting to "rethink the link between causality and intelligibility contained in Mercier's use of the notion of 'author'" (p. 52). From this premise he elaborates a new order of explanation, encompassing the very contradictions of Rousseau's thought, from his most politically abstract statements to his most intimate avowals, demonstrating how the revolutionaries found supportive structures precisely in the radical disjunctions of Rousseauian paradox.

Swenson devotes an initial chapter to a discussion of the historiography of prerevolutionary Enlightenment, concentrating on the contributions of Roger Chartier, François Furet, Dena Goodman, Sara C. Maza, Keith M. Baker, Jürgen Habermas, and Robert Darnton to the fruitful ongoing debate over the dissemination and reception of "philosophic" ideas in the eighteenth century, or, as it might be phrased, the success of Enlightenment ideologies. The workings of the multifaceted publishing industry, actual reading praxis, questions of popular interpretation of important works, and the role of public institutions, academies, and social interchange mechanisms such as the salons have been the objects of attention in recent years focusing on the formation of a public sphere and the emergence of the text as a powerful instrument of social and political change.

Swenson takes up the often-noted discrepancy be-

tween the elevated status and the radical postures assumed by so many eighteenth-century observers. He comments on the challenge "posed by the presence or even the dominance of recognizably Rousseauian motifs within a cultural context that is both theoretically and sociologically inimical to them. This suggests that such relations of discontinuous and retrospective causality were already present within what we call the Enlightenment" (p. 52).

In the ensuing chapters Swenson examines Rousseau's first and second *Discours*, so often taxed with inconsistency, elaborating his thesis that the causal and intellectual discontinuity between nature and civilization constitute the underlying thought uniting both works. In the last two chapters, "The Author of Nature" and "The Author of the Revolution," Swenson discusses the idealized patriarchal polity of *La Nouvelle Héloïse* (1761) and the seemingly antithetical *Contrat social* (1762), examining the apparent anomaly of the deep enthusiasm they aroused in the same people and concluding that "the combination of a passionate longing for unity and a rigorous experience of division, represent the Revolution's greatest fidelity to Rousseau" (p. 226).

This book offers the reader a sophisticated and well-informed investigation into the mystery of political consciousness as it evolved under the impact of the Enlightenment and Rousseau's disciples in the crucible of revolution.

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TIMOTHY BROOK and ANDRE SCHMID, editors. *Nation Work: Asian Elites and National Identities*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 2000. Pp. 270. \$49.50.

The cataract of nationalism studies that began around ten or fifteen years ago shows no signs of abating, and this volume is the latest evidence of it. Very soon we are likely to have studies of the studies of nationalism: charting stages, identifying traditions, and historicizing the scholarship itself. With an eye to that question, I tried to specify what was distinctive about the volume under review. Apart from nationalism and Asia—both rather large categories—there are few thematic unities. I toyed with its intellectual provenance—largely a product of Asian studies in Canada—but quickly dropped it. In many ways, the volume itself is a "postnational" product, an important concept in the book that editors Timothy Brook and Andre Schmid describe as having more to do with "what" happens rather than "where" it happens. Perhaps the threads that weave the book together are principally methodological. The volume explores issues within and at the edges of the dominant postcolonial and globalization paradigms to ask "who spoke for the nation?" Who were the contestants and how did they deploy the resources of the imperialist enemy? How do dominant nationalisms construct citizens, and how do people

seek to recover their subjectivity? And, perhaps most interesting, "how do global capitalism and nationalism articulate?"

Methodologically, several of these essays succeed in integrating what often used to be a largely discursive or intellectual historical understanding of nationalism with an analysis of social practices. The essay by Susan Burns on public health and the body in Japan discusses the contest waged over the body and mind of the Meiji citizen-to-be by the national state, popular groups and popular culture, as well as the modern press. Her case studies of the medical supervision of prostitutes and stories of responses to modern mental prostitution are fascinating. By pointing out that many ordinary Japanese people saw the modernizing national agenda of the state to be a cause of as much as a solution to their problems, she reminds us that the Japanese modernization and nation-building process was hardly a smooth one. Schmid's chapter on decentering China in the modern Korean elite-nationalist consciousness at the turn of the nineteenth century examines the way in which this elite not only reified and essentialized notions of Chineseness and Koreanness but projected the differences back into a historiography that has continued to influence even relatively recent Western analyses. Schmid explores this phenomenon through both texts and practices such as language standardization or flag creation, often reading one against the other in ways that yield complexities and ironies in the Korean elite's construction of the nation.

V. Ravindiran's chapter on Dravidian nationalism directed against Brahmins among South India Tamils is an example of discourse analysis that points beyond discourse even if it does not take us there. Ravindiran shows with considerable skill and authority how different generations of low-caste Tamils from the late nineteenth century acquired a new sense of identity as Dravidians as a result of the scholarship of missionaries, who hoped to alienate them from Brahmins and bring them into the fold. He argues that this alliance between a missionary Orientalism and the aspirations of subordinate groups served as a powerful critique not only of the old Hindu order but also of modern Indian nationalism, which was itself an alliance of the dominant Orientalism and Indian high castes. Ravindiran's thesis points us to a non-discursive argument: shifts in meaning have to be understood in terms of how they appeal to different emergent groups. Yet it would have been nice to see how exactly the social articulated with the discourse.

Some of the essays—as for instance, those by Margherita Zanasi and Brook—can be discussed in conjunction because of the closeness of their subjects. Zanasi's essay on Kuomintang (KMT) minister Chen Gongbo's economistic view of nation-building reveals clearly the globally circulating ideas about autarkic economies in the interwar years, as well as political technologies to achieve them, such as corporatism. In some ways, her research confirms the postnational view that sees the national as constructed from the



global, even as the national needs to distance itself from the global. At the same time, the fact that neighboring enemy territories such as Japan and Manchukuo were also developing similar political-economic technologies might yield some clues as to why this important KMT leftist went over to the Japanese side (a matter she promises to discuss in another work); it may reveal how ideas of nation-building superseded the ideal of national solidarity.

Brook's is a welcome essay that explores the little-studied Japanese puppet regimes in central China. It is a deft analysis of some of the possibilities and traps that Japanese occupation ideology presented to their collaborators and the responses of the latter. In the initial part of the essay, he develops a challenging argument about "collaborative nationalism," by which he means that we should take more seriously the view of some collaborators that the nation was best served by joining with the Japanese, who were preferable to worse enemies (the West or Westernizing Chinese). As the essay proceeds, however, there seems to be a backing off, and by the end, we get a distinct sense that apart from the political rhetoric there was nothing nationalist about these politicians whatsoever. Brook's essay, I think could be usefully supplemented or joined with more on-the-ground analysis of social groups and interests who were tied to the structures and ideology of the occupation regime. His argument might have taken a different turn.

The three remaining essays, by R. Bin Wong on Chinese nationalisms, Xiaoping Li on Chinese "post-nationalism," and Thomas Keirstead on nation and postnation in Japan are principally interpretive and appropriately provocative. Bin Wong's essay entitled "Two Kinds of Nation, What Kind of State?" posits that premodern, imperial China was indeed one kind of nation as a consequence of the tendency for state and culture to fuse together. Thus, when modern Westernized nationalism emerged in the twentieth century, a gap existed between the two that has not been easy to bridge. While I am entirely in agreement with the idea that the premodern state in China and certain elites periodically pursued an exclusivist or homogenizing stance toward the population, to call it nationalist is perhaps somewhat misleading and minimizes the importance of the nation-state system. States within the core of this system tend (as postnationalists might agree) to control the definition of what it means to be a nation-state and a citizen. Moreover, the new institutions also produce categories of historical understanding that appropriate the past for their own purposes. Thus, for example, the Sinicization hypothesis, which scholars like Pamela Kyle Crossley and Evelyn S. Rawski have shown to be unilinear, may itself be an effect of the modern historical narrative of the Chinese geo-body rather than a part of that older nation.

Li discusses "postnationalism" in twentieth-century China as a phenomenon whereby the nation globalizes even as it distances itself from globalization to seek

national coherence. Moreover, she points to this as a dynamic that arose with the very emergence of modern nationalism from its hybrid, global roots and has intensified recently. This is an interesting argument and resembles those of geographers who are attentive to the nation as an aspect of the changing scales of state territorialization in response to global capitalism. However, Li's argument still needs considerable clarification: is it an analytical tool to understand nationalism? Is it a phenomenon that subsumes nationalism? What does it mean to say that they are "parallel modes of existence"? Finally, Keirstead, who recounts the description of postnation as a phenomenon of contemporary globalization, also ends up denying that the postnation is significantly different from the nation. He makes a fascinating, if perhaps the most provocative argument that the structural model of history that generates both the nation and the postnation is itself modeled on the structure of capitalism. Both of these scholars will require whole books on their subjects to persuade us. But they should be worth the read.

Although it is a bit of a smorgasbord, there is much food for thought in this volume. The historical essays contain good and original research and the interpretive essays are appropriately thought-provoking.

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JOSEPH NEEDHAM. *Science and Civilisation in China*. Volume 6, *Biology and Biological Technology* part 6, *Medicine*. Assisted by LU GWEI-DJEN. Edited by NATHAN SIVIN. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2000. Pp. xviii, 261. \$75.00.

This latest addition to the monumental *Science and Civilisation in China* project, initiated in 1954 by the late Joseph Needham, marks a distinct departure from volumes previously published in the series. Unlike earlier more encyclopedic sections, this installment is not a comprehensive catalogue of what is currently known about the history of Chinese medicine. Instead, it is a selection of five previously published essays written by Needham in collaboration with Lu Gwei-Djen on the topics of medicine in Chinese culture, hygiene and preventive medicine, medical education and qualifying examinations, the origins of immunology, and forensic medicine. Nathan Sivin, who took on the task of editing this volume in 1993, revised the essays for greater accuracy and added footnotes pointing out newer interpretations or alternative explanations. Sivin also provides an important introductory essay that sets out the dominant themes of Needham and Lu's work, critiques their more problematic assertions, surveys the current state of the field, and ultimately, calls into question the underlying premise of the *Science and Civilisation* project itself.

In the introduction, Sivin cogently analyzes transformations in both the history of medicine and Chinese studies that have undermined many of Needham and Lu's basic assumptions, particularly their positivist



belief in science and scientific medicine as universal forms of knowledge that transcend culture. Historians and anthropologists have been looking for some time now at the ways in which medical knowledge was socially constructed in specific local and cultural contexts within China. Scholars are now far more likely to study indigenous medical practices and beliefs on their own cultural terms and in the context of their own times than they are to assess such practices in relation either to modern standards of scientific medicine or to China's presumed protoscientific contributions to global medicine. This emphasis on multiple histories in diverse localities has led many to adopt a relativistic stance very much at odds with Needham and Lu's belief in an ecumenical science of modern medicine that has a single unitary history.

Needham and Lu's fundamental themes are evident throughout the volume and will be very familiar to those already well acquainted with their work. One of their overarching concerns was to document the pre-eminence of early Chinese medical knowledge and practice over that found in Europe prior to the sixteenth century. Another was to demonstrate the debt modern biomedicine owes to early Chinese innovations. Thus, in the chapter on hygiene and preventive medicine, the authors are at pains to point out that ancient Chinese hygienic thought "compares most favourably with what was done in Greek and Roman civilisations" (p. 93). They credit the Chinese with inventing medical qualifying examinations and institutions for educating doctors, and they speculate that these innovations spread from China to the Middle East in the tenth century and from there to Europe in the twelfth or thirteenth century (pp. 111–12). Similarly, they posit that inoculation against smallpox, well documented in China from ca. 1500 on, actually originated five hundred years earlier among secretive Taoist practitioners. Needham and Lu further claim that all immunization practices around the globe, including those in Europe and Africa, have Chinese origins (pp. 166–67). Forensic medicine is said to have begun in China and radiated out to Europe as well (p. 199). In sum, taken together the essays present an overview of Needham and Lu's vision of modern medicine as universal and one that China contributed to in significant ways. Sivin's notes greatly help the reader sort out those claims that remain valid and those, such as the Taoist origins of smallpox inoculation ca. 1000, that are far less plausible.

Needham agreed to the *modus operandi* used by Sivin in revising the volume, and the two discussed many aspects of the project up to Needham's death in 1995. In his selection and refinement of these pioneering essays, Sivin pays tribute to two scholars who "laid the foundation for a broader and more rigorous approach to the history of Chinese medicine over the last generation" (p. 36). In addition, Sivin's introduction, extensive footnotes, appendixes, and comprehensive bibliography all furnish excellent guides to more recent work. Yet in highlighting this newer scholarship,

Sivin infuses into the *Science and Civilisation* series elements of scientific relativism that Needham and Lu never accepted. In this sense, this latest volume represents a definite break not only in terms of style and format but in methodology and approach as well.

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#### COMPARATIVE/WORLD

PAOLO PRODI. *Una storia della giustizia; Dal pluralismo dei fori al moderno dualismo tra coscienza e diritto.* (Collezione di testi e di studi: Storiografia.) Bologna: Il Mulino. 2000. Pp. 499. L. 55,000.

In the world of ancient Rome, the forum was the marketplace or public square where individuals conducted judicial and business affairs. All questions concerning the public interest received an airing in the forum before an assembly of citizens. After the fall of Rome, the term forum entered the language of jurisprudence specifically as the place where judicial authority is exercised. During the Middle Ages, the church and secular society developed their own complex and elaborately compartmentalized legal codes and systems. In short, they each had their own forums, and in medieval universities completely separate faculties taught church and secular law. In a book of immense learning and profound insight, Paolo Prodi analyzes the historical process by which the pluralistic legal forums of the West gave way to what he calls "the modern dualism between conscience and the law," or a system in which the traditional layers and compartments of judicial authority have been compressed and transformed into a monolithic secular legal system before which the individual stands alone.

Prodi, who has written voluminously on institutional and legal history, is primarily concerned in this book with the moral character of the law. Christian values, he argues, have been the primary source of moral illumination for the West's concepts of justice as well as of democracy. He has written his book in a state of high agitation and alarm because the moral basis on which the law rests appears to him to be collapsing. Prodi argues that our modern crisis of values will be the death of the law and democracy itself, if present trends continue. An earlier book, *Il sacramento del potere* (1992), dealt with the moral crisis of democracy; now he is applying the same kind of analysis to a study of the law.

From late antiquity, the starting point of Prodi's study, the Western legal tradition evolved as an expression of the practical norms to be deduced from Christianity, which itself sought to harmonize the Bible culture of the Jews with the rationalist philosophical traditions of the Greeks in a universal religion. The linkage between the sacred as the divine ideal and the legal as the human approximation of that ideal re-

mained unbroken for many centuries. Prodi, however, is not nostalgic for some lost golden age of medieval harmony between church and state institutions imbued with the ethical values of Christian culture. Such a golden age only existed in theory. Although church and state congenitally sought to control each other, he sees the theocratically inclined popes as the primary cause of attempts during the Middle Ages to terminate the West's characteristically pluralistic conceptions of the law. In 1302, for instance, Boniface VIII declared that the law is one and descends in a straight line from God whose scripturally authorized interpreter on earth is the pope.

With the failure of the church's attempt "to control the penal and disciplinary forum with an integrated system" (p. 105), Europe continued to honor the complicated set of pluralistic and concurrent judicial institutions that would remain in force down to the French Revolution. Prodi takes the same view that Alexis de Tocqueville did: for all of its defects and absurdities, the old regime rested on a balance of power among different orders of privilege and responsibility in society. The elimination of this graded system in the name of democracy produced the modern centralized state, which in fact and in theory enjoys more real control over the lives of its citizens than ever did an absolutist ruler over his subjects. It never would have occurred to an absolutist ruler to impose a universal draft law, for example; democracy had to come into the world before such a measure could be conceived. The ensuing triumph of democracy in modern politics was accompanied in society by a gradual process of secularization at the end of which Voltaire's "infamous thing," as an independent center of power in modern life, found itself crushed.

Prodi sees the same difficulty with secularization that Friedrich Nietzsche did: with the death of God, where do moral values come from? Prodi asks this question about the law. The Christian basis of our legal system has been so chipped away by secularizing forces that nothing remains of it. The legal system is no longer grounded in anything but itself, and such a situation cannot long persist, he argues. Lacking the cohesion that comes from a morally unified society, the legal system will experience, first, overload and, then, death. The legal system cannot maintain order by itself; it needs the backup of a moral dispensation that establishes the norms of human behavior. With the erosion of the moral code, society becomes increasingly litigious as the courts move into the vacuum and serve as the collective's conscience, a role they never were intended to play. As if this moral problem were not enough, Prodi warns that accelerating economic globalization and its implications for a radical reduction of the nation state's authority are opening up a no man's land of legal and political uncertainty.

Although Prodi has read widely in numerous disciplines, languages, and time periods, he does not claim to be an interdisciplinary theorist of any kind. He offers his book as a generalist's methodological rebuke

to historians who make a fetish of overspecialization. It is a magnificent effort, and even readers who might be taken aback by the force of his preachings and the moralistic categories of his analysis will be intellectually enriched for having read this book. One could have wished, however, for a far more straightforward statement of method than the one he provided. It seems odd to find him criticizing philosophers for their inclination to decontextualize texts and to present ideas as independent variables (p. 456) when so much of his own book is characterized by the same basic approach. We get from him some independent-minded and, often, brilliant analyses of legal, philosophical, and theological treatises. The great minds of Western civilization make their orderly appearance in a centuries-long debate about the concept of justice and the reality of the law, but the economic forces that might have played a role in the clash of ideas are only lightly sketched in when they appear at all. Prodi refers to the concept of hegemony only fleetingly and mainly in the discontinuous and nondialectical way that Michel Foucault saw it, not as Antonio Gramsci did. It would have been illuminating to read what Prodi has to say about why the Gramscian approach of cultural and economic interaction, which seems ideally suited to his topic, interested him not at all.

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MERRY E. WIESNER-HANKS. *Christianity and Sexuality in the Early Modern World: Regulating Desire, Reforming Practice*. (Christianity and Society in the Modern World.) New York: Routledge. 2000. Pp. ix, 277. Cloth \$65.00, paper \$22.99.

This book by Merry E. Wiesner-Hanks stands at the intersection of two relatively new but quickly advancing fields of history: the history of sexuality and world history. In the burgeoning field of the history of sexuality, few scholars have attempted the challenging task of producing textbooks to orient students. Many of us who write in the field spend a seemingly excruciating amount of time and energy simply defining sexuality. Further, many of us who focus on sex in the early modern world feel marginalized within a field that itself is seen as marginal to the broader historical enterprise. As the world historian has to deal with many different historical contexts, world and comparative histories can be difficult to write and cumbersome to read. Wiesner-Hanks has accomplished a remarkable task: she has written a highly informative and readable, even enjoyable textbook on sexuality in the early modern world.

The author argues that the colonial experience of cross-cultural contact shaped a series of changes in the ways in which sexuality was regulated and practiced throughout the world. According to Wiesner-Hanks, the spread of Christianity to the farthest reaches of the globe changed the ways in which people related to each other sexually. The author does a superb job

dealing with a vast array of literature, and she adeptly avoids the obvious trap of developing a Eurocentric analysis. In fact, Wiesner-Hanks shows a great ability to read and analyze the African, Asian, Latin American, and North American situations.

Wiesner-Hanks divides her book into a series of chapters that focuses first on Europe (including the premodern development of Christianity, Judaism, and classical intellectual and religious life, followed by a discussion of early modern Protestantism, Catholicism, and Orthodoxy), then on Latin America, Africa, Asia, and North America. She divides each chapter into sections that roughly correspond to what she calls "ideas, institutions, and effects." To Wiesner-Hanks, the production of early modern sexual regulation and practice were intimately linked with Christianity, a by no means obvious thesis. Scholars who have studied sexuality have sometimes failed to see this relationship and have assumed that regulation and practice have little to do with each other. Others have suggested that all practice is created by regulation or vice versa. Wiesner-Hanks ably navigates her way through this morass by reading reports of both practice and regulation as related to, but not necessarily dependent on each other.

In an attempt to provide a clear story, Wiesner-Hanks avoids many historiographical controversies, sometimes to her detriment. For example, in her discussion of the Native American berdache, she posits these historical figures as "two-spirit people," a thoroughly modern interpretation of identity not supported, in this reader's view, by the early modern sources. Further, probably in an attempt to keep the book short, the author does not always provide sufficient detail on various topics. However, if she had attempted to deal with the historiographical controversies or provided us with more details, it certainly would have taken away from the story presented.

In each chapter, Wiesner-Hanks is very careful to discuss a wide diversity of issues related to sexuality. If a student with little knowledge of religion reads this book, that student will come away with some knowledge of the Catholic and Protestant Reformations and the relationship between Christianity and colonization, as well as of indigenous religions in the various regions. In most chapters, Wiesner-Hanks discusses the intellectual history of sexuality within the region, followed by the influence of Christianity and its institutions. She then moves on to look at clerical sexuality, the family and heterosexuality among the laity, prostitution, sodomy, and sexual magic. Her inclusion of such a diversity of reproductive and non-reproductive sexuality makes the book both more interesting and more useful to a wide audience.

Instructors will find this book useful at almost any level. Undergraduate students in courses in early modern world history (or even early modern European history) will be able to follow the argument, and they will discover a rich diversity of sexual practices and regulations. Graduate and undergraduate students be-

ginning to study the history of sexuality and gender will find the book extraordinarily useful, particularly the extensive annotated bibliographies included at the end of each chapter. Wiesner-Hanks has read extremely broadly, and she seems to have captured virtually every English-language publication that relates to early modern sexuality (the inclusion of some non-English-language sources would have been helpful). Finally, for the experienced scholar in the history of sexuality, the author's comparative framework provides an excellent way to refer to various areas of the world. Overall, this book will become a remarkable addition to the field.

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PAUL BUTEL. *The Atlantic*. (Seas in History.) Translated by IAIN HAMILTON GRANT. New York: Routledge. 1999. Pp. xiii, 330. \$65.00.

This book opens a welcome new series of volumes on "Seas in History." Previous syntheses of Atlantic history have been more limited in thematic or temporal focus. Paul Butel conscientiously sweeps through two and a half millennia of human interaction around and across the ocean. He begins with the imaginary lands projected by antiquity into the terrifying expanse of the Sea of Perpetual Gloom and ends with the era of air travel, containerization, and cruise hotels. The book follows familiar lines of exploration, appropriation and conflict, moving outward from the Mediterranean basin and Northern Europe. From start to finish, the author's perspective is the Atlantic "as seen from Europe" (p. 1). The first chapter quickly moves the reader through two thousand years of seaborne ventures from the Phoenicians to the Viking feats of conquest and exploration along the northern arc of islands between the British Isles and Newfoundland.

The remainder of the book is devoted to the "New Atlantic," initially opened up by the Iberians in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries and subsequently dominated by the Northwestern European powers and the United States. The "Colonial Atlantic" has pride of place in Butel's account. Spain's aborted seaborne invasion of England in 1588 is allotted two well-wrought pages. The somewhat more successful and far more massive amphibious invasion of France in 1944 goes unmentioned. The author's most favored Atlantic moment is the seventeenth and the eighteenth century (colonialism's "golden age"). Four of the book's six tables deal with just fifty years, between 1761 and 1810, and more space is devoted to the late-eighteenth century "battle of the Atlantic" than to the combined battles of both twentieth-century world wars. The temporal phases identified are the familiar sequences of power and trade: Iberia in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, Northwestern Europe in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and Euro-America



during the past two centuries. Butel devotes ample space to transnational aspects of his story, including fundamental movements of technology and products. The ebb and flow of human migrations also receives considerable attention, especially the streams of Africans and Europeans before 1800 and the great European migration between the fall of Napoleon Bonaparte and World War I.

Butel's book is more of an introductory narrative than a scholarly monograph. The flow of events, goods, and people is uninterrupted by discussions of major historiographical disputes, and the reader's attention is rarely turned toward discussions of long-term change and large-scale comparisons. This is especially obvious in the way non-Europeans are fitted into Butel's account. The demographic disaster of the Euro-African encounter with the Amerindians is introduced only after the chapter on the eighteenth-century colonial Atlantic. The section on the transatlantic slave trade, although treated more fully, is similarly positioned. Readers are therefore unlikely to recall the first chapter's mention that the Vikings made use of enslaved Europeans on their first settlement of Iceland and reached the Western hemisphere at a time when Amerindians were less vulnerable to European domination. They are even more unlikely to ponder the significance of the fact that enslaved Europeans were not used in the settlement of the New Atlantic after 1400. There are likewise no discussions of the myths and seafaring technologies of Africans and Amerindians in the Old Atlantic, nor of their responses to European encounters in the New. Nineteenth-century European migrants are allotted a separate section on "Sufferings on the Atlantic." There is no analogous section on the Middle Passage of African slaves. The one reference to the African cultural heritage is a passing reference to the "African system of magic thought" as a possible explanation for the ability of the small European minority to sustain its dominance in the slave islands. Comparative analysis is in short supply even within the Euro-American Atlantic. Ironically, in view of the book's European perspective, Butel accounts for the crucial difference between the magnitude of British and French colonial populations before 1800 primarily in terms of conditions in the New World.

The most distressing aspect of this comprehensive history of the Atlantic has nothing to do with the author. In the English translation, Curaçao becomes Caracas (p. 69); Jamaica's sugar economy reaches its pinnacle in 1672 (p. 112), the "*règne personnel*" of Louis XIV becomes the "selfish reign of Louis XVI" (p. 120). A causal analysis of the ending of slavery that Butel considers to be dubious is transformed into a statement of affirmation (p. 160). For purposes of citation or quotation scholars are well advised to refer back to the author's original *Histoire de l'Atlantique* (1997). For the sake of the series, one hopes that

subsequent volumes will be more rigorously scrutinized.

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DARLENE CLARK HINE and JACQUELINE MCLEOD, editors. *Crossing Boundaries: Comparative History of Black People in Diaspora*. (Blacks in the Diaspora.) Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1999. Pp. xxv, 491. \$29.95.

How best to understand the historical experiences and identities of peoples of African descent in the Americas is the common query in Darlene Clark Hine and Jacqueline McLeod's edited collection. The eighteen essays, divided into four parts, explore how peoples of African descent have shaped and been shaped by the developing Atlantic world since the 1500s. Except for Earl Lewis's opening essay, "To Turn on a Pivot: Writing African Americans into a History of Overlapping Diasporas" (which first appeared in the *American Historical Review* [June 1995]), the collected pieces represent revised papers from an international symposium that Michigan State University hosted in April 1995.

In search of more serviceable paradigms to relocate Africa and its descendants from the periphery to the core of the modern Atlantic world, the broad themes of the parts—Comparative Diaspora Historiography; Identity and Culture; Domination and Resistance; Geo-Social History and the Atlantic World—suggest shared challenges and confrontations. Slavery and emancipation dominate, figuring in the titles of ten of the pieces.

The second part, treating identity and culture, is the most coherent in the collection. Allison Blakely initiates the part by tracing Europeans' creation of the racial vocabulary of black identity. He concludes that culture, not color, has marked the real problem of the differential treatment labeled racism. Yet is not culture merely another trope, albeit one more complex than color? Is it not clear that the wars of the color line have been and continue to be culture wars? The battle in significant part has been for self-determination that begins with self-identification.

Three pieces in succession after Blakely's localize the self-identity struggle. Dwayne E. Williams shows how Portuguese-speaking immigrants from the Cape Verde archipelago off the West African coast came to the United States in waves that brought differing self-identities and received differing identities. Kim D. Butler traces Afro-Brazilians' post-abolition struggle in the cities of São Paulo and Salvador to undermine imposed identities and to construct their own from a shared African cultural heritage. Philip A. Howard further details the battle to control identity and to use it in a strategy to divide and unite peoples by color and caste in Cuba from 1878 to 1895.

Rosalyn Terborg-Penn's contribution closes the five-essay second part. Using as examples Nancy Prince of



Gloucester, Massachusetts, and Mary Seacole of Kingston, Jamaica, Terborg-Penn locates gender within the identity struggle and displays how "women's experiences related not only to gender, but to differential relationships of class, color, language, and power" (p. 159). While sharing in the identity theme, Terborg-Penn's suggestive piece stands in stark isolation that spotlights prevailing female exclusion and gender segregation while promising fresh perspectives from cross-cultural studies that add understanding of female experience.

Six variously placed pieces deal with facets of regulation and resistance, from slavery to apartheid. George Fredrickson extends his now familiar view from "the subaltern side of the color line" (p. 71) to the freedom struggles in South Africa and the United States. Carlos Aguirre details how slaves worked the system in the courts of Lima, Peru, from 1821 to 1854 to negotiate space for themselves. Michael P. Johnson traces U.S. ex-slaves seeking a place of their own in a postbellum, pre-Exoduster migration to the Midwest. David M. Stark maps out the more intimate space of marriage and family formation as a strategic location for surviving slavery in Puerto Rico. David Barry Gaspar tracks Barbados slave laws as a model for regulation in Jamaica, South Carolina, and Antigua. Focusing on Grenada and St. Vincent, Edward L. Cox examines the collapse of the halfway house of apprenticeship erected in the British Caribbean following emancipation in 1833.

Typical of collections of conference papers, relations among the pieces are sometimes distant even if they share themes and immediate even if they appear in different parts. For example, Jack P. Greene's "Beyond Power: Paradigm Subversion and Reformulation and the Re-creation of the Early Modern Atlantic World," the fifteenth essay, fits much more neatly alongside Elliott P. Skinner's "Hegemonic Paradigms and the African World: Striving to Be Free," the third essay, than with Gaspar's piece on slave laws, which follows Greene's.

Commanding conceptual pieces such as Greene's and Skinner's sound the collection's high notes. Greene argues for "reconceiving the entire historical landscape" (p. 337) as he exposes Eurocentric, nation-state paradigms of power that have privileged public life and administrative history, with its artificial distinctions, at the expense of the larger world of actual cultural and popular interaction. Skinner likewise exposes denigrating Eurocentric tropes of religion, race, culture, and civilization. *Hegemonic paradigms* built on such tropes have demanded that African peoples see themselves through others' eyes, Skinner shows. The final essay in the collection, Frederick Cooper's "Africa in a Capitalist World," joins Skinner and Greene to further demonstrate the devastating poverty heaped on Africa as a result of the institutional power of Western images.

In a more localized study, Robert Stewart also illustrates the firsthand impact of denigrating images

and paradigms. Examining postemancipation Jamaica, he exposes mainstream Christian missionaries' use of racialized categories as behavior models that vilified blacks for exercising their freedom to not be what whites demanded. From time to time, however, whites found uses for blacks' being themselves, as Lisa E. Davenport illustrates in detailing the U.S. State Department's use of jazz as an instrument of Cold War foreign policy.

Several more circumscribed pieces chime in to report on the cast and pattern of historical writing on African peoples in the Americas and in Africa. Lewis's opening essay probes the limits of historical imagination by reviewing, along with selected other literature, articles on African Americans that appeared in the *AHR* and the *Political Science Quarterly* since their inception. His analysis suggests that "the [U.S.] nation's history has pivoted on the history of African Americans" (p. 23). But Lewis goes further to question *who* was identified *when* as an African American and even further to question the meaning of race as an identity. Using the concept of multiple, overlapping diasporas, Lewis suggests the operation of multiple identities.

Thomas C. Holt joins Lewis's pivot theme with a reprise of the late Frank Tannenbaum's thesis from *Slave and Citizen: The Negro in the Americas* (1946) that African Americans were central to New World history. Adopting the insight that slavery empowered a social process "that shaped a *common destiny* for the Americas" (p. 40), Holt argues that "the impact of slaves on world consumption patterns has strong resonances with the role of black peoples in the world's economy today, and deserves serious study" (p. 42). Noting the social, rather than biological, basis of the hierarchical groupings of color and class impressed on the Americas in slavery, Holt also argues for better understanding of the impact of racialized, rather than mere racial, categories.

The mix of expansive conceptual essays and localized, time-specific case studies offers much for many. Together the pieces invite provocative readings in undergraduate and graduate courses on not only aspects of the African diaspora and the Atlantic world but also on historiographic trends and the historians' craft. This collection should be widely read on the question of how to recollect and connect the experiences and memories of blacks throughout the Atlantic world—understanding that variety, not uniformity, has marked encounters in time and place—and, moreover, on the question of what is it that history aims to do.

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KENNETH POMERANZ. *The Great Divergence: China, Europe, and the Making of the Modern World Economy*. (Princeton Economic History of the Western World.) Princeton: Princeton University Press. 2000. Pp. x, 382.

Why did the Industrial Revolution occur when and where it did? Although some economic historians now think that this is no longer the right question to ask, Kenneth Pomeranz takes a fresh look at it in a global context. This book is very important and will have to be taken seriously by anyone who thinks that explaining the Industrial Revolution (or the industrious one, or industrialization) is crucial to our understanding of the modern world.

What is new and noteworthy in this book includes the following. First, Pomeranz examines previous explanations of European industrialization and then, using new scholarship on Asia, shows that the characteristics usually thought to have been unique to Europe apply equally to China. Pomeranz shows that China was not entering a Malthusian crisis, that Chinese institutions and cultural values also were not obstacles for the deployment of capital, and that wage rates and standards of living were comparable in the core regions of China and northwestern Europe. In short, Pomeranz sees broad equivalencies between China and the most highly developed portions of Europe.

Second, Pomeranz shows that the dynamics of economic growth identified by Adam Smith—specialization via market exchange and the division of labor—were perhaps more effective in eighteenth-century China than in Europe. This insight leads Pomeranz to explore a central paradox and to provide a new solution: if Smithian dynamics were not leading China toward an industrial breakthrough, why should we expect those dynamics to have led to a European breakthrough, as most European economic historians posit? Indeed, Pomeranz suggests, why assume that Smithian dynamics were leading any of the most advanced parts of Eurasia toward anything but the economic cul de sacs that haunted the analyses of the classical economists (Smith, David Ricardo, and T. B. Malthus)?

This line of analysis leads Pomeranz to a third and critically important insight. Of the three factors of production (land, labor, and capital), the classical economists feared that land—not labor, not capital—would prove to be the one limiting continuous economic growth. As Pomeranz points out in chapter one, Anthony Wrigley used this idea to refocus attention the critical importance of coal in Britain's industrialization; Pomeranz not only enriches this idea through the marvelous comparisons with China but extends it by bringing into his explanation the role of New World resources. Because of the peculiar institutions of the New World colonies, they became a new kind of periphery, not only supplying critical raw materials and food (e.g. timber, steel, fish, and cotton) but also providing a demand for British industrial products.

In Pomeranz's telling, therefore, it was the development of land-saving mechanisms, not labor-saving ones (i.e. the usual story of invention and application of steam power to production), that propelled industrialization. But it is not just the story of coal. Equally

important were the resources (not the capital or "super profits") from the New World that Britain could have obtained elsewhere only with great difficulty. Without coal and colonies, Britain and the rest of northwestern Europe were headed not toward industrialization but toward a future in which greater applications of labor and capital would have been necessary to overcome the shortage of land, leading to a labor-intensive, land-management regime similar to what developed in nineteenth-century China.

If this sounds like an explanation of the Industrial Revolution based upon geographical accident and luck (for the British), it is not. Rather, Pomeranz uses a conjunctural analysis, seeing the world as having been "polycentric," without one dominating dynamic (at least prior to the nineteenth century): no diffusion of unique European results, no Wallersteinian modern world-system, no Frankian China-centered world system. Thus pre-1750 Europe, China, India, and the Americas, while having interactions, nonetheless developed historical trajectories that yielded events, outcomes, or institutions, all of which were historically contingent, most endogenous, and only some of which became world historical in a mid-eighteenth century conjuncture that sent Britain, and probably only Britain at that time, off in a new direction.

A review this brief cannot possibly do justice to a book so rich that fresh insights emerge from virtually every page. Few interpretations of the Industrial Revolution, for instance, include global perspectives, and even fewer ecological ones: this book draws on both. It is not an easy read, but readers are sure to be stimulated, challenged, and rewarded for their efforts.

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JOHN H. M. LASLETT. *Colliers across the Sea: A Comparative Study of Class Formation in Scotland and the American Midwest, 1830–1924*. (The Working Class in American History.) Champaign: University of Illinois Press. 2000. Pp. xiv, 314. Cloth \$49.95, paper \$18.95.

Recent studies of British migration to America have shed much new light on the histories of Britain and the United States and have drawn fresh attention to their close cultural and social-economic interrelationships. John H. M. Laslett's book is a welcome addition to this body of literature. This comparative study presents the migration of Scottish miners to the American Midwest and effectively challenges the myth of American "labor exceptionalism" by providing a clear understanding of why Scottish miners in America reacted differently to modernization than did the miners who stayed in Scotland. This fine book should be read by those interested in the history of coal mining, migration, and American and British labor organization.

The book is based on a careful study of three Lanarkshire mining towns—Larkhall, Wishaw, and Blantyre—and three mining towns that the migrants helped establish along the Illinois River valley—Braid-

wood, Streator, and Spring Valley. The first three chapters use a variety of primary and secondary sources to explore the social structure of these Scottish towns, the conflict between the miners and the mine operators, and the migration of many of the miners to Illinois between 1855 and 1870. This was the time when mining was a skilled-craft occupation and the miners still had considerable control of their labor. But a new division of labor was already threatening the miners' skills and autonomy. The attempt by Scottish operators to impose social control and introduce new methods of production and underground discipline—much of which was related to the need to sink deeper shafts and utilize more modern technology—are vividly recounted by Laslett as the context of the migration. By migrating to Illinois, the miners hoped to limit the labor supply in Scotland and resume their occupation with higher earnings and more control. That dream, however, fell short of reality.

The heyday of pick mining in Illinois lasted only from 1865 to 1875, a time when miners enjoyed superior housing, wages, and general living standards. Many also took up farming, an important alternative that deserves more attention than Laslett provides. But then the American scene more closely followed the Scottish one. The American coal boom ended, and deepening mines and increasing international competition led the operators to introduce new machinery and cheaper labor in order to reduce wages and take greater control over production. The resulting strikes generally failed, mass unionism developed, and the ideal of class harmony broke down, much as it had in Scotland. Laslett is especially successful in presenting the impact of the new technology and the struggle of the miners to maintain their dignity and livelihoods on both sides of the Atlantic.

If the experiences with the economic development of the mining industry and class formation were largely similar in Scotland and America, what accounts for the very different political outcomes? In particular, why did Americans avoid the socialist alternative (and instead use the moderate American Federation of Labor's lobbying methods to produce reform and social change) while the Scots embraced it in the form of the Labour Party? The later suffrage for British miners (1884) was indeed conducive to that development, as historians have pointed out before. And the impact of the reforms enacted by the American Progressive movement certainly diminished the appeal of American socialism. But the key development, according to Laslett, lies in World War I, after which Lanarkshire shifted decisively to Labour while the political left in Illinois all but collapsed. Laslett presents a complex set of reasons for the divergence: socioeconomic, sociocultural, and political-structural. British miners sacrificed much more for the war, and the split in the Liberal Party was an opportunity for Labour, while the Red Scare in America suppressed socialist politics. And while Protestants and Catholics found a common and unifying cause in Scotland's

mines, ethnic and religious divisions grew in Illinois's coal towns as a result of the so-called "new immigration" of the preceding years. This is what caused "the parting of the political ways" on the two sides of the ocean, not fundamental differences in the levels of the miners' class consciousness, as believers in the exceptionalist paradigm maintain. In writing this well researched and readable book, Laslett has made a significant contribution to our understanding of labor history and class formation, as well as to the important story of British migration to America.

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JAMES C. WHORTON. *Inner Hygiene: Constipation and the Pursuit of Health in Modern Society*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2000. Pp. xvii, 315.

It takes a certain amount of courage to write a monograph about constipation. While the bowels and their health have been a topic of investigation and a source of income for physicians, pharmaceutical companies, and hucksters for centuries, investigating "inner hygiene" will surely bring on occasionally witty remarks and snickering, both from colleagues and from the public at large. From the sophomoric humor of "Benny Hill" to the academically acceptable scatological wit of the *Canterbury Tales*, excrement and its discontents have been a rich source for the comedian.

Fortunately, James C. Whorton, author of *Crusaders for Fitness: A History of American Health Reformers* (1982), was undaunted. Clearly written and carefully researched, his new book makes a substantial scholarly contribution both to the history of constipation and related ills and to the cultural history of England and the United States. Readers will learn how the medical profession's pronouncements and popular opinion about food and waste—and about human diseases in general—were sometimes congruent and sometimes at odds. Whorton carefully presents the ideas of now-discredited theorists with the dignity they merit, but he is nonetheless appropriately judgmental.

Experts in the history of medicine may argue with some points in Whorton's arguments concerning the importance of constipation in the medical and surgical history of the United States and England. For example, he advances the idea that constipation replaced neurasthenia as perhaps the most important disease of the early twentieth century. While the latter word certainly became less common in medical discourse, and many physicians were convinced that its symptoms were instead indicators of constipation, it is also possible that "neurasthenia" disappeared in favor of other terms used by the relatively new specialties of psychology and psychiatry. The older-named malady may have undergone a professional and linguistic transformation. Still, there is no doubt that Whorton has identified one of the most important popular and professional medical issues of the past two centuries.

Whorton devotes the first two chapters of his study



to the history of constipation in the nineteenth century. Here he presents a brief cultural history of the moral and physiological components of human filth and the advent of efforts to clean up cities and people. The intellectual leap from "miasma" to "auto-intoxication" is a short one; both are terrifying unseen killers, stalking innocent, if ignorant, victims. That humans could be poisoned from within by virtue of the foods they ate or the hygienic practices they ignored made them easy marks for patent medicine hucksters and for physicians with often radical solutions to bowel problems. Like other signs of "ill health" at the turn of the century, auto-intoxication was linked to "over-civilization," a condition that seemed to afflict industrially developed nations alone. The lesser developed, "primitive" peoples of the world were, in this intellectual formulation, healthier in their poverty and colonized condition. Constipation, as Whorton demonstrates, was "the white man's burden." Such were the wages of empire.

Whorton then presents seven chapters on the treatments for constipation in the twentieth century. Each is both a thorough analysis of the evolving conception of the malady and its causes and a discussion of the treatments proffered. Dietary treatment, surgical, pharmaceutical, water infusion, and physical therapies are discussed in detail, and Whorton introduces readers to those physicians and amateurs who dominated discourse on the matter. William A. Lane was an early twentieth-century advocate of radical colonic surgery for his most afflicted patients, as well as a standard bearer for the "new health." Elie Metchnikoff (of yogurt and *bacillus Bulgaris* fame), Charles A. Tyrrell (the chief promoter of the "internal water bath"), Robert McCarrison (whose work on the diet of Himalayan Indians raised the standard of comparative study of diet), T. L. Cleave (the British naval physician who did comparative international studies of constipation), and D. P. Burkitt (the British physician who brought scientific credence to Cleave's and others' work) are treated with respectful analytical rigor.

This able work is about food and culture as much as it is about constipation, health, and waste. Whorton's final chapters—on dietary fiber and the persistence of the quest for "regularity"—are excellent presentations in their own right and important complements to the works of Warren James Belasco, Harvey A. Levenstein, and Hillel Schwartz. Anyone teaching courses in the history of health or the culture of food will find this book an important source and an effective assigned text. Those conducting research in those fields will find it an indispensable reference.

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RONALD L. NUMBERS and JOHN STENHOUSE, editors.  
*Disseminating Darwinism: The Role of Place, Race, Religion, and Gender*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1999. Pp. xi, 300. \$54.95.

While the scholarship on Darwinism is large, most attention has been devoted to Charles Darwin and his circle, especially the prominent scientists and science-watchers of Britain, Western Europe, and the Northeast of the United States. This impressive volume adds a wealth of fresh research and new insights to our understanding of the reception of Darwinism outside the mainstream. The move it makes away from the cultural center is both geographic and demographic: about half of the book deals with Darwinian thoughts in Australia, New Zealand, Canada, the American South, Northern Ireland, and Scotland, with some comparisons to the American Northeast; the rest of the book evaluates Roman Catholic, Jewish, African-American, and women's responses to Darwinism. Ironically, in light of the bold claims for decentering by place, almost all the material on these cultural outsiders is derived from the United States.

The book grew from a self-conscious attempt to gather scholarly attention to Darwin on the margins—or at least on the English-speaking margins. Almost all the essays were first delivered as papers at the conference "Responding to Darwin: New Perspectives on the Darwinian Revolution," which was held in Dunedin, New Zealand, in 1994. The South Pacific setting was perhaps the spur to encourage thinking about how widely distant locations can influence thinking, and to facilitate scholarly bridge building among the works of researchers around the world and in different cultural groups. The volume is a good response to an odd segmentation that has emerged tacitly in the last generation or two. The attention to difference has encouraged a focus on non-elite groups, and methodologically a turn away from "elite" topics such as the history of science. This book achieves innovation by cutting across these lines: it assesses questions of scientific inquiry and impact in the provinces and among cultural outsiders.

The one addition to the conference proceedings is written in very much the same spirit. David Livingstone's evaluation of the comparative reception of Darwinism in Princeton, Belfast, and Edinburgh is a kind of manifesto for the importance of place and for the fine grains of intellectual diversity that can be discovered when looking in different places. The setting, or more particularly the cultural contexts in each place, established the tone for three very different styles of response to Darwinism during the late nineteenth century. A peaceful coexistence characterized the relations of science and religion in Edinburgh; a fierce combative tone dominated in Belfast, with scientific naturalists and defensive Presbyterian divines squaring off against each other; and James McCosh led the desire for accommodation at Princeton, with acceptance of physical evolution and religious explanations for the human soul.

The article by Jon Roberts has some similarities to Livingstone's. It is also framed by theoretical concerns: in this case, by questions about motivation for intellectuals' ideologies and convictions. In addition, Rob-



erts's close scrutiny of familiar territory undercuts broad generalizations. He finds few consistent patterns from upbraiding or social status to explain commentators' paths toward liberal or conservative positions on Darwinism. For all the critique of pattern-making in both essays, both conclude with helpful generalizations. For example, Roberts notes that the two camps sought authoritative guides but differed in trusting the Bible's "infallible revelation" or the "sustained use of the scientific method" (p. 162).

The essays dealing with the margins of the English-speaking world display distinctive patterns of response by place and also by chronology. For example, Suzanne Zeller's article on Canada shows how denizens of this vast northern territory understood evolution—not always Darwinian—in terms of their own harsh territory. Also, coeditor John Stenhouse explains that New Zealand's relatively late settlement, after Darwinian science became professionally established, explains why this colony responded to Darwinism with fewer tensions than elsewhere. In addition, the essay by coeditor Ronald L. Numbers and Lester Stephens breaks up but does not dismantle conventional generalizations about the American South as a haven of anti-evolutionist thinking.

The four essays dealing with "race, religion, and gender" offer important contrasts to the familiar white male Protestant focus of Darwin studies. R. Scott Appleby's and Marc Swetlitz's articles on Catholics and Jews show the formation of camps for and against evolution within those religions. Here we can see the emergence of culture clusters that would transcend institutional tradition. And yet, the historical process toward those twentieth-century developments was intimately shaped by the traditions in question. Among Catholics, evaluation of evolution was colored by antipathy for Protestant prejudice against immigrants and by distaste for modern social trends; John Zahm's foray into a liberal acceptance of Darwinism included resistance to the biological explanation for the human soul (ironically similar to that of traditionalist Protestants) and wariness about ecclesiastical strictures. The first generation of Jewish responses to Darwinism did not conform to later patterns; for example, some conservative Jews adopted evolutionism with little struggle, and Isaac Mayer Wise, well known for leading a liberal strand of Judaism, was adamantly opposed to evolution. A pattern across the spectrum, however, was that Jewish evolution-watchers paid much more attention to the human implications of science than to other biological questions.

Darwinism has an unsavory history in relation to African Americans because of its use in support of scientific racism. Eric Anderson's essay points out that among blacks themselves, however, the science was not regarded as the prime culprit for the culture of racism. Many African-American leaders employed a variety of evolutionary and Darwinian ideas in their hopes for uplift, and opposition to Darwinism grew from firm support for biblical religion. Similarly, women were

often negatively evaluated by men in Darwinian terms, but women themselves held a wide range of views on the theory of species development and its implications for the woman question. Most often, Darwinism was used positively to urge more social cooperation and less masculinist prejudice.

This volume achieves its innovations from new combinations of ideas and social settings. Many of the themes will be familiar to scholars of the subject, even as the stories about how Darwinist ideas played away from the centers of cultural power will hold surprises. Immediately beneath these revelations, however, is a more mundane surprise: these marginal groups used virtually all the same arguments that their more scrutinized peers made canonical. In a sense, put informally, this book is a game of intellectual mix and match: clusters of familiar arguments on Darwinism are shown to have been used repeatedly by new groups, with new emphases and combinations. Such new material alone makes the book a welcome addition to the scholarly library. For all its decentering of Darwinian debates, however, the center still holds: most readers will find colorful new characters expressing familiar evaluations of Darwinism.

PAUL JEROME CROCE  
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JONAH SIEGEL. *Desire and Excess: The Nineteenth-Century Culture of Art*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 2000. Pp. xxvii, 352. Cloth \$65.00, paper \$19.95.

The confluence of three elements—the rise of the museum, the emergence of the figure of the modern artist, and the evolution of the professional critic—structures Jonah Siegel's study of the nineteenth-century culture of art. What brings this literary critic to a book about visual culture is the conviction that, from the late eighteenth century on, the experience of art objects played a defining role in the history of letters. And, concomitantly, that it is in the arena of letters that the tensions of modern museum culture, often lost in the mandates of traditional disciplinary boundaries, are most available. For Siegel, the figures of the modern artist and critic are products of these tensions—particularly, the disconnect between nineteenth-century institutional aspirations to coherence and the awareness that institutional collections are shaped largely by accident and circumstance. Accordingly, Siegel's book foregoes the model of comprehensive history in favor of a study in four contiguous parts.

Part one, "Art and the Museum," locates the origins of a nineteenth-century culture of art in a "crisis of neoclassicism" engendered by excessive fascination with antiquity. Close readings of texts about art by J. J. Winckelmann, James Barry, and William Blake mark stages in the erosion of foundational assumptions of neoclassical theory, the result of an ever-expanding body of archaeological evidence and analysis. The figure of the modern artist, according to Siegel, is conceived within this crisis to appropriate and salvage

the terms in which antiquity had been most highly valued: originality and a unified sensibility.

Siegel argues that those terms are then instantiated as genius and personality within a newly codified genre, rife with imagery from the plastic arts: the literary biography. Part two, "The Author as Work of Art," posits that it is in the laboratory of the temple of imagination (a construct of literary biography that Siegel likens to André Malraux's *Musée imaginaire*), that the ideals of originality and unity, lost in the inevitable fragmentation and excesses of actual institutions, are recuperated. Biographical essays on Samuel Taylor Coleridge, Walter Scott, and John Keats by critics like J. Monckton Milnes and William Hazlitt, critics elsewhere engaged in prickly debates over the Elgin Marbles and the British Museum, provide the textual foundation of this section. Within the literary biographies they fashion, artist replaces art object as the figure of unattainable perfection. According to Siegel, the elements of Romantic literary biography, like fragments from antiquity, are fashioned to represent parts of "a lost grandeur, the whole of which is to be found in the pristine world of the imagination" (p. 131).

The only early nineteenth-century art institution in which that possibility of perfection, fleetingly, was glimpsed was the Musée Napoléon. Siegel demonstrates how this short-lived assemblage of great art at the Louvre, carefully selected from key sites of Napoleonic conquest, nourished literary biographers like Hazlitt. Further, he implies, the Musée Napoléon and the new mobility for art objects it foretold stimulated other forms of visual display later in the century, like the temporary exhibition, which (like literary biography) were organized by design rather than accident.

The final sections of the book extend the possibility of artistry to the newly defined role of the professional critic. Siegel relies on Hazlitt and John Ruskin as his representative figures in part three, "Absence and Excess." Hazlitt, trained mostly from reproductions, is called upon to exemplify an early nineteenth-century critical voice shaped by the absence of original objects. Ruskin, writing at mid-century, underlines the dramatic change toward which much of Siegel's book is directed: the plague of excess and accumulation in the nineteenth-century experience of visual culture that accompanied advances in reproductive technologies, improved travel conditions, and the growth of public collections.

In a final section, "The Deaths of the Critics," Siegel argues a new primacy for the critic, but one that contests aspirations to originality. Just as his exposition on the thematics of death and resurrection in Walter Pater and Oscar Wilde appears headed toward its own form of excess, he brings us back to the nearly forgotten subtext of the book's introduction, "The Museum as Mortuary." Pater and Wilde return us to the hermeneutics of the project, an excavation of the tensions between death and admiration in nineteenth-century visual culture that Siegel argues were revived

rather than initiated in French death-of-the-author theories of the 1960s.

This book makes an invaluable contribution to the historiographical and museological literature of art history and to the mythography of the modern artist. It enacts what traditionally is just acknowledged: the intimate relationship between academic and institutional histories of nineteenth-century visual culture and the narrative of modernism. Though some qualification of the relationship between the universalism of its title and the local particularities of its mostly English body of evidence would have been welcome, Siegel's work is, nonetheless, the most richly textured study of the reciprocal relation of literature and the plastic arts that I have read.

JANIS BERGMAN-CARTON

*Southern Methodist University*

PAMELA H. SIMPSON. *Cheap, Quick, and Easy: Imitative Architectural Materials, 1870–1930*. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press. 1999. Pp. xii, 215. \$39.00.

Pamela H. Simpson has written a fine book to interest architectural, urban, and cultural historians as well as heritage restoration experts. Ada Louise Huxtable's dismissal of concrete construction as expressing the bad taste of a new middle-class society roused Simpson to study the concrete block, pressed metal, linoleum, embossed wall coverings, and other *faux* materials. For each imitative material, Simpson relates the industrial processes, design properties, and marketing developments. These profiles, accompanied by pertinent illustrations, are accomplishments in themselves, but Simpson goes on to champion the materials and those who used them, maintaining that their buyers should not be dismissed as lacking taste. Neither should the articles be discounted as shams, because imitative materials provided improvements over the objects they displaced and expressed aspirations for democracy, modernity, and progress. Simpson does not see these urges as expressly American but rather as goals found also in the consumption of imitative articles in Canada, Australia, the United Kingdom, and Europe. As students of the built environment will understand, an international perspective is as unavoidable as it is commendable. Simpson located some fine archival sources outside the United States. From inside and outside the United States notable architects, designers, and critics—including William Morris, Frank Lloyd Wright, and Joseph Hoffman—debated the meaning and legitimacy of imitative materials. Hoffman and a number of other European designers even provided patterns for linoleum flooring.

Simpson amends faulty generalizations about imitative materials, correcting notions that they were invariably cheap and employed only unskilled labor. She points out that in the case of linoleum, for example, there were grades of material, based on durability and design. The production of ornamental sheet metal, metal ceilings, linoleum, embossed wall coverings, and

various forms of imitation marble relied on hand craft, often at the design stage, and they benefitted from skilled labor during installation. Although not a highlighted theme, the book reports how industrial processes fashioned new materials from an eye-opening collection of natural substances. Restoration contractors today should be grateful that Boulinikon flooring failed to catch on, since it was composed of "buffalo hide torn to fine shreds . . . wool and hair, all elastic and extremely durable." Linoleum, made from linseed oil and ground cork, is a well-known example of a new material pressed from natural articles. At one time, the process also used nonrenewable Kauri gum, a fossilized tree resin dug from New Zealand bogs. While imitative materials consisted of natural ingredients, they were not raised in nature. The idea that nature was superior to artifice had an influential transatlantic following in the Victorian age, and thus imitative materials rankled commentators long before Huxtable. Therefore, to advance popular acceptance, manufacturers and trade organizations originated advertising copy that "embodied some of the most deeply held values of the period," including cleanliness, durability, safety, and progress. Simpson meshes cultural values—especially cleanliness—with promotion that targeted contractors and the public.

Simpson accounts, too, for the demise of many imitative materials. The popularity of ornamental concrete blocks, sheet metal facades and ceilings, and embossed wall coverings dwindled in part, she supposes, due to the rise of architectural modernism with its fondness for smooth surfaces. Modernism, though, played up to the same values that sustained the imitative materials, and this continuity deserves consideration. It is interesting that contrasting facets of material culture—the ornate forms of imitative materials and the sparseness of modernism—have appealed to democracy, modernity, progress, cleanliness, durability, and safety. That correspondence suggests that these values were not all that accounted for the fall of imitative materials. Missing from the book's analysis is a discussion of the cyclical economics of the building industry and a related treatment of the backward linkages from builders to materials manufacturers. Many of Simpson's articles, as she astutely points out, were not truly cheap, quick, and easy. In other words, they presented no lasting cures for construction bottlenecks. They were merely somewhat cheaper, quicker, and easier than the real thing. Building booms, during which traditional materials and trades people became scarce, elicited further innovation and adaptation. An ascendant modernism, proposes Simpson, suggested that "science and industry were transforming life for the better," and this outlook assisted with the acceptance of new imitative materials; however, market conditions and depletion of specific natural materials affected the builders' embrace of them as well. The fact that some of the materials covered in this book still required skilled designers and installers kept innovators busy working on less finicky replace-

ments and eventually concocting promotional campaigns for a new generation of materials, including drywall and rubber or plastic tiles. In sum, the circumstances of supply and demand are missing from this study, which is to say that the author tackled this subject as essentially a study in material culture. On this ample chosen ground, the book must be judged an admirable achievement resting on substantial research and providing thoughtful analysis.

JOHN C. WEAVER  
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BONNIE S. ANDERSON, *Joyous Greetings: The First International Women's Movement, 1830–1860*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2000. Pp. xii, 288. \$30.00.

Bonnie S. Anderson offers a collective biography of twenty women who lived in Belgium, France, England, Germany, Italy, Sweden, and the United States and in varying ways wrote and lectured on political, social, religious, and economic issues relating to women's liberation between 1830 and 1860. Using the theme of "Angels and Amazons," Anderson contends that what united these women was their rejection of the generally accepted view of the nineteenth-century woman as the "angel" of the household. As women who dared to be "rebels," they violated standards of acceptable female behavior and were labeled "blue-stockings," Amazons, and dangerous women; this was especially true for those who argued on behalf of gender equality. Anderson claims, too, that from the 1820s socialism, particularly Saint-Simonianism, paved the way for an international alliance among activist women. This first wave was followed by connections made through anti-slavery activism. Eventually, the international movement culminated in women's rights conventions held across the United States, which in turn served as a base of contact between American activists and their European counterparts until 1856. The author asserts that print culture allowed women to maintain intellectual exchanges across national boundaries, through letters, petitions, articles, and novels sharing themes of women's oppression and emancipation.

Structurally, Anderson's book is a series of vignettes. The narrative introduces its historical subject with a brief biographical sketch, and then moves rapidly to another snapshot of a woman's life, occasionally quoting from her writing. Among those active in the U.S. women's rights movement, Anderson highlights three: Ernestine Rose, Paulina Wright Davis, and Lucretia Mott (and to a lesser extent Elizabeth Cady Stanton). Those who traveled played crucial roles in sustaining international contacts. Fredericka Bremer toured America in 1848, as had Harriet Martineau and Frances Wright before her. Mott went to England in 1840, English Quaker activist Anne Knight visited France, and French feminist Jenny d'Hericourt left Paris for Chicago.

Perhaps the most cosmopolitan of antebellum feminists was Rose. Born to a rabbi and his wife in Poland,



she left home at seventeen and went to Berlin, migrating to Paris in time for the Revolution of 1830. Her next stop was London, where she met Robert Owen, industrialist turned radical socialist, who advocated utopian communitarian reform. In 1836, along with other Owenites, she arrived in New York, and immediately found herself drawn to married women's property rights reform, followed by antislavery. Rose later became one of the most effective public speakers within the women's rights movement.

Anderson's main contention is that this core group of women, and others whom she calls the "periphery," constituted "the first international women's movement." She asserts that this group should not be "underestimated," because it "challenged the male dominance of Western culture and society in a way that would not be repeated until the late 1960s" (p. 27). Anderson properly demonstrates that these women had international contacts, and that some were more cosmopolitan than others; yet she fails to develop a convincing framework to explain what is meant by an "international movement." Actual relationships among the women remain sketchy; some befriended one or two other women, but nothing suggests that these women combined to constitute a distinct political or social movement. Disappointingly, Anderson does not sustain her analysis of the theoretical underpinnings of these women's writings. She ignores what these women understood quite well: that substantial differences among the legal and political conditions of their respective countries separated them in the most practical sense.

It is striking that concrete legal issues about "rights" are given scant attention in the book. Anderson's case would have been far more compelling if she considered how European feminists influenced activists in the United States, and vice versa. She certainly could have explored how specific national issues (definitions of citizenship, debates over property rights, wages, jury service, custody rights, domestic violence, and prostitution) were enlarged through an international perspective.

Intellectual traditions also divided these women: the most comprehensive work on women's religious and political condition written by an American feminist was Elizabeth Wilson's *Scriptural View of Woman's Rights and Duties* (1849), attacking moral philosophers John Milton, Francis Wayland, and a range of American biblical commentators. Yet Wilson is not included in Anderson's coalition. Anderson does not acknowledge that d'Hericourt's astute 1860 critique (published in America as *A Woman's Philosophy of Woman; or A Woman Affranchised* [1860]), adopts a different discursive strategy, and takes on a very different group of male intellectuals, including Jules Michelet, Pierre-Joseph Proudhon, and Auguste Comte. Thus the book leaves the reader wanting a more fully developed cross-cultural, comparative study of the political environments that shaped these women's critiques of gender issues. For nineteenth-century activists, interna-

tionalism was built on the presumption of national identity and national difference—and this cannot be overlooked.

NANCY ISENBERG  
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DAVID G. ROSKIES. *The Jewish Search for a Usable Past*. (The Helen and Martin Schwartz Lectures in Jewish Studies, 1998.) Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1999. Pp. xii, 217. \$24.95.

The Jewish masses, who, from the early nineteenth century, emigrated to America, passed a metaphorical crossroad that David G. Roskies calls the "Jewish Bermuda Triangle." If divers were lowered to the bottom of the Atlantic Ocean midway between Hamburg and New York, they would find a million pair of phylacteries thrown overboard by Jewish men from ships taking them from the old world of Eastern Europe to the new world (p. 89). This was originally a critical remark by an Orthodox rabbi, fearful that values and normative patterns of behavior would be abandoned and opposed to the uncontrolled onslaught of America's temptations that commanded a painful price: assimilation and loss of faith. But it also eloquently illustrates two dimensions of modern Jewish life: the experience of uprootedness and the experience of secularization. They are, in fact, the focus of this captivating, perceptive book by Roskies, a historian of modern Jewish culture and scholar of Hebrew and Yiddish literature, whose identity was shaped by memories of his family's past in Eastern Europe, by the world of Jews in Canada and the United States, and by his empathetic mindfulness of developments in Israeli culture.

The central axis of this fascinating book is the experience of losing the past. Underpinning it is awareness of the intense crisis that gripped modern Jewry and spurred the transformation of their collective memory. Many of these Jews have lost the old Jewish world in Eastern Europe, and along with it, the commitment to religious practice, the acceptance of rabbinical authority, the Jewish library, and memories of the past. But this crisis, as Roskies shows us, is not destructive; rather, it poses an immense challenge to modern Jews, who have become secularized and now must shape for themselves alternative institutions, new ideologies, a new world of images, literature, poetry, and theater to feed the collective memory and reconstruct it.

Roskies maps for the reader the project of creatively rebuilding the collective memory. If there ever was a uniform collective consciousness, it has now been shattered; the cultural conflicts and the various splits into religious streams and political ideologies created differentiation. There is no longer a consensus among Jews about one past; in fact, they have many pasts, a whole, varied repertoire of memories shaped by the modern historical experience and harnessed to the needs of present-day life. There is a pasthood con-



structed by the socialists, one by the Zionists, one by American Jews linked to their Judaism through an ideal image of the *shtetl*, as it was depicted, for example, in *Fiddler on the Roof*, and there is yet another Israeli past linked to the local landscape.

Roskies's book is a study of modernity from the viewpoint of images. Unquestionably, this is a very productive approach that enables him to sensitively penetrate the consciousness of past generations and to understand from within the crisis wrought by modernity, as well as the attempts to overcome it. The heroes of the book are not professional historians but rather writers, poets, playwrights, composers, and singers who were intensely aware of the need to preserve certain forms of the past.

As if in a museum, Roskies takes us to several sites of memory, including Emmanuel Ringenblum's underground archive from the Holocaust period in Warsaw, which Roskies calls a "time capsule," a collection of life experience in the ghetto from a secular perspective; and the *shtetl*, which he regards as the most important invention of modern Yiddish literature. As he argues, it was actually the *shtetl* myth, not the real-life town, that played such an important role as a myth of roots for Jews of Eastern European descent. In a particularly absorbing chapter, Roskies takes us on a visit to the Mt. Carmel Cemetery in Queens, New York, where Jewish socialist leaders and well-known writers are buried, and points out the clear marks of secularity on the tombstones.

This book makes a valuable contribution toward an understanding of twentieth-century Jews' hardships, fears, hopes, and ways of coping with them. Anyone wishing to take a close look at modern Jewish identity or interested in the ways collective memory is constructed in circumstances of catastrophes, destruction and loss, emigration, secularization, a *kulturkampf* and the development of a national movement, will find it absorbing. The words of a leading ideologue, who tried to promote the utopian revival of Yiddish culture among Montreal Jews, aptly fit the spirit of the entire book: "We will forever search for the echo of chords sounded long ago that were never forgotten. Sounds, melodies, smells and memories. What we thereby seek is both our childhood, lost irrevocably, and that total *Yidishkeit* [Jewishness] that was possible under certain conditions once prevalent in the small *shtetl*, but impossible to reproduce here in the metropolitan American exile. That longing and happiness is an important psychic factor in our lives" (p. 146). I believe Roskies himself would have no trouble identifying with these words, and perhaps they deliver the main message of the book.

SHMUEL FEINER  
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MITCHELL B. HART. *Social Science and the Politics of Modern Jewish Identity*. (Stanford Studies in Jewish History and Culture.) Stanford: Stanford University Press. 2000. Pp. viii, 340. \$55.00.

In 1901, Max Nordau declared to his comrades at the Fifth Zionist Congress in Basel that "an exact statistical research of the Jewish people is an uppermost necessity for the Zionist movement" (p. 29). The following year witnessed the founding of the Verein für jüdische Statistik, dedicated to quantifying knowledge about world Jewry in the spirit of objectivity, science, and truth. In 1903, this organization's publication, *Jüdische Statistik*, announced a truth of the new century: "statistics . . . is the only, indispensable foundation for the understanding of human groups" (p. 28). The declarations of Nordau and *Jüdische Statistik* encapsulate the grand twentieth-century enterprise of Jewish statistical research, premised on the latest developments in social science and directed to the evaluation and reconstruction of modern Jewry.

In an inspired and judicious monograph, Mitchell B. Hart tells an intriguing story about the politicization and intellectualization of numbers since the late nineteenth century. Highlighting the period 1880–1930, Hart's study focuses on the intricate conjunction of social science and Zionism. From the start, politics guided the collection of Jewish statistics in Germany. Zionists at first, and Nazis later, had the most to gain from numbers that suggested the "degeneration" of Jewish people in modern societies. By focusing especially on declining fertility, the "master pathology" of modern Jewry (p. 74), and the related subjects of intermarriage and conversion, Zionist social scientists easily argued that assimilation meant the ultimate disappearance of the Jews.

The Verein für jüdische Statistik, although purportedly nonpartisan, was conceived by cultural Zionists who saw in social statistics a way to carry out essential "present-day work" (*Gegenwartsarbeit*), which meant action taken in the Diaspora to advance the Zionist cause. As a result of the new political organization of knowledge about Jewish life, the problems of intermarriage and conversion became sociologically rather than theologically urgent. The implications of this heuristic shift would be particularly manifest in the United States after World War II. There, statistics became a perennial launching pad for preservationist initiatives that included, to the posthumous satisfaction of the early Zionist statisticians, philanthropy to Israel.

The Zionist founders of Jewish statistical enterprise assimilated two features of modern Western society in their anti-assimilationist campaign: instrumentalist assumptions about social scientific knowledge and statistically based governmental policy making. By 1900, the processing of social statistics had become an element and emblem of progressive statecraft. Through quantified information, governments could monitor the migration, employment, and standard of living of workers; the ebb and flow of disease, insanity, and crime; and rates of fertility and immigration. On the basis of these statistics, policy was formulated. By creating statistical bureaus and producing social scientific knowledge about the migrating, industrializing

population of Jews, Zionists appropriated that governmental function and thus constituted "a Jewish 'government' in *potentia*" (p. 17). They tried as well to appropriate the classical "science of Judaism" (*Wissenschaft des Judentums*). They denigrated the old political and intellectual constructs by which Enlightenment Jewish thinkers evaluated the condition of modernity, insisting that a postassimilationist identity would be explicated by the socioeconomic indicators of the social scientist. In addition, they tended to embrace a racist notion of Jewish purity and its potential disintegration in modern society.

Zionism, however, did not monopolize the business of social science. Jewish elites in Europe and the United States signed on to the statistical project, for they had their own interest in studying, and trying to remedy, the distressed conditions of Eastern European Jews who emigrated westward in huge numbers after 1880. In the U.S., a strongly assimilationist and anti-Zionist interpretation of Jewish statistics developed. In Germany, assimilationist Jews supported agencies like the Zionist Verein für jüdische Statistik because the Zionists themselves touted the objectivity of statistical knowledge and the inclusivity of the Jewish social scientific community. As a united intellectual front, Jewish scholars might combat the malicious charges of anti-Semites, who claimed both that Jews were constitutionally inferior and that they were incapable of producing objective science. Yet beneath the surface of a vaunted scientific neutrality, Zionist thinkers believed all along that Jewish numbers added up in their favor. Moreover, the cooperation of ideologically disparate Jews in the statistical enterprise validated the Zionists' belief in themselves as a vanguard of national unity and regeneration.

Hart demonstrates that Jewish statistics influenced both Jewish and non-Jewish (especially anti-Semitic) scholars and pseudo-scientists much more than has been recognized. Noting that historians continue to rely uncritically on social statistics from the early twentieth century, he reflects meaningfully on the authority of numbers and urges scholars to grapple with "the history of statistical methods itself" (p. 240).

Hart curtails himself in regard to the complex American dimension of this story, and his spotlight on Zionism may leave the reader squinting for other nuances of the European intellectual scene. Nevertheless, this is a well-written and sophisticated book on the production of knowledge. It enriches the historiography of social science and race and throws new light on the subject of Jewish self-definition.

ANDREW R. HEINZE  
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ALEXANDER HICKS. *Social Democracy and Welfare Capitalism: A Century of Income Security Politics*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1999. pp. xii, 276. Cloth \$42.50, paper \$17.95.

This book by Alexander Hicks is a number-cruncher's delight, but it should be of interest to normal people as well because of its exceptional awareness of the entire range of literature on welfare programs. Its focus is on the changing levels of income-maintenance functions of governments, or income security programs, in a significant sample of industrial nations over the last one hundred years: that is, since Otto von Bismarck's social insurance reforms in the 1880s. The author's strategy is to test the claims made by various theories on the underlying causes for the differences in levels of income supports. Some of these theoretical frameworks are overlapping (and Hicks makes little effort to separate the overlaps), but, roughly speaking, we have "industrial society" theorists (the structural-functionalists) who claim that welfare programs are a requirement of all properly functioning industrial democracies; class theorists who claim that welfare programs are the results of class action (social democratic parties and/or trade union pressures); statist theorists who insist on the dominant roles of elites and institutions (welfare states); and pluralists who point to the electoral competition and the desire of politicians to renew and extend electoral support.

Hicks is perfectly aware that monocausal theories, whose simplicity may be enticing, are unlikely to be adequate to explain a phenomenon that is so pervasive. What he does is to divide the overall period into distinct phases: origins (c.1880s), the consolidation arrived at around 1920, the period of "social democratic dominance" (the 1930s and 1940s into the early 1950s), the period of democratic neo-corporatism (1960s to the 1980s), and the current period of retrenchment. A different mix of quantifiable causes characterizes each period. Thus the "origins" period shows the importance of working-class mobilization. Then Hicks notes three routes to an early consolidation of the welfare state: the Bismarckian route, the "unitary-democratic" Lib-Lab route (as in Great Britain and Australia), and a reformist Catholic route (e.g. Belgium and Holland but also Germany and Austria, at least until 1930 [pp. 62–63]). So far, as the author acknowledges, we are firmly in Gøsta Esping-Andersen territory where distinctions are made among conservative, social democratic, and liberal welfare regimes. Hicks, however, lumps together the liberal and social democratic and separates the conservative into a "Catholic" and a paternalistic. Such exercises in taxonomy may be fascinating to some, but I would be far more interested in trying to explain why one kind prevails in one country and another kind in another country.

When he turns to examining the subsequent period, 1930 to ca. 1950, Hicks notes the emergence in government of social democratic parties. In this period, "social democratic parties led 65 percent of all governments introducing first (compulsory, well funded) national income security programs for the elderly, ill, unemployed, industrially injured, or child-bearing" and participated in eighty-eight percent of such gov-

ernments (p. 82). This leads Hicks to conclude that social democrats were the main force behind income security programs adopted during the decades of the Great Depression and World War II.

Subsequently, however, at least in Western Europe, welfare programs became accepted—with varying degrees of commitment—by all political parties, leading to what much of the literature calls neo-corporatism. But levels of public spending do not depend on the intentions of decision makers alone but also on economic and other variables. Hicks's model becomes ever more complex and loses its usefulness somewhat. The problem with this sort of exercise is that if the author comes up with the overall explanatory cause (class pressure, the state, strikes, economic growth), his findings can be easily shot down. If the author is manifestly aware of the complexities, as Hicks is, the model breaks down into an array of submodels and, in this case, we might as well return to old-fashioned qualitative political economy analysis. In fact, as the situation gets more complicated, Hicks's quantitative onslaught falters, and we are left with a set of useful statistics and correlation but have not made much inroad into a better understanding of the current retrenchment of welfare spending in most of the advanced countries.

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MARK ALLEN EISNER. *From Warfare State to Welfare State: World War I, Compensatory State Building, and the Limits of the Modern Order*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press. 2000. Pp. 371. Cloth \$65.00, paper \$19.95.

In this learned monograph, Marc Allen Eisner, a political scientist, details the persistence of the associative state through times of war, prosperity, and depression. He makes two major points: one about the nature of government and the other about the course of American history from World War I through the New Deal.

His contribution to the study of the states lies in his notion of compensatory state building. By this term he means that government compensates for its lack of administrative capacity by relying on the expertise of private entities—and particularly private corporations—to undertake difficult tasks. This process leads to the creation of an associative state in which the government facilitates private interactions yet lacks its own sources of power. World War I put demands on the federal government to raise, feed, and supply an army while simultaneously managing the effects of wartime production on the domestic economy. Such demands could only be met by compensatory state building. Private corporations went along with the exercise because they stood to make a lot of money from the process. Their enthusiasm for the associative state waxed and waned with their changing perceptions

of just how lucrative associating with the government could be.

Eisner's chief contribution to narrative history lies in his insight that the associative state did not end with the war but persisted in various forms through the 1920s and into the 1930s. Herbert Hoover and Franklin D. Roosevelt, the two individuals who dominated the politics of those decades, shared a background as participants in the administrative agencies of World War I. Both as secretary of commerce and as president, Hoover popularized the idea of associationalism, taken in part from his experience as a wartime food administrator. FDR made the idea of the associational state the cornerstone of the first New Deal through such programs as the National Recovery Administration and the Agricultural Adjustment Administration. Hence, one observes an evolution from the war to the New Deal rather than a revolutionary break with American traditions of state building during the New Deal.

The concept of the compensatory state as fleshed out by Eisner represents an interesting perspective on state building. The other notions, such as Hoover's associationalism or the continuity between Hoover and FDR, will not be news to historians who have read Ellis Wayne Hawley or Joan Hoff (although such notion may perhaps be new to political scientists). Indeed, this monograph could be criticized for not offering much new on topics that have been written about many times before (the footnotes go back to such classic sources as Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr.'s books on FDR and could have gone back to Richard Hofstadter's *The Age of Reform: From Bryan to FDR* [1955]).

Still, if the book tells a familiar story, it is not without its own elegance. For example, the author handles such topics as the practical effects of the decentralization of the Federal Reserve in the 1920s in a very competent way. The book also offers an imaginative and rewarding discussion of the ways in which World War I and the economic policies of the early 1920s anticipated later Keynesian management of the economy.

In general, Eisner writes straightforwardly and well. To be sure, the book goes on too long and repeats itself too much. Furthermore, the author too often indulges a weakness for extended quotations. At the same time, however, he manages to keep jargon to a minimum and makes every effort to explain things in simple terms. He has a real knack for demystifying complex phenomena, such as farm policy in the 1920s and 1930s.

Not every book needs to score historiographic or conceptual home runs. Sometimes it is enough to restate and update the treatment of familiar themes. Not cutting edge, this book offers the satisfaction of using impeccable scholarship to tackle important questions in familiar ways.

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WILLIAM B. McALLISTER. *Drug Diplomacy in the Twentieth Century: An International History*. New York: Routledge. 2000. Pp. xvii, 344. Cloth \$90.00, paper \$24.99.

The first half of the twentieth century was not an auspicious time for internationalism. Amid world wars, revolution, fascism, and unbridled military aggression, the institutional locus of internationalism—the League of Nations—was pummeled mercilessly. Despite the cheery optimism that accompanied its birth, the League faded into oblivion in the 1930s. Historians have remembered the League more for its impotence than for its slender accomplishments.

William B. McAllister's superb volume reminds us of one of the League's greatest triumphs: the creation of a framework for the international control of narcotic drugs. This did not happen easily. The "problem" of narcotic drug use in the early twentieth century was perceived to be exclusively Chinese. Indeed, it was. Until after World War II, China accounted for well over ninety percent of all narcotics consumed recreationally. The international control of drugs was complicated by the fact that revenues from drug monopoly sales were an essential part of the budgets of European Far Eastern colonies. Wherever there were populations of Chinese people—Formosa, Hong Kong, Straits Settlement, Indochina, and other colonies—there were opium smokers who were supplied by a branch of the colonial administration. And, in an even more sinister development, as opium smokers turned to smoked or injected "white drugs"—morphine or heroin—European and then Japanese pharmaceutical manufacturers, working hand in glove with international smugglers, supplied their needs.

Americans, who were largely free from these revenue considerations, were the prime movers behind the first international conferences to control drugs, held in Shanghai in 1909 and at the Hague in 1911–1912. But the kind of Americans who became involved in this cause were zealots or politicians rather than bureaucrats. Faced with recalcitrant European delegates, whose colonial administrations and drug manufacturers urged them to go slow, Americans fulminated and alienated just about everyone else. World War I shelved these first tentative efforts at international control, but when peace came, the League of Nations revived them.

The best part of McAllister's book is the section dealing with the League's drug control efforts in the 1920s and 1930s. It is no small accomplishment that he has made this story both comprehensible and interesting. (I tried in an earlier book but could not pull it off.) Much of the work was done by various League committees and in several conferences. The documentation is massive but deadly dull and mostly uninformative. The problem for the historian is to ferret out what was really going on behind the scenes and why, and McAllister has managed to do that brilliantly. In addition to the League documents, McAllister has

worked through archives in Great Britain (excellent for the 1920s, petering out for the 1930s) and America (just the opposite). These reveal more candidly than the League documents some of the machinations before and behind the international conferences, and McAllister has used them wisely.

One of the odder facets of the story of international drug control is the unattractive eccentrics who were its driving force. There are no Churchills here. The historian encounters self-righteous Americans, mendacious Japanese, whining Chinese, double-dealing Englishmen, and duplicitous Frenchmen, each mouthing internationalist platitudes but voting according to rigid self-interest. It is quite amazing that this group of misfits, operating within a failing League of Nations, managed to accomplish anything at all. McAllister makes the best of it. In one of his more innovative presentations, he sprinkles the text with mini-biographies—short, funny, and set off by little boxes—of these characters. It keeps the narrative clean but introduces the reader to dozens of the major players.

McAllister carries his story forward into the second half of the twentieth century, when the market for narcotic drugs changed dramatically. In the wake of the Communist Revolution, and then the psychedelic 1960s, Chinese virtually disappeared as consumers while young Americans and others filled the void. The United Nations struggled with this complicated new reality, seemingly with less obvious success than the League, when the problem appeared to be more localized and solvable.

McAllister's book is comprehensive and readable. It becomes, and is likely to remain, the standard treatment of the topic.

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RICHARD J. ALDRICH. *Intelligence and War against Japan: Britain, America and the Politics of Secret Service*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2000. Pp. xxiv, 500. \$34.95.

World War II was a multidimensional affair, involving the political, military, strategic, economic, and ideological preoccupation of many states and regions stretching from the western desert of Africa to the eastern Pacific rim. The war thus affected the fates of a huge number of human beings, whether they were politicians, civil servants, members of secret services, the military leadership, infantry soldiers, or ordinary civilians. It was like a massive earthquake taking place on the globe, not just because of the bombs that were dropped during the war but also because of the actual and latent dynamic political changes in the international system that were accelerated by the war. Richard J. Aldrich's book is concerned with the latter theme and investigates how the British and American secret services were sensitive to these changes, and how those different services fought to restore the peace in Asia in the wake of Japan's defeat.



Based on extensive archival research in private and public papers in the United States and Britain, Aldrich takes us into the minefield of Anglo-American secret intelligence service operations in Burma, China, India, Indochina, Malaya, Singapore, and Thailand. In a sense, the book can be read as the spies' experiences of war in Asia; they were, unlike the policy makers in London and Washington, much closer to the actual scenes of war itself. However, Aldrich's theme is a bigger and a more ambitious one than this: the book is focused on colonialism and imperialism, investigating the Anglo-American divergent and convergent views on the British and European imperial legacies in postwar Asia. By combining two powerful themes, intelligence, and imperialism, Aldrich has produced a much needed and detailed study of the bureaucratic wrangles of the numerous secret agencies, which were often intertwined with rivalries at the highest level, between Franklin D. Roosevelt and Winston Churchill, over the future of postwar Asia. While Aldrich is somewhat apologetic about the "two large but barely connected bodies of literature" in his introduction (p. 2), the book demonstrates that such a connection is inevitable and natural.

The British secret services in Asia had been an essential arm of Britain's imperial policy, whose concern was primarily internal colonial security issues. This colonial mentality was, as Aldrich argues, the main reason why the British underestimated the threat from Japan. The outbreak of the war made it important to coordinate the Anglo-American intelligence community working in Asia, but this was where the differences between the two countries emerged, and simmered, throughout the war. The Americans had no intention of collaborating with the British for the sake of restoring the latter's empire in Asia, while the British secret services were equally resentful of American intervention in what the former regarded as their sphere of influence, and especially in the jewel of empire, India. The British Special Operations Executive (SOE) in 1942 was able to take a dominant role in Europe and the Middle East, while retaining an exclusive position in India. The American OSS (Office of Strategic Services), founded by General William J. Donovan, was in return given primary responsibility for areas of less strategic concern to the British: Manchuria, China (except Hong Kong), and Korea. In Southeast Asia, such a division was more complicated: Malaya, Thailand, Burma, Indochina, and Indonesia were all regarded as a "no man's land" (p. 142), which only helped to increase the bureaucratic conflicts between the British and American agencies. The allied secret services in China proved to be chaotic, and allied coordination was marred by the latent civil war in China. It was not helped by the authoritarian Nationalist leader, Chiang Kai-Shek. According to Aldrich, fifteen Western intelligence organizations were operating in China (including five British and four American), and they were "completely uncoordinated to the delight of the Chinese" (p. 297). It is

quite possible to see the politics of secret intelligence as a microcosm of wartime Anglo-American alliance relations, which were not always harmonious, partly because they were both very "sensitive to matters of long-term national interest" (p. 376). In the field of secret intelligence, too, the changing power relations between the United States and Britain soon became obvious: the size of the American intelligence organization began to surpass its British counterpart after 1943, while at the same time becoming more dominant. The British intelligence services in Asia were part of the established, if aging, mechanism of Britain's imperial policy, however, whereas the American secret service, initially the much newer and untried organization, was quicker, it seemed, to adapt itself to the latent threats from the Soviet Union to the postwar security of Asia.

This book, as Aldrich admits in the introduction, is not intended to explore the impact of intelligence on the actual course of military operations. Readers will not find much about the British or American perceptions of Japanese military intentions or capabilities during the course of the war. While praising the quality of Japanese intelligence at the outbreak of the war, Aldrich is silent about the fact that one of the factors in the defeat of Japan was Japan's failure to maintain an efficient intelligence system. However, the book also implies that Britain did not regard Japan as a formidable enemy at an earlier stage in World War II, and was not much concerned about its military threat to postwar Asia either. In any case, the British secret service did not have to campaign hard against the Japanese in the latter's erstwhile empire in Asia. Those Burmese, Indians, and other Asians, who had rested their hopes in Japan's leadership under the Pan-Asian Co-prosperity Zone, were soon disillusioned by Japanese "barbarism perpetrated in cities such as Nanking" (p. 162).

Aldrich has written an important book that should be read by all students interested in World War II and postwar Asian politics. It should also be translated into Japanese and other Asian languages for the benefit of potential readers in these countries.

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HEIDE FEHRENBACH and UTA G. POIGER, editors. *Trans-actions, Transgressions, Transformations: American Culture in Western Europe and Japan*. New York: Berghahn Books. 2000. Pp. xl, 258.

During the 1970s and 1980s, scholars and intellectuals—both abroad and in the United States—competed with one another to see who could sound most indignant about America's "cultural imperialism." But in the past few years, a new consensus has emerged among cultural historians, and with it a more neutral language to describe the impact America has had on

the world. Now we hear about cultural transfers and transactions, about complexity and "creolization." No longer are foreign audiences regarded as collections of zombies, spellbound by the images and messages transmitted by the American media, having their subconscious colonized by the Yanks. It turns out, according to the revisionist view, that those in other lands are perfectly capable of adapting American culture to their own needs, tastes, and traditions.

This is the main argument of this book, whose title itself suggests how complicated and ambiguous are the cultural encounters between Americans and "others." The essays originated at a conference held at Brown University in 1996. But the appearance of this collection coincides with a recent roundtable discussion of "Cultural Transfer or Cultural Imperialism?" (*Diplomatic History* 24 [Summer 2000]) to which this reviewer contributed, and with the publication of a group of essays with a comparable perspective (Reinhold Wagnleitner and Elaine Tyler May, eds., *Here, There and Everywhere: The Foreign Politics of American Popular Culture* [2000]). And, of course, there have been numerous books published during the 1990s that also emphasize the ways that American culture has been modified, rather than merely accepted, by other cultures throughout the world.

Perhaps this outpouring of books and articles, many offering similar interpretations, explains why the essays in the present volume do not appear as fresh or as original as they might have been when they were first delivered. Read now, they seem not so much to advance the general argument as fill in the details. Still, some of the essays are superb, and they do illuminate the specific processes by which America's culture has been received abroad. Mary Nolan traces the evolution of "America" in the German imagination through most of the twentieth century, showing how German writers and social critics rejected or adopted images associated with the United States for their own cultural or political purposes. Editor Heide Fehrenbach and Richard Kuisel analyze the impact of American movies on German and French audiences, respectively, and how and why it eventually became so difficult for the film industries in both countries to combat the popularity of Hollywood's exports.

Two of the best essays reexamine the global influence of postwar American architecture. Botond Bognár reveals the limits of America's modernist architecture in adapting to Japanese traditions. Peter Krieger tells us how German architects in the 1950s tried to use the example of the American skyscraper to reject the Nazi past, only to face a reaction in the 1960s to construction techniques and urban planning that were now seen as dehumanizing. Indeed, the complex transmission of architectural ideas and trends may be one of the clearest ways to see how America's cultural impact was both restricted and revised to suit the historical and contemporary needs of other countries.

Yet if a new consensus has emerged among academics about the intricate and equivocal impact of Amer-

ica's culture on the world, then why does the export of American art and entertainment still seem so sinister to so many people abroad? Why haven't the views of the revisionist scholars affected the newspaper reporters who portray the opening of every Hollywood blockbuster, theme park, and fast-food joint as if they were yet more dreary symbols of Americanization? Why do intellectuals and politicians persist in describing American culture as inordinately powerful, capable of manipulating audiences everywhere?

One reason is that too few of the revisionist scholars are writing for general, nonacademic readers. Instead, they continue to talk only to other specialists, often in a prose style that is unintelligible to the outside world. Too many of the essays in this volume are sprinkled with abstractions and academic jargon. One wonders why several of the authors feel the need to use words like "contextualized" (p. xxii), "positionality" (p. xxiv), "counterhegemonic" (p. xxviii), "essentialize" (p. 82), "emblemized" (p. 101), and "thematized" (p. 188). This is lazy writing, and it deadens what might otherwise be a lively and interesting discussion.

Beyond the stylistic ineptitudes, there is a more fundamental difficulty with these essays. No matter how much they stress the complexities of cultural transmission and the active participation of foreign audiences in altering what the United States disseminates, almost all the authors implicitly accept the notion that America is the chief exporter of modern culture while everyone else is a recipient. One exception is Bognár, who points out how much Japanese architects and designers have influenced their counterparts in the United States and Europe. Kuisel, however, puts the matter bluntly: "One must grant that American mass culture has the power to make all cultures more similar" (p. 209). So, despite their best efforts to write in more sophisticated ways about the cultural interchange between America and the world, the essayists still seem to hold on to the idea that the relationship is essentially one-sided.

Yet America's culture is itself a hybrid, and one that has regularly depended on cultural imports from abroad. Americans are as fascinated by European fashions and Asian cuisines (and increasingly by foreign-language movies from Italy and Hong Kong, and television shows from Britain or Germany) as foreigners are captivated by American technology and mass entertainment. It may be more important at this point to recognize that the United States has been as much a consumer as a creator and exporter of culture. Such a recognition might lead us to move beyond the consensus of the 1990s and explore the truly multinational dimensions of global culture in the twenty-first century.

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## ASIA

YINONG XU. *The Chinese City in Space and Time: The Development of Urban Form in Suzhou*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press. 2000. Pp. x, 361. \$47.00.

CHYE KIANG HENG. *Cities of Aristocrats and Bureaucrats: The Development of Medieval Chinese Cityscapes*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press. 1999. Pp. xviii, 240. \$48.00.

People trained in European history tend to think of cities in terms of self-governing, Greek city-states (polis being the root for "politics" and related concepts) and of urban-rural contrasts ("city air breathes free" versus the serfdom that prevailed in the medieval countryside). In China's long history of urbanism, very different symbols have dominated. Rather than standing for local autonomy, the walled (*cheng*, the most common Chinese word for city, has the root meaning of "wall") city functions most importantly as the center of imperial administration over a defined area. The imperial capital is the apex of a hierarchy of cities, and must be arranged to display the emperor's right to rule; he will receive his officials "facing south" in a throne room oriented properly to the four quarters, to which orientation the streets, walls, gates, and other buildings of the capital will also conform. And, despite its walls, the Chinese city is part of an urban-rural continuum. Urban and rural architectural styles are not sharply contrasted, and every city is the seat of one or (less often) two administrative districts (*xian*) whose total territory is largely rural. Paul Wheatley, Frederick W. Mote, and Nancy Shatzman Steinhardt have written major interpretations of the Chinese city, and the two books under review are valuable additions to this literature.

Yinong Xu's book takes the major city in the lower Yangzi region as the starting point for the examination of a number of themes in Chinese urban history. While never an imperial capital, Suzhou began in 514 B.C. as the capital of the pre-unification state of Wu, and it remained ever afterward a center of southern Chinese culture, described by poets (and by Marco Polo) as a city of wealth, luxury, beautiful women, gardens, and canals spanned by arching bridges. In his first three chapters, the author discusses the historical and cultural factors affecting cities in China, the place of Suzhou in Chinese history (emphasizing that this history is itself primarily a literary artifact), and the place of important cities like Suzhou in the imperial administrative system. All such cities had to have certain kinds of buildings, including the offices (*yamen*) of local governors, temples of literature, the war god, and the city god of walls and moats, and drum and bell towers; the author compares those of Suzhou with selected other cities.

The four remaining chapters deal more specifically with Suzhou. Chapter four notes that the pattern of the city walls and the eight city gates remained essentially unchanged for a thousand years, even though

changes in settlement patterns left much of the southeast sparsely inhabited while the area outside the western Chang Gate grew in population. In Suzhou as elsewhere in China, the city walls do not separate the city from the countryside but rather serve to defend the entire area administered from the city. Chapter five emphasizes the role of the canals in defining the street plan, and describes the transition from the walled wards and zoned-off market areas of Tang Suzhou to the "free street plan" (p. 163) that prevailed afterward; even then, however, the local government offices occupied an inner walled enclosure. Chapter six returns to the theme that Chinese architecture does not sharply distinguish between urban and rural structures, and that typical building complexes, in which large assembly halls and smaller side buildings are arranged around courtyards, can be converted rapidly among various different uses. In Suzhou, the largest temple courtyards performed the functions of plazas or other "public urban spaces" in Western cities. Finally, chapter seven concludes that geomantic (*feng-shui*) considerations played little actual role in the layout of Chinese cities, including Suzhou, despite local traditions to the contrary.

Chye Kiang Heng's book concentrates on the changes in the Chinese urban landscape from the Tang (618–907) to the Song (960–1276) and sees these changes as part of the overall transformation of Chinese society that has been much discussed in the general literature. Tang cities, not only the well-known example of the imperial capital at Chang'an but smaller cities as well, were divided into rectangular walled urban wards (*fang*) separated by wide streets. The ward gates were locked at night and the streets patrolled by soldiers. Commercial activity was confined to regulated market areas, within which executions were also carried out. While these patterns are better known in North China, where flat terrain made rectilinear city plans more feasible, Yinong Xu finds the same patterns in Suzhou during the Tang. The Tang pattern was inherited from the Sui (581–617) and originated in the aristocratic and militaristic society of the Northern and Southern Dynasties (316–589), particularly in the brief period (493–535) when Luoyang was the capital of the Northern Wei. In the Song period, commerce became both more important and more respectable, and educated civil officials dominated the political process, with hereditary qualification having a much diminished role. Walled wards and curfews vanished, and an "open city" emerged, in which the government made little attempt to control where residences and commerce were located.

Both books emphasize that, even after the emergence of the "open city," the role of cities as administrative centers remained primary. Xu (pp. 58–66) refutes the idea that "regional and local cities should be viewed as imperial capitals on smaller scales," yet Ming prefect Wei Guan was executed in 1374 for refurbishing the site of the prefectural seat in a manner that suggested imperial ambitions (pp. 144–

48), and Heng notes that in both of the Song imperial capitals (Kaifeng and Hangzhou), the first "imperial palace" was simply the renamed local government headquarters.

These books complement one another. Both of them use urban history as lenses through which many other aspects of Chinese history may be seen more clearly and as mirrors that show the contrasts between the Chinese and Euro-American concepts of the city.

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KRISTIN STAPLETON. *Civilizing Chengdu: Chinese Urban Reform, 1895–1937*. (Harvard East Monographs, number 186.) Cambridge: Harvard University Asia Center; distributed by Harvard University Press, Cambridge. 2000. Pp. xii, 341.

MICHAEL TSIN. *Nation, Governance, and Modernity in China: Canton, 1900–1927*. (Studies of the East Asian Institute, Columbia University.) Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1999. Pp. 276. \$45.00.

These two books on provincial capitals in China—one in the south and the other in the southwest—are answers to the recent call in modern Chinese history for studies of cities that, in Joseph W. Esherick's words, lie "beyond Shanghai" (*Remaking the Chinese City: Modernity and National Identity, 1900–1950* [2000]). Both can be read as an analytical "biography" of a city; they are the first histories of this sort published in English on the cities in question.

Kristin Stapleton's book starts with a sketch of Chengdu as a key provincial capital in the Chinese interior in the late imperial period and follows with an exposition of the city's modernization programs in the decades after 1895, which forms the core of the book. Chengdu's modern fate unfolded through three main stages. First, the city's modernization programs started as a local response to the nationwide "New Policy" reform movement in the late Qing. The primary goal of the reform was to bring modern urban administration and management to the city and hence "civilize" it. This was an experimental stage, yet it was "operated amid considerable public sentiment in favor of institutional and cultural change" (p. 117) and proved to be the most effective and fruitful time of the reform. In the second stage, the city was the hub of the railroad protection movement, which eventually became the fuse that ignited the revolution of 1911. In the third stage, the reform suffered a setback in the aftermath of the revolution, yet it revived in the movement to reconstitute the city's administration during the 1920s, with an infusion of new vigor but also a reawakening to the legacy of the late Qing reform.

Stapleton emphasizes the long-lasting influence of the New Policy movement, which echoes the field's general consensus on its impact (see, for example, Douglas Reynolds's work on the "Xinzheng revolution"). Her contribution is that she provides a detailed

account of what happened at the local level and convincingly shows the continuity of the Qing reform agenda as it extended into the republican era. She guides the reader to witness the birth of modern urban institutions such as the police force, chamber of commerce, and self-government councils, as well as to observe local leaders who, despite their different motives and approaches, as a group personified the reform. Her accounts of the reformists Zhou Shanpei and Yang Sen are drafted with such care and sensitivity that readers may well feel the passion, vision, and frustration of the two men in their mission of "civilizing Chengdu."

A merit of the book is that, from its narrative based primarily on political episodes, a broader social history of the city emerges. Stapleton shows us, among other things, how urban planning and public projects such as street widening and paving fit into the late Qing reform agenda, how policing and neighborhood organizations affected the lives of the subalterns in the city such as street headmen, beggars, and prostitutes, and how secret societies such as the Gelaohui played their role in local politics. Subjects like these have been touched upon in recent scholarship on Chinese urban and social history, yet our knowledge of grass-roots society remains, by and large, uneven and sketchy. This work advances our understanding of the social roots of urban reform in a heretofore little explored interior provincial city.

If Stapleton does not intend to draw broad theoretical conclusions from her account, Michael Tsin ambitiously tackles conceptual issues in his examination of southern China's most prominent city: Canton. Tsin's book emphasizes how politicians in the early republican period used—indeed in some ways created—the notion of "society" and "the people" in order to legitimate their governance. It starts with a chapter on nineteenth-century Canton, depicting the Cantonese version of the late Qing movement for local autonomy as seen in such institutions as the Nine Charitable Halls and the Self-Government Association. Tsin points out that late Qing civic organizations were not entirely "unofficial," nor did they truly position themselves as representatives of society; their civic activities, nevertheless, "helped to legitimize and popularize the discourse of society" (p. 10). The book then mainly focuses on the period from the revolution of 1911 to the Canton-Hong Kong strike of 1925–1926. With remarkable clarity and elegance, it unravels the complex and multifaceted relations among different constituents of state and society in early republican Canton: the lukewarm and eventually confrontational relations between the Nationalists and the Communists, the antagonism between the Nationalist government and the Merchant Corps, the divisions within the labor movement and the factious relations of labor with both the Nationalists and the Communists, and all these parties' attitudes and strategies toward imperialism.

Tsin asserts that a central component of the modern



nation-state is social foundationalism, by which he means the state's claim to legitimacy based on a somewhat imaginary "society" and its conception of its mission to be organizing and mobilizing its social constituents for national construction. Both the Nationalists and the Communists seemed to share this vision of the nation-state, yet in Canton in the eventful 1920s, the failure of the ruling Nationalist Party in its effort to maintain a cooperative body social was most evident, leaving violence and ruthlessness the prominent features of China's political culture in much of the twentieth century. One may argue that any political regime needs—and therefore would claim—legitimacy based on the subjects it rules. Even in an era of "Oriental despotism," terms such as *tianming* (mandate of heaven) and *minxin* (will of the people) were virtually interchangeable in China's political lexicon, not to say Mencius's remark that "the people are the noblest" and Wei Zheng's (580–643) that "the people are like the water that can float the boat [the throne] but also can overturn it" were among the most frequently quoted political aphorisms. With a bit of cynicism, one may say that modern-day expressions with the all-powerful term "the people" are no less hackneyed than the cliché "mandate of heaven." Tsin's contribution therefore lies less in exploring the legitimacy of modern nation-states than in presenting a case study illustrative of the ambivalence, as well as the dilemma, of political rationality in the early days of China's modernist politics.

Both books are firmly grounded in primary sources and engaged with current scholarship. It is arguable that the finest political history is that tailored from a variety of social fabric, and likewise, the soundest social history is that built upon a foundation of political analysis. Stapleton's book, primarily a social history, and Tsin's, mainly a political history, fit the ideal nicely.

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JOSEPH P. McDERMOTT, editor. *State and Court Ritual in China*. (University of Cambridge Oriental Publications, number 54.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1999. Pp. x, 446. \$79.95.

This volume spans a wide breadth of Chinese history, from 1000 B.C.E. through 1750 C.E. This long period notwithstanding, the essays work remarkably well together, and this conference volume is an invaluable contribution to the growing literature on official Chinese ritual. Much of the volume's coherence, and ultimate success, results from the common methodological approach taken by the contributors. Rather than examining only ritual manuals and other texts that describe how various ceremonies were to be carried out, and explicating them with the aid of Western theorists, the authors study the often perplexing wider contexts of these rituals, including commentaries, debates, and the associated material culture.

The result is more than a complete picture; it is ample testimony to both the power and centrality of ritual in China. With subtle and intelligent analysis these essayists introduce us to rich worlds where ritual is neither purely formulaic nor meaningless, but controversial, dynamic, and fundamental.

The organization of the book is chronological. But it is the emergence of a common set of themes that allows these essays to cohere. Most conspicuous is the role of the emperor and imperial system. Whether as individual, as institution, or as symbol, the emperor occupied a dominant place in Chinese ritual. Several authors spotlight individual emperors and their efforts in reformulating rituals to serve personal or political ends. Mark Lewis's essay on sacrifices at Mount Tai shows how Emperor Wu (r. 141–87 B.C.E.) of the Han dynasty dramatically redefined emperorship using elements drawn largely from diverse Warring States ideas. As in later periods, such transformations were by no means always Confucian, and it is a credit to the volume as a whole that it takes non-orthodox ideologies seriously. Andreas Janousch shows how Emperor Wu (r. 502–549) of the Liang dynasty constructed rituals that made him not just emperor but bodhisattva-as-emperor, uniting secular and Buddhist sacred in a universal unity that bolstered his authority. Similarly, Nicola Di Cosmo demonstrates how, 1,200 years later, the Qianlong emperor (r. 1736–1799) codified his own native Manchu rituals to "civilize" Manchu traditions as well as preserve them as part of a unique national identity.

Other essayists explore the emperor-as-institution in the context of ritual. Deaths of emperors were sometimes precarious moments in which the institution was highly vulnerable. This was even more at issue in the Han, as Michael Loewe demonstrates, when the imperial system had yet to become established. He describes how during such times tombs successfully fostered both continuity and legitimacy of imperial rule. David McMullen, writing on the death rites for Tang Daizong (r. 763–779), shows how the crisis of an imperial death could be transformed into an accession rite, through Confucian cooperation between officials and the new emperor.

At times, emperors were important only as symbols to be manipulated from afar, as demonstrated in revealing essays by editor Joseph P. McDermott and David Faure. McDermott's essay on community pact rituals shows how, far from the Ming court, local elites enforced community pact rituals that showed devotion to the emperor as a way of reinforcing their own hold on local society. Faure shows that village legends celebrated the power of an emperor who was far away, but the pervasiveness of those legends demonstrates the extension of state power to the hinterlands.

Language is another theme that runs through these essays. These authors are adept at showing the tensions between ritual texts and underlying practice, or between ritual texts and other facets of the historical record. As a result, rituals that seem ordinary and

perhaps even empty are revealed to be vital keys to understanding the history of a period. Jessica Rawson's essay on ritual in ancient China shows how objects from tombs and even the tombs themselves can adroitly be read as texts, illuminating the belief structures of ancient Chinese. Texts in turn associated with early rituals can do more than convey information. Inscriptions on bronze vessels, for example, were valued not only for content but also for their physical presence. Robert Chard's essay on imperial household cults shows how early texts could provide important components of ritual practice, while their lacunae afforded ample room for commentators to reformulate the rituals. Ultimately, text could co-opt ritual, as the Tang court sacrifices, laden with commentaries, became divorced from their origins in household cults. The same was true in the Qing. Manchu shamanic rituals lost their vitality when they were frozen in texts.

As most of these essays make clear, politics was in one way or another intimately connected with both rituals and the debates that surrounded them—even when those rituals seem innocent enough. Oliver Moore studied the ceremony of gratitude, which on the surface was a ritualized social visit paid by recent successful examination candidates to the home of their examiner. In fact, Moore's reading shows how, during the Tang dynasty, the ceremony forged intimate ties among officials using the language and logic of Buddhism: examiner and graduand transformed themselves into Buddhist master and disciple. By the Song dynasty, the emperor had co-opted that ritual; the ceremony of gratitude was performed on a grand scale, but in a way that converted allegiance of the graduands to the emperor rather than their examiners.

Moore's essay and others substantiate a point made in the thought-provoking essay by social anthropologist James Laidlaw which concludes the volume: that more than being *about* politics, ritual *was* politics. It is in part for this reason that the book should make compelling reading for those interested in contemporary as well as imperial China. If there is a fault to this book, it is the other side of its strength: it focuses so intently on primary texts that it neglects some modern Western scholarship. While the authors certainly demonstrate effective use of Japanese scholarship, they might well have paid more attention to the work on Chinese ritual produced by Western scholars in recent years. Nevertheless, this gap is a small deficit in a book that contributes so substantially to that literature, and does so with an analysis that is both commonsensical and elegant.

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CHEN-MAIN WANG. *The Life and Career of Hung Ch'eng-ch'ou (1593–1665): Public Service in a Time of Dynastic Change*. (Monograph and Occasional Paper Series, number 59.) Ann Arbor: Association for Asian Studies. 1999. Pp. xiv, 322.

The story of the decline and fall of the Ming Empire and the Qing conquest of China has been told from many perspectives in English as well as Chinese. The Ming failure to solve its monetary problems and deal with the dislocation and banditry arising from economic crisis is one part of the story. The Manchu ability to mobilize a highly disciplined fighting force, control the inner Mongols, and employ exceptionally able Han Chinese officials is another. The fractious politics of Ming scholar-officials and its role in the failure of Ming loyalist resistance is a third. The inability of local leaders and rebels to rally a supralocal opposition to unpopular and often corrupt imperial rule is a fourth. And the ultimate continuities of statecraft and philological scholarship alongside developing literary themes and talents under the early Qing regime is a fifth. Yet until Wang Chen-main's book, the absence of a thorough study in English of Hung Ch'eng-ch'ou, whose life and work may well throw more light on more parts of the story than any other single life could, is evidence of an amazing intellectual legacy. Seventeenth-century Ming loyalism, eighteenth-century Qing imperialist historiography, and twentieth-century Chinese nationalism have until now succeeded in keeping this view of the story from being told.

Wang's approach is sensitive to the fact that every Chinese knows Hung Ch'eng-ch'ou as a traitor. For some, Hung was un-Confucian and shameless for serving the Qing after having held the highest positions under the Ming. For others, he was a traitor to the Han race for helping the Manchus in their conquest of China. For still others, he was a feudal reactionary for devoting himself first to the defeat of peasant rebels under the Ming and then to the defeat of all opposition to the Qing imperial enterprise. For Wang, each of these positions clouds our view of the historical realities of Hung's life and work, and each must be answered with reference to the evidence at hand.

According to Wang, Hung was a pragmatist in tune with the major intellectual trends of his time. Specifically, as a Ming civil official, he edited a collection of classic and recent military treatises, calling for a realistic assessment of the problems of the 1630s. For both dynasties, he devised and participated in the rational implementation of timely policies leading to political, social, and economic stabilization while deftly avoiding the factionalism and corruption that had divided and weakened the official class. He consistently displayed the qualities of loyalty and personal integrity, as well as the intelligent application of classical and historical precedents, that are the hallmarks of Confucian public action. Although his policies succeeded in the northwest under the Ming, less competent and more self-interested advisors won the day and lost the empire. A victim of their adventures, Hung surrendered to the Qing in 1642 but remained quiet until the last emperor's suicide and the fall of Beijing to rebels in 1644. Wang concludes that Hung may well have been loyal to the Ming in his own mind

after that, and that his very integrity led both the Qing regent Dorgon and the emperor Shunzhi to give him a free hand in managing the campaigns that won the lower Yangzi region, the southeast coast, and the entire southwest while defeating the Ming pretenders, their turncoat rebel supporters, and the die-hard loyalist elite.

Wang does not deal in detail with economic or social issues. Instead, he focuses on Hung's policies and attitudes as revealed in the historical narratives and Hung's copious memorials and sparse writings on statecraft, history, and military affairs. Wang shows how consistent Hung was in implementing a cautious strategy of crushing armed resistance while maintaining military discipline and stabilizing the local economies that bred the resistance. He also shows how right Hung was in applying his scholarly skills to military history and strategy in a time when an expanding economy had ground to a halt and the state could not develop its military technologies and industries sufficiently to prevail. This is an important study of a much-maligned figure whose influence cannot be overstated. Wang's treatment of both the career of Hung Ch'eng-ch'ou and the historiographical legacies that have hidden it from view should be required reading for all scholars of the Ming-Qing transition as well as students of late imperial statecraft and politics. My only complaint concerns the use of Wade-Giles transliteration in a field where pinyin has become the norm.

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BRADLY W. REED. *Talons and Teeth: County Clerks and Runners in the Qing Dynasty*. (Law, Society, and Culture in China.) Stanford: Stanford University Press. 2000. Pp. xxiii, 318. \$55.00.

Who governed China during the Qing dynasty (1644–1911)? Certainly the emperors and their courts played important roles, as did Beijing bureaucrats and thousands of degree-holding civil servants sent to the provinces as magistrates in district offices. Court and officialdom have long been studied through the voluminous record of edicts, memorials, administrative manuals, and memoirs produced by China's monumental bureaucratic establishment. In these sources, little attention is given to the vast army of clerks and runners who did most of the work of local administration on behalf of county magistrates. While magistrates rarely stayed longer than a few years in one assignment, clerks (record keepers and document handlers) and runners (messengers, guards, and constables) often worked in the same county offices for decades. The opening of local archives in recent years has made detailed study of this vital layer of government possible. Bradley W. Reed's book is a pioneering exploration of county administration that takes into account the point of view of the clerks and runners.

Clerks and runners occupied a curious niche in Qing government, as Reed explains. Despite tremendous

growth in the Chinese population in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the court refused to sanction expansion of the formal administration. To handle the increased workload, magistrates employed large numbers of clerks and runners off the books. Because these functionaries were illegal appointees under Qing law, magistrates did not mention them in reports to the central government or pay them an official salary. Their income came from fees imposed on those obligated to seek their services: taxpayers, land purchasers, litigants, criminals. Lacking the prestige of degree-holding officials, clerks and runners came to be seen by the political elite as parasites intentionally increasing—and then benefiting from—conflict among the people.

Reed argues that historians have accepted this view of clerks and runners too uncritically. If these men were really as evil as their detractors claim, he asks, how could Qing administration have been as stable as it was, even in the tumultuous nineteenth century? A collection of documents from Ba county in Sichuan province, the most complete from a Qing county yet discovered, enables him to see beyond the stereotypical descriptions of clerks and runners. What he finds adds considerably to our understanding of local administration.

Both clerks and runners, Reed shows, organized their work with customary rules that they themselves developed. These rules set out how work was to be divided among members of the office staff, how fees were to be shared, and how appointment to the powerful positions of head clerk and head runner would be made. Reed includes fascinating examples of such office regulation in appendixes. Discussing particular cases from office records, he describes the process whereby rules were debated and usually upheld. Disputes within the office were handled first through mediation by senior members of the staff. Often, though, dissatisfied clerks or runners appealed to the magistrate for justice. Reed argues that magistrates usually followed the advice of the mediators, although personnel changes in an office could mean reinstatement for a dismissed clerk under a subsequent magistrate.

In his analysis, Reed takes aim at what he sees as an overreliance on Weberian standards of rationality in past works on Chinese administration and supports the efforts of his graduate adviser, Philip C. C. Huang, to develop more appropriate theories for understanding Chinese bureaucratic practice. His study shows that clerks and runners were indispensable to Qing officials because of both the work they did and the role they played in sustaining the fiction of government by the moral elite. Because of their relative autonomy, though, clerks and runners could ensure that office procedures were "nearly impervious to reform from above" (p. 247).

Although Reed's book is the best to date on the work and status of clerks and runners, its evidential base is limited to documents from one county pro-

duced primarily in the Guangxu reign period (1875–1908). Gaps in the record, which might have been more directly discussed, precluded a comprehensive portrait of local administration. The book is strongest on the topic of intra-office procedures and raises interesting questions about how these procedures may have affected the administration of justice. The documents do not seem to have shed much light on the relationship between clerks and a magistrate's personal staff of secretaries, who were responsible for supervising office personnel. On this and other topics, T'ung-tsu Ch'ü's *Local Government in China under the Ch'ing* (1962), which relies on evidence from a wide range of Qing sources, is still essential.

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PAMELA KYLE CROSSLEY. *A Translucent Mirror: History and Identity in Qing Imperial Ideology*. (A Philip E. Lilienthal Book.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1999. Pp. xiv, 403. \$45.00.

This book is an expansion and summation of Pamela Kyle Crossley's now sizeable body of work on the Manchus, the questions they raise regarding identity and ideology in the Qing empire, and the key role of the eighteenth-century Qianlong emperorship in shaping our understanding of Qing history. It contributes to a revision of "Chinese" late imperial history that Crossley herself helped set in motion, one that stresses the previously neglected Inner Asian facets of the Qing empire. The book also addresses, through comparisons to Romanov, Ottoman, French, and Habsburg imperial systems, the larger issue of imperial rulerships across early modern Eurasia, and especially their role in the formulation of ethnic and national identities. This study is thus aimed at an audience beyond China specialists.

Crossley principally argues that developments in the expanding Qing polity in the late sixteenth through the late nineteenth centuries necessitated changes in how it defined its subjects. These changes were codified ideologically in official productions: literary, artistic, architectural, linguistic, and, of greatest interest to Crossley, historical. This flood of material, Crossley argues, particularly that of the long Qianlong reign in the eighteenth century, to a large degree constructed the very categories of "Manchu," "Mongol," and "Chinese" that modern historians have conventionally taken as natural ethnic units with meanings predating the Qing.

This process had several stages. Initially, the relationship of the khans Nurhaci and Hong Taiji with their followers in demographically mixed and fluid Northeast Asia was articulated as master-slave; the followers' languages and places of origin (Korean, Chinese, Tungusic, Mongol) were less important than such moral criteria as how early each joined the rising Latter Jin state. Next, after Hong Taiji declared the Qing dynasty in 1636, his need to institutionalize and

centralize power led him to rely increasingly upon the sociomilitary units known as the Eight Banners, which, while coming in Manchu, Mongol, and *Hanjin* (Chinese martial) flavors, remained fuzzy categories with porous borders and were not genealogically determined.

After decades of ruling China, during which time the Qing faced Chinese rebellion, incorporated many Chinese within the military and bureaucracy, and bemoaned the creeping assimilation of Manchus, the state sought to consolidate power by further clarifying who was who. It thus finally turned to bloodlines to define the categories of Qing subjects. Nevertheless, the period from ca. 1688 to the early eighteenth century was still characterized by a flexible "'transformationalist' ideology of identity," epitomized by the Yongzheng emperor's assertion that non-Chinese peoples could be transformed through cultural influences. After 1736, however, the Qianlong emperor disputed both the possibility and the need for such transformation, directly contradicting his father. The Qianlong court promoted ascriptive genealogical criteria in a range of ideological productions to enshrine as discrete political categories the primary "constituencies" of his rule: Manchus, Mongols, Chinese, Tibetan, and (Uyghur) Muslims. After taxonomizing these constituencies, Qianlong presented a different ideological face to each and transcended them all as a universal emperor (the "simultaneous emperorship"). In the process, the "Chinese martial" were folded into a newly constructed monolithic "Chinese" (*Han*) category and stripped of special status; "Mongol" became a catch-all grouping including even such peoples as the Oyrads, who had not been "Mongol" in the time of Chinggis Khan; and "Manchu" itself was tortuously historicized, with adherence to "Manchu ways" required of many Manchus to whom such ways were quite unfamiliar. (Qing efforts to reify and historicize the categories of Uyghur and Tibetan were qualitatively different and far less extensive—a difference noted but not fully explained here.)

In a convincing postscript to this story, Crossley argues that nineteenth and twentieth-century revolutionaries Liang Qichao and Zhang Binglin, in their attacks on the Manchus and imperial rule in general, were very much heirs to the Qianlong system of genealogical identity, even while they employed a Western-derived terminology of racial difference.

The arguments here are ingenious, if complex, and will certainly make a mark on the fields of Qing and modern Chinese history. However, given that many arguments are based on philology and/or close reading of ideological rhetoric, one would have liked in many places a closer tethering to sources. For example, Crossley writes of the Qing "use of 'mirror'" that it indicated "light as knowledge and intelligence (also the meaning of *sems*, the central cultic theme of the Qianlong emperor's personal religion), light as time, light as the matrix of all image and sensation" (p. 23). This assertion is significant, given that her book's title



hinges on this elaborate metaphor; yet nowhere are we given a citation of a Qing source using “mirror” or “light,” in these expanded senses, or an explanation of why the term *jian* (mirror) in titles of polyglot dictionaries should be read in this way. Similarly, in discussing the Qianlong emperor’s demand that people “act out their identities,” she lists the Manchu verbs *manjurambi*, *monggorombi*, and *nikarambi*, respectively meaning, she writes, “to manchu,” “to mongol,” and “to nikan” (i.e. to chinese) (p. 298). According to dictionaries, however, these words do not mean “for a Manchu (Mongol, Chinese) to act like one,” but rather to *speak* that particular language. *Manjurambi* can even mean “to affect Manchu ways”—the usual subject of this verb thus apparently not being a Manchu at all. Dictionary definitions are not necessarily a reliable guide to ideological meaning in context, but to convince us that her inventive readings of such terms are right, Crossley should argue from concrete citations, especially since her work has been queried before on precisely this point.

Specialists will also note a number of mistakes and odd assertions in the text: *beg* is a Turkic, not a Mongolian title (p. 141 n. 16); *tatan* does not mean “hunt” but “camp” (p. 150); the Torghuud did not return east from the Volga during the early eighteenth century (p. 319), nor had they originally migrated west to escape the Qing (it was the Zunghars they fled) (p. 334); Xinjiang became a province in 1884, not 1880 (p. 321); the Oyiroid were never subsumed under the “Uyghur constituency” but were administered and textually represented separately (p. 327); the Tibetan Dalai Lamas were not by 1661 under “observation and regulation” by the Qing court, nor did the Qing oversee selection of the Tibetan Dalai Lamas from that year (p. 329). In fact, 1661 falls during the reign of the powerful Fifth Dalai Lama, whose death in 1682 was successfully concealed from the Qing for another fifteen years. On the maps (perhaps not the author’s direct responsibility), labels for Lakes Baikal and Balkash are reversed, Hohhot is misplaced, and Qing imperial boundaries are erroneously extended well beyond the Pamirs into modern Uzbekistan, far outside the reach of Qing bannermen or even the grandest ambitions of Chinese irredentists. (Potential confusion here is compounded by the author’s use of the broad term “Turkestan” rather than the usual “eastern Turkestan” to refer to Xinjiang.) This map (p. 4) also labels Burma and Vietnam as under “Qing political dominance” in the Qianlong period—a dubious characterization, given the spectacular failures of Qianlong-era military campaigns against each.

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HARRIET T. ZURNDORFER, editor. *Chinese Women in the Imperial Past: New Perspectives*. (Sinica Leidensia, number 44.) Boston: Brill. 1999. Pp. xii, 405.

Until recently, Sinology—that is to say, historical studies produced by scholars trained as classicists in Chinese—has not been particularly fertile ground for feminist scholarship. This edited volume in the Sinica Leidensia series, largely European in authorship, is part of an admirable project to change the situation and also illustrates some of the problems it faces. The best recent work by feminist historians of China (Patricia Buckley Ebrey, Dorothy Ko, and Susan Mann) has had as an agenda to erase the stereotype of the backward, victimized Oriental female by recovering the voices of elite women of late imperial China. This undertaking has involved close intertextual reading of male-authored documents, from law cases to exemplary biographies and literary essays, as well as exploration of the marginalized writings of literary women, especially their poetry. For these purposes, an emphasis upon female agency has been a more powerful theme than that of discourse or representation. It has led scholars to explore the opportunities offered by the late Ming spread of publishing and literacy, the resources of a sex-segregated women’s culture, and the advantages of a gender ideology rooted in the flexible relationalities of yin-yang cosmology.

Now Harriet T. Zurndorfer has assembled an impressively learned group of scholars who collectively take up the theme of female agency while stressing its operation within overarching structures of domination. In eighteenth-century legal cases involving commoners, Paola Paderni finds women taking advantage of narrow opportunities—widowhood, uxori-local marriage, a sojourning husband—to assert authority within their families. One, who practiced as a shaman-healer, was murdered by her spouse, not so much because of the impropriety of her trade as out of fear of her spiritual powers. Angela Leung finds more respectable Ming-Qing female healers in the interstices of writings of male doctors, and she argues forcefully that the needs of sex-segregated female patients produced a market for the services of both elite and popular practitioners. If medicine was a domain where negative stereotypes of shamanesses and midwives coexisted with a more accepting “social reality,” religion, analyzed by Beata Grant, offered colder comfort to pious women. Through their poetry, Grant explores the power of Buddhist piety, which attracted female devotees while ironically teaching them the virtue of renouncing the joys of self-expression. Here eighteenth-century religious life echoes the dilemmas Ko found among her late Ming “female talents” caught between the contradictory pull of literary and domestic values. The ambivalent role of males as fathers, husbands, sons (only rarely friends or teachers) of such women is picked up by Clara Ho in her survey of men who facilitated the publication of the writings of their kinswomen while bedecking these in moralistic prefatory encomia to their Confucian virtue. Anne T. Gerritsen shows that such male normative discourses could take surprising turns, as when a reclusive scholar’s manual of ritual instructions for young brides is

shown to complement his real-life dependence on his wife's skills as domestic and financial manager of their meager estate. As a group, these articles direct our attention to the flexibility and resilience of patriarchy itself, whose historical longevity cannot be explained without asking what has fostered so many women's active participation in the system. This is a theme for which Chinese history provides rich food for thought.

However, other essays in the volume are shaped primarily by the textual and methodological problems of classical exegesis and address the theme of women and gender as if on the way to somewhere else. De Pee's topic is Song dynasty marriage rituals, but his aim is to understand how such rituals were caught between text and performance in the manuals of neo-Confucian reformers intent upon both reconstructing antiquity and accommodating local customs. Mark Elvin, author of a classic article on the Ming-Qing chaste widow cult ("Female Virtue and the State in China," in *Past and Present* 104 [1984]: 111–52), has turned his impressive database of exemplary biographies from local history collections to novel uses. His goal is to understand local ecological conditions through the patterns of mortality found among chaste widows, counting on their regional comparability to supply relative if not absolute population statistics for different localities. But much of its detail does not contribute to the main argument concerning the relationship of death rates to ecological factors. Instead, it appears aimed at apprentice scholars who are lectured on demographic modeling techniques and coding methods needed to replicate Elvin's research results, material that seems more suited to a graduate seminar than a published article. Zurndorfer's own essay on the place of the category "women" in the important genre of "encyclopedia" (*lei shu*), or works organized by topic, is similarly burdened. It must cover methodology (the complex classification systems and their rationale over a thousand years of text production), which is essential to understanding but which only exposes the invisibility of "women" in the genre's formal categories. Feminist readers will find a clear and useful guide through the labyrinth of subject classifications. There are interesting suggestions for future research sources in the byways Zurndorfer has unearthed, but little about issues of gender construction and representation in encyclopedias as a whole.

In sum, although this collection is more for specialists than outsiders, it is on balance a welcome sign that Chinese classical scholarship is deepening its engagement with feminist history. Zurndorfer, who is also the editor of *Nan nü*, the new Leiden-based journal of Chinese gender studies, shows her talents as a catalyst for the field.

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CHUN-SHU CHANG and SHELLEY HSUEH-LUN CHANG.  
*Redefining History: Ghosts, Spirits, and Human Society*

in *P'u Sung-ling's World, 1640–1715*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 1998. Pp. xiii, 358. \$59.50.

Chun-shu Chang and Shelley Hsueh-lun Chang follow their earlier study, *Crisis and Transformation in Seventeenth-Century China: Society, Culture, and Modernity in Li Yu's World* (1991), with this sequel on the renowned author of the *Liao-chai chih-i* (*Tales of the World of the Unusual from the Studio for Deliberation and Musings*). Unlike the recent literary study by Judith T. Zeitlin, *Historian of the Strange: Pu Songling and the Chinese Classical Tale* (1993), the Changs' approach is much more historically based.

The book is divided into three parts. Part one deals with P'u's life, work, and intellectual legacy. The son of a merchant, P'u tried but failed repeatedly to pass the government's provincial examination until he was close to seventy. Denied the chance of ever climbing the ladder of officialdom, he attached himself to the wealthy Pi family near his own village in Shantung as a private tutor for some thirty years. Using the rich library collection of his host family, P'u was able to embark on his masterpiece in 1680. Although P'u's reputation rests unquestionably on the *Liao-chai*, he also authored two anthologies of literature as well as fifteen handbooks and encyclopedias covering subjects such as agriculture, medicine, astronomy, geography, religion, social customs, law, and rules of behavior. According to the Changs' calculation, their hero wrote at least eighteen reference works, 524 essays, 1,295 poems, 119 lyrics, four traditional music plays, 100 short songs, sixteen vernacular music dramas, and 500 stories (in the *Liao-chai* collection). But all of these works circulated only in handwritten manuscripts; the *Liao-chai* had its publication in 1767; the other works were not printed until modern times.

In part two, the Changs examine the *Liao-chai* collection in terms of its structure, texts, and contexts. They consider three groups of protagonists from the perspective of early Qing history: scholar-commoners, women, and merchants. Having failed repeatedly at the examination system, P'u not unexpectedly was a severe critic of its flaws. P'u's female characters, while upholding the virtues of filial piety and female chastity, are portrayed as tough, intelligent, and resourceful individuals. Furthermore, P'u was far from conventional in considering romantic love more important than family arrangement as the key to marriage. P'u was also outstanding and iconoclastic in his positive representation of merchants as heroic figures who braved risks with resourcefulness rather than simply as being greedy or filthy buffoons.

In part three, the authors consider the antecedents and legacy of the *Liao-chai*. They find that P'u consulted for his stories no less than one hundred pre-Qing sources, most of which from the Tang period (618–906). It is the view of the Changs that P'u wrote his stories as a historian, not as a mere storyteller or as a Confucian ideologue. They argue that P'u tried to demonstrate through his stories the way degree candi-

dates and women were subjected to the tyrannies of society and family in traditional China. Hence he helped to create new sensibilities and values as well as a treasure house of entertainment. An appendix examines whether P'u was the author of the one-hundred-chapter social novel *Hsing-shih yin-yuan chuan* (*Marriage That Awakens the World*).

In focusing on the great storyteller P'u, the authors have crafted a vast panorama of seventeenth and eighteenth-century China. They not only provide the social and political context of P'u's intellectual world but make a valiant effort to extract historical meaning from a literary work. There are some areas of duplication and overlap (i.e. in the treatment of merchants and of women), but the overall account is both informative and fascinating. The Changs are to be congratulated on labor well spent.

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GANG DENG. *Maritime Sector, Institutions, and Sea Power of Premodern China*. (Contributions in Economics and Economic History, number 212.) Westport, Conn.: Greenwood. 1999. Pp. xix, 289. \$69.50.

History argues that China is a land-oriented empire, negligent of its long maritime frontier and without a significant maritime tradition. As is almost always the case, there is some validity to the stereotype, for China's greatest military threats before the nineteenth century always came from the grasslands of inner Asia. Yet the stereotype is ultimately inadequate, a point that has been clearly established in a growing body of recent research. In his second book on China's maritime history (see also *Chinese Maritime Activities and Socioeconomic Development c. 2100 B.C.-1900 A.D.* [1997]), Gang Deng affirms his role among those who would give that history its due.

Deng's thesis is that China's long-standing economic superiority among its maritime trading partners was driven by an equally long superiority in maritime technology. When the latter was challenged by the rising power of European fleets in the nineteenth century, the former was doomed, leading to China's long century of degradation and humiliation at the hands of the Europeans and, later, the Japanese.

Deng begins with the links between maritime trade and the domestic economy, including such direct connections as that between trade and ceramic and silk production but also deeper links such as the impact of the trade sector on agriculture, the development of domestic communications infrastructure, and the monetization of the economy. He then examines the institutional and technological framework of the maritime economy, arguing that China remained the world's greatest maritime power, both economically and technologically, through the eighteenth century. He confronts and rejects the belief that traditional China's culture was antimaritime, concluding that "the Chinese government was not necessarily ocean-phobic,

nor anti-trade. The government approach . . . was one of pragmatism" (p. 158). Deng further challenges the common understanding that, by the nineteenth century, China's capacity to mount a maritime challenge to Europe had evaporated. On the contrary, he argues, through the latter half of the nineteenth century China embarked on a naval modernization campaign that was fully consistent with its heritage of maritime supremacy. He goes so far as to challenge the traditional narrative that credits Japan with a crushing naval victory in the 1894-1895 Sino-Japanese War: "technically, the Chinese won some main battles. They lost the war mainly because of the defeat of the Chinese army on land" (p. 197).

As the crux of his book, Deng proposes a contrast between the laissez-faire approach of the early modern Chinese state and the aggressive nature of the mercantilist European states to explain the end of China's long maritime supremacy in Asian waters and the consequent shift in the balance of maritime power. The predatory Europeans brought a new challenge that the passive Chinese were unable to match: "China practiced a passive and reactive strategy in its government trade policy and military defense which helped little in checking the penetration of European operations in Asian waters" (p. 208).

Deng's book broaches a range of very important issues. It is, unfortunately, marred by a number of significant shortcomings. These include such fundamental issues as poor editing and a tendency to digress from the main argument, but perhaps most problematic is the author's unabashed disdain for Japan. Half a century ago, E. H. Carr cautioned that it is not the role of the historian to judge the morality of the actors of the past. History itself, he argued, is the best judge of right and wrong; the adjudicating historian only gets in the way. Deng's repeated denigration of Japan is neither historically accurate nor relevant to his argument. Among several oversights, we might note that it was, after all, the Chinese navy that retreated to safe harbor in 1894, not the Japanese. Deng also repeatedly misrepresents the nature of the Tokugawa polity and economy. Less obvious but equally a shortcoming is Deng's Chinese nativism. The Asian maritime world was a complex milieu with many parties and extensive patterns of exchange, both material and technological. The Chinese were principal players, but there were many others as well, including South, Southeast, and West Asians, who were active participants in the ties that linked the Indian Ocean littoral and the ports of the South China Sea. Deng fails to place China's maritime tradition into that larger framework and thus to treat it as part of a dynamic system. These faults, ultimately, undermine the value of an otherwise impressive study.

HUGH R. CLARK  
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DAVID D. WANG. *Under the Soviet Shadow: The Yining Incident; Ethnic Conflicts and International Rivalry in*



*Xinjiang, 1944–1949.* Hong Kong: Chinese University Press. 1999. Pp. viii, 577. \$32.00.

Xinjiang, the “New Territory” incorporated into China’s administrative map during the early Qing period, has long been a contested ground of ethnic conflict and international rivalry. Located in the far northwest of China, neighboring India and Tibet to its south and the former Soviet Central Asia republics to its north, Xinjiang is populated by mainly Muslim Uighurs and Kazaks, among others. And yet, the Han Chinese have been in control since 1911, when the Manchu dynasty was overthrown. During the heyday of imperialist territorial scrambles in the nineteenth century, Xinjiang was sandwiched by the encroaching powers of tsarist Russia in the north and the British Empire in the south.

In the aftermath of the Russian Revolution of 1917, Xinjiang became a part of the frontier of V. I. Lenin’s regime against White Russians and foreign interventionists. When Joseph Stalin consolidated his power in the 1930s, he was determined to have a firm grip on Xinjiang and Outer Mongolia as a buffer zone and a springboard vis-à-vis potentially hostile forces in China, whether the pro-Western Jiang Jieshi regime of the Guomindang (GMD) or the invading Japanese. That was why Stalin prepared to deliver massive military assistance to the Chinese Communist Party (CCP), which was instructed to occupy China’s northwest in conjunction with Xinjiang and Outer Mongolia.

During World War II, Sheng Shicai, the Soviet proxy in the territory, split with Moscow; the GMD was likely to dominate Xinjiang in 1944. Believing that Jiang’s regime was ultimately pro-American, Stalin was not about to see Xinjiang slip away from his grip. Two months after Sheng’s removal and the establishment of GMD administration in Xinjiang, rebellion broke out in the Yili area—the northern part of the territory—and a separatist regime, the East Turkestan Republic, emerged. As the CCP was gaining national power in 1949, however, the rebels, instructed by Moscow, submitted themselves to the new regime in Beijing, and their separatist rebellion was euphorically praised by Mao Zedong as “a part of the Chinese revolution.” This is the intricate story told by David D. Wang, who lived in Xinjiang and befriended many ex-rebels.

The author sets out to search for the role of the Soviet Union in the Yining Incident and its aftermath in 1944–1949; his thorough and meticulous research in Chinese and Russian materials results in 442 pages of text and 72 pages of bibliography. Backed by an extraordinary amount of detail, Wang convincingly demonstrates that the Soviets were at the front instigating and organizing the rebellion and, then, directly participated in the military combat against the GMD armed forces. Thus, the Yili Regime was really a puppet of Moscow, taking orders from the Kremlin to serve Soviet interests. When Stalin signed the Sino-Soviet treaty of 1945 to solidify his gains at the Yalta

summit, the separatist regime gave up its self-declared independence, becoming a part of the coalition in Xinjiang. When the CCP was taking over in China, Moscow arranged a switch-over and the Yili Regime was fully and peacefully integrated into the Beijing orbit, while many Muslim leaders were killed in a mysterious airplane crash en route to Beijing.

As impressive as the detailed account of events are, the main findings and arguments of the book are nothing new. The publications of such works as Deng Liguang’s memoirs and Yang Kuisong’s article testify to the fact that since the late 1980s, authorities in Beijing have no longer wished to keep secret the extensive Soviet “contributions” to the CCP revolution. The subsequent collapse of the Soviet Union and the limited, if not hazardous, access to the former Soviet archives further dissipated the murky clouds over the Soviet involvement in China, including Manchuria, Outer Mongolia, and Xinjiang. Had the study been published fifteen years earlier, it would have been a sensational, ground-breaking work in the realm of Chinese studies. To readers in the twenty-first century, the aspects of “ethnic conflict,” as opposed to “international rivalry,” would have been more attractive. After all, continued ethnic conflicts in Xinjiang cast uncertainty for Beijing in the 1960s and will be a destabilizing factor for China’s Han elite to deal with in years to come. Alas, Wang chooses to emphasize the “Soviet shadow” instead of digging deeper into the mine of ethnic issues and their manifestations in the past.

MICHAEL SHENG

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PERRY LINK. *The Uses of Literature: Life in the Socialist Chinese Literary System.* Princeton: Princeton University Press. 2000. Pp. vi, 387. Cloth \$65.00, paper \$21.95.

Perry Link’s new book is a history of literary life in socialist China, from 1950 to 1990, emphasizing the momentous post-Mao liberalization of 1979–1985. Between a stimulating introduction and a thoughtful conclusion lie well-executed chapters on the mechanics of state control of literature, writers, markets, popular readers, and sophisticated (“socially engaged”) readers. All are clearly argued and illustrated with a rich array of often piquant literary examples.

This study is a worthy companion to Link’s *Evening Chats in Beijing: Probing China’s Predicament* (1992). That widely read book drew on conversations with Beijing literary figures to explore the ideals and grievances of Chinese intellectuals in a period of crisis. This new book, in contrast, delineates the workings of the system in which literature was produced. Link is sympathetic and respectful, yet never sentimental toward the writers whose world he analyzes.

One of Link’s great contributions is to show how literary politics were often more complex than they may have appeared on the surface. China’s literary system was never so monolithic as either the Commu-



nist Party or its enemies have wanted to believe. However severe and erratic, the system was never static, and its dynamic aspect provided space for maneuver (and sometimes opportunism) in literary careers. Some of Link's best discussions introduce the art of "literary meteorology," by which writers, editors, and cultural officials assessed nuances within their authoritarian political climate, planning their work accordingly.

Not only was the overall climate in flux, but there were also systematic divergences in fundamental institutional arrangements. For example, there was sometimes considerable local variation in the relationship of literary journals to party propaganda departments. Shanghai editors sent galleys directly to the propaganda department for vetting and excisions, while their counterparts in Anhui managed to skip the propaganda department altogether. Or, in another example, Link shows that the familiar dichotomy between open and "internal" publications is too simple, missing the sometimes important gradations of internality around which Chinese writers plied their trade.

Link resists sinocentric interpretations, offering extended comparisons of China to other nations, usually reinforcing his theme of complexity and subtlety in literary politics. These comparisons are most often to Eastern Europe, where similar institution were in place. Link reminds us, however, that despite apparently identical institutions, Russia is ultimately a Western nation, especially when viewed from Beijing or Shanghai. More unusually, he makes comparisons to postwar Japan and Germany, two other great episodes of cultural liberalization.

The general conclusion of Link's comparisons is that Chinese literary culture has deep historical roots that shape behavior as profoundly as temporary institutional arrangements. Yet new institutions may reinforce as well as challenge those traditions. Thus a Soviet contribution to China's socialist literary system, the idea of writers as "engineers of the human soul," resonated powerfully with the self-concept of Chinese writers, despite its profoundly illiberal presumptions.

By casting his work in historical terms, Link implicitly raises the question of when this system ended. He variously refers to a system entering its waning years in 1985 (p. 285) or already collapsing by the late 1980s (p. 139). Some readers will dispute that it has collapsed, pointing to the perseverance of the cultural institutions Link analyzes. But China's socialist literary system no longer stands alone; it coexists with the energetic new institutions of commercial culture. State domination of culture has become as weak and uneven as state control over the economy. Link analyzes a precommercial era, when both writers and state patrons could paper over the gap between elite and mass culture in China, a make-believe that is no longer possible.

Link wrestles with the problem of aesthetic quality. He refers frequently to the poor quality of much Chinese writing but finds himself returning to the

question of why so many people were so deeply engaged in a literary culture that rarely produced works of the first rank. Link's very reasonable explanation is multidimensional, showing the many needs (including many extra-aesthetic ones) that literary activity satisfied for readers and writers, even under political conditions that were rarely relaxed and often highly restrictive. At one point, Link imaginatively turns to the American liberal philosopher, John Rawls, for help in weighing what is "good" about Chinese literature.

Link's sensible concern for aesthetic quality may occasionally lead him astray. He surely takes too literary a view of the world when he argues that the poor quality of Chinese novels and short stories led to a decline in literacy. He offers little evidence that such a decline occurred and forgets that most people learn to read for more immediately practical reasons than a desire to follow current fiction.

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JEFFREY C. KINKLEY. *Chinese Justice, the Fiction: Law and Literature in Modern China*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 2000. Pp. xi, 497. Cloth \$69.50, paper \$24.95.

After years of Maoist repression, Chinese law and Chinese literature experienced a rebirth in the 1980s. With the advent of the People's Republic of China's (PRC) first promulgated codes of criminal law, criminal procedure, and civil law and the revival of the legal profession came a renaissance of fiction dealing with crime, law, and lawyers. This literature and its relationship to the real world of criminal justice are the subject of Jeffrey C. Kinkley's book. Through an analysis of crime fiction, Kinkley hopes to "illuminate China's new legal culture . . . and the predicament of all modern Chinese literature" (p. 4).

In the process of making his argument, Kinkley takes the reader on an excursion through the history of crime and legal fiction in modern China. The first chapter illustrates the renaissance of Chinese crime fiction in 1978–1980. The technique employed here and throughout the book is to use secondary sources on Chinese law and legal history to provide context for description and analysis of representative works of fiction. In subsequent chapters, Kinkley explores the legal literature of imperial China, the Western-influenced detective stories of the Republican period, and the relationship between crime fiction and politics in the PRC.

One of the most appealing features of the book is the fiction itself. Crime fiction is popular literature. Kinkley clearly enjoys it, and he conveys that sense of joy without losing his critical edge. The reader will make the acquaintance of hard-boiled Chinese policemen and procurators, wise judges, and long-suffering lawyers. The chapter entitled "Tradition" includes discussions of the Judge Bao stories and less well-

known works such as the *Parallel cases solved by just and benevolent officials*. The treatment of Chinese detective stories in the Republican period includes an introduction to Huo Sang and Lu Ping—the Chinese versions of Sherlock Holmes and Arsène Lupin. Throughout the book, Kinkley analyzes modern Chinese legal fiction both in the context of the Chinese legal system, past and present, and also in the context of traditional Chinese and modern Western literature. This approach reveals the multitude of influences that may be discerned in the Chinese works and helps to make the Chinese fiction—and Kinkley's argument—more accessible to the nonspecialist reader.

But what of the argument? Kinkley contends that “Chinese ideas of law and literature illuminate age-old tensions between paternalistic and adversarial human relations and that the latter have been gaining since 1978” (p. 12). The works that Kinkley has chosen for discussion point in this direction, but the reader is left with some questions. One has to do with use of the terms “rule of law,” “rule by law,” and “adversarial.” It is useful to distinguish “rule of law” not only from “rule by man,” but also from “rule by law,” with the latter referring to the instrumentalist use of law by the state. Kinkley makes this distinction on occasion (p. 130), but he generally uses the term “rule of law” without having carefully defined it. The difference may seem minor, but it is directly relevant to his argument concerning the direction of change in post-Mao Chinese legal culture. Some of the Chinese legal literature does demonstrate a “thirst” for a Western-style adversarial legal system in which defense lawyers and prosecutors fight it out in court according to set rules (p. 340). However, much of the fiction that he discusses seems to be highly didactic work that holds up as its ideal a more efficient paternalist rule by law in order to maintain social order.

A second question involves the treatment of Republican law. While his analysis of Republican detective stories is wonderful, Kinkley's description of the Republican legal system is rudimentary. This is largely due to the lack of secondary scholarship on Republican law. Thus Kinkley (like many authors) jumps from the imperial to the Communist legal systems as though nothing had intervened (p. 117). But in suggesting that the adversarial legal culture of the Republican period disappeared with the advent of Communist rule, the novel *Whom do you defend?* (1987) implies that what we see in the post-Mao period is the rebirth of an adversarial legal culture that had roots in Republican China (p. 321). One would like to know more about the possible relationships between Republican law and legal culture and the law and legal literature of the PRC.

That Kinkley's work should inspire such questions does not detract from its overall excellence. This book will be rewarding for specialists and for nonspecialists interested in Chinese law, legal history, and literature.

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GREGORY M. PFLUGFELDER. *Cartographies of Desire: Male-Male Sexuality in Japanese Discourse, 1600–1950*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1999. Pp. xi, 399.

This book is an extraordinary contribution to the substantial, growing amount of English-language scholarship on the history of homosexuality in Japan. *The Love of the Samurai: A Thousand Years of Japanese Homosexuality*, by psychologist Watanabe Tsuneo and Iwata Jun'ichi, was published in 1989. My own *Male Colors: The Construction of Homosexuality in Tokugawa Japan* (1995) focused on the Edo or Tokugawa period (1602–1868). If read alongside translated Japanese homoerotic works, these books provide a historical overview of the topic up to the Meiji Restoration. Gregory M. Pflugfelder's study brings us up to the U.S. Occupation.

Pflugfelder examines representations of male-male sexual behavior: how people spoke and wrote about it, and what meanings they attached to it. He is less concerned (but not unconcerned) about what actually happened between men sexually. Pflugfelder repeatedly emphasizes that representations “should not be assumed to encode in any transparent fashion the realities of the behavior that they represent” (p. 8).

He analyzes the discussion of male-male sex in “three realms of discourse”: popular, legal, and medical. These “were not discrete entities operating in isolation from one another” but rather were “implicated in a broader process of contestation over the cultural significance of male-male” sexuality (p. 13). Chapter one examines Edo popular literary sources. Chapter two treats Edo legal material. Chapters three and four analyze discourses in Meiji Japan and include more Tokugawa material. Chapter five traces the history of medical discussion of homosexuality from 1600 to 1950, and chapter six examines twentieth-century popular discourse on the topic. Male homosexuality, in Pflugfelder's analysis, is sequentially represented as a refined “way” in the Edo period; a remnant of the pre-enlightened past in the Meiji; and a psychological condition from the early twentieth century.

The array of sources is stunning, the analysis generally persuasive, and the prose usually smoothly readable. The discussion of the Meiji regime's efforts to discourage homosexual behavior is a particularly important contribution. I would, however, have preferred a tighter chronological arrangement of material, with summaries that highlight the specificities of male homosexual behavior in the three stages and reconcile contradictory representations. Given space limitations, I confine my comments to the Edo period.

In chapter one, Pflugfelder describes *shudō*, the Edo-era sexual relationship between males involving age-graded, role-structured anal sex. Its literary representation was created by “the virile gaze” of the adult male partner or *nenja* (pp. 35–36). According to Pflugfelder, in this literature the *wakushu* (younger

partner) derives no physical pleasure from his role, acting out of loyalty, compassion, or greed. Pflugfelder provides many examples from popular literature, other materials being "outside of the scope" of his study (pp. 41–43, 55–56, 70). Despite the caveat quoted above, he hints that his sampling indeed reflects reality. Thus he declares that homoerotic literature written to appeal to youths was "hardly innocent" or in the "interests of the youth himself" (p. 54). *Nenjas'* sexual advances were "unwanted" (p. 75). Contrary examples, affirming the existence of *wakashu* who enjoyed their sexual role, are relegated to substantive footnotes (pp. 42–43).

There are, in fact, depictions in popular literature (including wood-block erotica, which Pflugfelder largely ignores) of *wakashu* relishing their situation. Ihara Saikaku (fl. 1680s) often referred to samurai youth pining for older male lovers; Pflugfelder cites a passage in which even farm boys and merchants' sons yearn for "male love." His explanation that the boys are merely expressing weariness with their existing lot is unconvincing (pp. 80–81). He does not consider the possibility that some writers to whom he imputes a "virile gaze" may, in positing a specifically *wakashu* sexual desire, have drawn upon their own boyhood experience. It is hard to reconcile his model with the existence of "amateur boys" who "did not ordinarily require remuneration" (p. 79). Pflugfelder's very selection of representations inevitably creates a sense of what "really" happened, and by the end of chapter one the reader has the sense that for the *wakashu*, *shudō* was a generally unpleasant thing.

In chapter three (on Meiji legal discourse), however, we encounter the (real-life) record of a samurai, born in 1855, who had "enjoyed being anally penetrated since childhood" (p. 166). How does his case fit into "the contestation over the cultural significance of male-male sexuality in Tokugawa Japan"? Pflugfelder does not bring the literary, legal, and medical discourses together to present a composite representation of Edo male-male sexuality. Indeed, the discourses, with differing degrees of proximity to "reality," are left operating more or less in isolation from one another.

In chapter one, Pflugfelder discusses "the social field within which the *shudō* text operated" and stresses the "commodification of male-male sexuality" during the Edo period (pp. 72, 77). I would, however, have hoped for more context—general background on the early modern social order. Readers unfamiliar with Japanese history and the mind-boggling socioeconomic changes between 1580 and 1640 will less thoroughly grasp the significance of the *shudō* text. Pflugfelder notes "a perceived decline" in *shudō* during the late Edo period (p. 93), while I have suggested a decline based in part on the dramatically shifting urban sex ratios. Pflugfelder rejects my "demographic determinism" (p. 137) but opines that changing gender and class relations did indeed contribute to the decline of male-male sexuality. This, however, he avers, "deserves a separate study" (p. 93).

Edo men's preference for boys or women (as depicted in literature) was, according to Pflugfelder, based "on esthetic rather than ideological considerations" (p. 80). It was, of course, also influenced by factors external to Pflugfelder's discourses, which the limits of his project may not have required him to consider. But his discussion of discourses over 350 years will leave some dissatisfied at the points where it postpones historical analysis.

I would have liked more extensive quotations from the many works cited. Fortunately, the footnotes could generate a multivolume series. This is an indispensable work, there being nothing comparable even in Japanese, and it will have a major impact on studies of male-male sexuality in global perspective.

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CHUSHICHI TSUZUKI. *The Pursuit of Power in Modern Japan 1825–1995*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2000. Pp. x, 550. \$105.00.

This is a detailed survey of the political history of modern Japan, from 1825, the year when the bakufu issued an order to expel Western vessels approaching Japan, to the present. It is not based on scholarly research in primary sources. Chushichi Tsuzuki states that the book began as a series of lectures at a Japanese university; hence it is based primarily on Western and Japanese publications. These are skillfully synthesized and integrated in the discourse with the author's insightful observations and analyses. The basic accounts are known to students of Japanese history, but the details here will be illuminating to many readers of this study.

Twenty-one chapters are divided into three parts with appendixes. One is an extensive annotated bibliography of English and Japanese works. A brief historical background is presented in the introduction and the main discourse starts with part one, entitled "From Seclusion to Expansion, 1825–1900."

Chapter one consists of a brief survey of the Tokugawa rule and the debate between proponents who favored opening to the West and those who opposed it. The following chapters cover the opening of the country, the Meiji Restoration, and the emergence of the people's rights movement. Tsuzuki also makes interesting observations, seeing, for example, the replacement of the daimyo domains with the prefectures as a second coup d'état. He then moves on to the drafting and adoption of the Meiji constitution. He also speaks of the birth of emperor-centered ideology that accompanied the advent of the constitution. Next Tsuzuki covers the Sino-Japanese War and the consequent emergence of Japanese nationalism and imperialism. Then he deals with industrialization, especially the years of growth from 1885 to 1914 and the subsequent emergence of the *zaibatsu*, the condition of the workers, the nascent labor movement, and the emergence of socialists and anarchists. On economic



development, standard works are cited, but this reviewer was somewhat surprised that the author did not incorporate Kazushi Ohkawa and Henry Rosovsky's *Japanese Economic Growth: Trend Acceleration in the Twentieth Century* (1973) in his account.

Part two consists of chapters on "The Road to Catastrophe, 1900–1945." The focus is on international relations that led to Pearl Harbor and Hiroshima. Tsuzuki covers the rise of ethnocentric sentiments and nationalistic groups. He points out the growing alliance between the army and navy, and the ideology of the emperor system. Next, the author discusses the Russo-Japanese War and the eventual annexation of Korea. In the following chapter, he deals with politics in the Taisho years. He concludes that World War I resulted in the growth of Japanese economy but did not benefit the workers. He then examines the condition of women workers in the textile factories. Tsuzuki next discusses the rice riots that resulted from inflated rice prices. The riots, he concludes, contributed to mass awakening. The most significant event of the Taisho years was, of course, the enactment of universal male suffrage in 1925. At the same time, the Public Order Preservation Act was adopted to keep radicals and subversives under control. This act, the author concludes, sounded the death knell of Taisho democracy.

Tsuzuki devotes some space to Taisho literary developments, a topic he has not noted in the Meiji or Showa eras, probably because his focus is political history. But he states that Taisho literature remained basically nonpolitical.

In chapter two the author discusses the economic crises of 1927. The Taiwan Bank crisis is covered in detail. It buoyed those who proposed solving the economic crisis by advancing Japanese interests in China. Big business interests—specifically Mitsui, with its links to the Rikken Seiyukai—are seen to have supported this policy. The onset of the world depression resulted in lower wages and a reduction of the work force. Agrarian depression compelled many impoverished peasants to sell their daughters to brothels. The depression fostered concentration of business and financial control by newly rising big business groups, what the author calls the "new *zaibatsu*," like Nissan, which cooperated with the military in its expansionist policy in Manchuria.

In the chapter on "Fascism, Militarism and Thought Control," the author provides a perceptive analysis of the nature of Japanese fascism. He then discusses the growing militancy of the young army officers that culminated in the February 26, 1936 incident. The next topic is the undeclared war against China, starting with the 1931 Manchurian incident. Tsuzuki discusses Japanese atrocities like the Nanjing massacre, but he does not refer to Iris Chang's *The Rape of Nanking* (1997). The chapter "From Pearl Harbor to Hiroshima" deals with well-known events such as U.S.-Japanese negotiations, the numerous land and sea battles, and the Hiroshima atomic bomb attack.

Part three deals with the postwar years of "reconstruction and reorganization." Accounts of the revolutionary changes and reforms introduced by the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers (SCAP) are well known to students of Japanese history. One work that the author does not refer to is the study of the language differentials in the American version of the constitution and the Japanese version discussed by Kyoko Inoue in *MacArthur's Japanese Constitution: A Linguistic and Cultural Study of Its Making* (1991). The remainder of part three deals with postwar political and economic developments. The author concludes that the bursting of the bubble economy led to Japan's current identity crisis.

Some readers may get bogged down in the details of some sections, and some, like this reviewer, may wish for more discussion of social and cultural issues. But, after all, this is a political history, and we will learn a great deal from its thorough coverage of what Tsuzuki calls the pursuit of power.

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ANDREW GORDON. *The Wages of Affluence: Labor and Management in Postwar Japan*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1998. Pp. viii, 270.

Modern Japan's industrial workplace is a topic about which Andrew Gordon has written often and well. His earlier books on *The Evolution of Labor Relations in Japan: Heavy Industry, 1853–1955* (1985) and *Labor and Imperial Democracy in Pre-War Japan* (1991) analyzed labor and society in the years before World War II. Despite the common image of Japan's cooperative industrial relations and happy consensus, these prize-winning studies highlighted the contested nature of the workplace and the active and creative role of workers in shaping the form of workplace life and the character of industrial relations. Gordon's new book extends that analysis into the postwar years.

His focus is on workers in the steel industry. As in his previous studies, Gordon, relying on a wide range of written and oral sources, tells a compelling, thickly textured story of the complex relationship between managers and workers. The first six chapters illuminate what he calls the "contest for the workplace" that dominated the first two decades following the war. Energetic workers and activist unions confronted managers over a wide range of issues including wage-setting procedures, work conditions, and technology organization. Despite efforts to restore or enhance managerial authority, managers remained embattled throughout this period. The commonly discussed co-operativist industrial order was nowhere visible in these tumultuous decades.

By the 1960s, however, the tide had begun to turn. The remaining chapters chronicle the emergence of managerial hegemony and the ascendance of Japan's corporate-centered society. In the wake of the great steel strikes of the late 1950s, Gordon says, managers



began to have success in their efforts to assert control over the workplace. The creation of compliant, cooperative unions, the embrace of industrial engineering (IE), and the growth of quality control circles (QC) all played critical roles in socializing workers to make corporate goals their own. The result, he argues, is the creation by the 1970s of a corporate hegemony that required workers to accept a narrowed concept of democracy and limitations in personal liberty in exchange for a measure of affluence and workplace security. In the following decades, this corporate dominance was sustained by managers continuing to adroitly "appropriate opposition positions and incorporating them safely" (p. 202).

This new book is the first sustained, authoritative history of contemporary Japan's employment system. It does not, however, focus exclusively on the workplace. Chapter nine, titled "Managing Society for Business," makes it clear that Gordon sees the movement toward managerial dominance as part of a larger shift toward the creation of a corporate-centered society and the enshrinement of business-oriented social values. Throughout the text he examines company efforts to anchor corporate hegemony in traditionalistic and complementary (if inherently unequal) male and female social and economic roles. Steel companies joined with broad national campaigns to reify and entrench a clear gendered division of labor in which women managed "efficient," well-run homes that allowed men to be "efficient" and "productive" at work. He also situates the "contest for the workplace" and the resultant labor relations system within a comparative, international context. Despite borrowing ideas and technologies from abroad, Japan's workers and managers fashioned an industrial system that sharply varied from other capitalist countries.

This book is a compelling and thoroughly grounded tale of the development and maintenance of Japan's distinctive industrial relations system with its mix of weak unions, relative job security, and coercive management behavior. Gordon's balanced evaluation of the benefits and the burdens of the country's pattern of labor relations should be read by all who have ever wondered about the divergent claims in support of or against Japan's economic industrial organization and by all those with even a passing interest in comparative industrial development. This is an important book that deserves a wide audience.

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GI-WOOK SHIN and MICHAEL ROBINSON, editors. *Colonial Modernity in Korea*. (Harvard East Asian Monographs, number 184; Harvard-Hallam Series on Korean Studies.) Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Asia Center; distributed by Harvard University Press, Cambridge. 1999. Pp. xiii, 466.

The contest for legitimacy between socialist and capitalist regimes on the Korean peninsula has left a legacy

of discrepant nationalist histories north and south. Compounding the politicized local accounts is a further "master narrative" of the Cold War era in Korea legitimating the U.S. struggle against communism. What is termed "the unitary focus, artificial unity, and tendency to dichotomize in nationalist historiography" provides the foil for this set of essays on the structures and ideologies of the Korean colonial experience. An "interactive approach" to colonial history provides a frame or "historical field" looking to the interplay of colonialism, nationalism, and modernity. The goal is to move beyond nationalist interpretations and their dichotomies of Asia and the West, Japan and Korea, rich but tainted collaborators versus pure, impoverished masses. Thus the volume opens with an ambitious agenda to reorient historiography on colonial Korea to new developments in the study of nationalism, modernity, and colonialism that emphasize interactions, dynamism, and multiple causality rather than a single, correct interpretation.

An initial set of six essays looks mainly to structures of peasant and labor, radio and telephone, law and development programs. Michael Schneider analyzes internationalism and identity in the Rice Production Promotion Campaign, outlining the opposition of a Japanese colonial scholar, Yanaihara Tadao. Chulwoo Lee probes the relation between legislation and legal rights in the early colonial years with concepts drawn from Michel Foucault. Daqing Yang limits his contribution mainly to a case study of the development of a telecommunications network, opening a new area in colonial studies. Michael Robinson, Gi-Wook Shin, and Do-Hyun Han, and Soon-Won Park return to their earlier scholarship to review and focus research. Robinson offers a synopsis of the effects of radio on Korean identity, and a brief review of the effect of pop music. Shin and Han extend Shin's earlier work on peasant organization, interpreting the Rural Revitalization Campaign from a corporatist perspective. Park provides a substantive overview of scholarship on colonial labor to extend her own recent volume on the subject.

Although the editors suggest the "ambiguous qualities" of modernity might provide a focus for this initial section, the reader will find considerable variety in concepts and indeed theoretical attention. The ambitious introductory essay raises the reader's expectations with attention to colonialism, modernity, and nationalism, but eschews definitions or even highlighting of significant dimensions to such an extent that the contributors have no common theoretical ground. The initial six essays provide interesting individual insights and often excellent reviews of existing scholarship but appear only weakly linked to the new methodology of the introduction. Some may be disappointed in the lack of much new evidence or data, or with the often discursive treatment of theoretical issues rather than efforts to develop concepts in light of the Korean experience. But others may find the variety appealing, with some essays more historical, others historiograph-

ical, and the Shin and Han essay more social scientific. Although a politicized, nationalist historiography provides a common foil, the dichotomizing of nationalist and postnationalist history appears somewhat artificial. The volume would benefit from engagement with the work of "nationalist historians." Who are these historians, what are their insights, what evidence have they provided? Far more appealing than criticism of nationalist historiography is the volume's concern with the positive content of diverse images of a national identity.

The second set of essays on modernity and identity opens with Kenneth M. Wells's fascinating piece on a women's movement in the late 1920s, and Kyeong-Hee Choi's contrast of colonial and national identity in an autobiographical narrative of Pak Wansö. Both scholars weave concepts of nationalism and gender through narratives of colonial life to open new terrain in the study of colonial identity. Challenging the portrayal of Yi Kwangsu as simply collaborator, Michael Shin offers a new interpretation of interiority in his literature. Shin draws explicitly on the work of Karatani Kojin in Japanese literature to reinterpret Yi's contribution to images of Korean modernity. Essays by Clark Sorensen, Joong-Seop Kim, and Henry H. Em fill out this second section with reviews of the concepts of "peasant," "human rights," and "nation." The three reviews provide a wonderful introduction to basic issues of identity, and suggest directions for research and comparison. An interaction of multiple identities, or at least a diversity of roles promoting various identities provides clearer continuity in this latter section of the volume than in the initial six essays.

But if the enterprise is theoretically conceived it is not theoretically driven. Second, what coalesces the effort at reorienting historiography is opposition to nationalist historiography rather than advocacy of a similarly straightforward new priority. The volume better represents the process of transition away from the earlier historiography than the clear depiction of a new method. Third, many of the essays do not combine the empirical depth and theoretical sophistication necessary to generate bold new theses of their own but remain rather incremental in adjusting or refining conventional approaches to colonial structure and identity. We must await further conferences and volumes to meet the hopes for identifying more complex causal relationships, and sorting out the interaction of modernity, colonialism, and nationalism.

The volume opens with a grand design and concludes similarly with an ambitious prescription for a new colonial historiography. Carter Eckert offers the clearest picture of nationalist historiography and a cogent, articulate appeal for a pluralistic, inductive, and objective postnationalist historiography. But this compelling plea for a new type of historiography appears more of a methodological introduction to a volume in desperate need of a concluding essay to summarize and highlight insights, methodological advances, and suggestions for further research. Readers

are left to fend for themselves in pulling together the insights and implications of the volume. What we find here is an ambitious, ground-breaking volume in Korean historiography not particularly well-designed but cogently argued and certainly challenging for scholars of colonial Korea. The enterprise now begun will succeed only as it affects directions of scholarship in the future. For now, the volume provides a fine review of major areas of scholarship on the colonial years and directions for further research.

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NAIMAH S. TALIB. *Administrators and Their Service: The Sarawak Administrative Service under the Brooke Rajahs and British Colonial Rule.* (South-East Asian Historical Monographs.) New York: Oxford University Press. 1999. Pp. xxi, 274. \$45.00.

"Things are different in Sarawak" was the catch word of Brooke rule in Sarawak. Its officials prided themselves on the informal and personal nature of their administration, which also constituted the line of least resistance to indigenous social structures and cultural practices.

Organized along more formal lines in the 1870s by the second rajah, Charles Brooke, the Sarawak Service continued to reflect his uncle James Brooke's founding philosophy of enlightened stewardship. Residents and District Officers in their isolated up-river postings enjoyed wide discretionary powers but were expected to maintain the primacy of native interests. Originally recruited from the Brooke family's circle of West Country relatives and friends, their principal qualification was to be considered a *gentleman*. Expected to serve two seven-year tours of duty before retirement, it was not until the 1920s that they were permitted to marry.

Sarawak officers made deprecating comparisons with the British administration of the Malay States, characterizing it as overly centralized and pukka. They basked in their independence from the knuckle-rapping overlordship of the Colonial Office and its wing-collared mandarins. When increasing efforts were made in the late 1930s both to centralize Brooke government and to bring it under the surveillance of a London-appointed "Adviser," they fought back vigorously. When the third rajah made his decision in late 1945 to cede his sovereignty to the British Crown, he accused those officers who opposed the transfer of being "little tin gods."

When a British colonial government was established in July 1946, after Sarawak's formal annexation, the *orang dahulu* (as the prewar Brooke officers were known) resented efforts by the *orang bahrü* (the new colonial officials) to bring administration into line with practice in Africa and other colonial territories. The assassination of the second governor, Duncan Stewart, by Malay anticolonialists in December 1949 was attributed to the insensitivity of his predecessor, Sir Charles

Arden-Clarke, to Sarawak's tradition of autonomy. There are still reverberations of this tradition in the occasional tensions between Malaysian Federal and Sarawak State departments.

Naimah S. Talib provides the first comprehensive account of the Sarawak administrative service from James Brooke's installation as rajah in 1841 to the end of British colonial rule in September 1963. A student of the late and respected David Bassett, her family's link with Sarawak was important for her work, as was her extensive correspondence with former Sarawak government officers to whom she sent questionnaires. It is to be hoped that the material thus generated will eventually be deposited in some appropriate place as part of the record of European administrators in a country which many historians like to refer to, patronizingly, as a "footnote to Southeast Asian history."

Talib sees the development of administration in Sarawak as derivative of the patterns adopted in the Straits Settlements and the Malay States. And yet the single most influential official in the evolution of the Malay States, Hugh Low, spent his formative years working for James Brooke and imbibing a unique philosophy of native rule from the man who saw himself as reforming Asian government rather than introducing colonial rule. Furthermore, Brooke chose his handful of officers not "at random," as Talib asserts, but in accordance with traits of character that would harmonize with his philosophy of government. That he chose young men of his own family and acquaintance was totally consistent with his conception of personal rule.

Charles Brooke, James's younger nephew, was a considerably less sophisticated thinker, but his organizational ability, attention to detail, and pragmatic outlook helped to institutionalize his uncle's ideas into a workable system. Harsh as some of his policies were (notably the restriction on his officers marrying), they were dictated by his belief in the efficacy of personal rule and rapport between rulers and ruled. The presence of European women and families, he thought, would establish a ruling elite similar to those in the Malay States and the Dutch East Indies and with the similar effect of isolating and alienating them from the natives.

Talib deals more comprehensively with the regime of the third rajah, Vyner Brooke, who was notoriously uninterested in matters of government. In the resulting power vacuum, senior Kuching bureaucrats vied with outstation officers to capture the reins of power, the latter succeeding with the intervention of Vyner's nephew Anthony when he was in charge during his uncle's absence in early 1939. In the meantime, capitalizing on these conflicts, the Colonial Office got its foot in the door with the appointment of a General Adviser. By this means, Sarawak began to look more like a protectorate than the *protected state* that it had been since Charles Brooke's treaty with the British government in 1888. Incidentally, Talib does not pick up this significant constitutional difference.

Although Sarawak, Brunei, and North Borneo were brought under one administration by the Japanese as Kita Boruneo, their system reflected the structures of Brooke government and continued to enforce its laws. Their one significant innovation was to elevate mission-educated Ibans as *guncho* (effectively District Officers) and to appoint Malay Native Officers as magistrates. Talib recognizes the significance of this but has nothing to say about the serious Anglo-Australian tensions engendered by Colonel A. A. Conlon's efforts in 1945 to use the Australian-controlled military administration, the British Borneo Civil Affairs Unit (BBCAU), as a means of preventing a British takeover. Nor does she mention the on-going tensions after the war between those Brooke officers who had remained at their posts and spent time "in the bag" (internment) and those who had escaped through Dutch Borneo to Australia.

The remainder of the book is devoted to an account of the British colonial government and the changes it brought about. Much of this is "nuts and bolts" detail that only the most dedicated reader will digest. However, the chapter on localization usefully charts the efforts (very slow at first) to indigenize the administrative service. Attention is also paid to the development of local government in which colonial officials played a vital part, but not to the work of men like Donald Walker, who were so important in the transition to Malaysia.

Oxford University Press has done a good job with book production as usual, but the standard of textual editing marks a decline from former years when the press was the standard-bearer of Southeast Asian academic publishing. More importantly, perhaps the authors of academic dissertations should be told that readers would appreciate more of the colorful and idiosyncratic aspects of the Brooke and colonial rule. Sarawak was different, but it is in the social history of the Sarawak Service that this becomes apparent.

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MARK HARRISON. *Climates and Constitutions: Health, Race, Environment and British Imperialism in India 1600–1850*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1999. Pp. xii, 263. \$29.95.

This cogent, fascinating, readable book connects climate, health, and race in India. It starts with the argument, also made elsewhere, that Europeans, believing in monogenesis, and more or less ready to receive non-European knowledge, found themselves unable to "acclimatize" and hence partially abandoned universalism. They constructed the "tropical"—and "Indian," an important variant—as physically, culturally, and ethically unwholesome. Mark Harrison relates the change initially to humoral medicine and to developing European notions of hygiene and propriety, but especially to a more pessimistic environmental



determinism. In turn, "race" became immutable, innate and biological, going (a small way, in my view) beyond Linnaean categorization based on external characteristics.

With conquest and settlement, climate was increasingly linked to disease and human types (though I doubt race theory had much to do with moving to less salubrious inland sites). Empiricism was stressed in examinations of the supposed effects of air and moon, and in various theories and doubts about acclimatization, hygiene, diet, and the need for "moderation." Familiarity with India produced more nuanced ideas of regions and seasonality. Medical topography then helped distinguish between Indians, for example linking martial qualities to mountain habitats—as also in Scotland. It raised new concerns about European health, leading to hill stations and cantonments, which reinforced separateness even as they offered relief. It undermined support for European settlement (paradoxically posited on climatic adaptability and temperate-zone "vigor"). Finally, by the later nineteenth century, epidemics, especially malaria, cholera, and plague, plus concerns over urban squalor and supposedly "dirty" Indians, turned attention to human agency rather than climatic determinism and hence to sanitation—as also in England. Racist theories still justified opposition to army and civil service Indianization in the twentieth century.

Were these European ideas produced or just enhanced by tropical experience? New attitudes to mortality and to progress also encouraged scientific and medical interventions, coinciding with blaming people instead of climate. Conversely, effort was limited. Harrison reports on drainage and clearance for health and agriculture, and on Calcutta's Improvement and Fever Hospital Committees (ca. 1800–1840); but Calcutta's problems, though partly technical (vulnerability to storms and tides; using carts not sewers; crowded, unpaved streets), were mostly venal officials and unwillingness to tax and spend. Again, Harrison believes "a tide of excess" among Europeans in India prevented dietary moderation; but perhaps it was uncertainty. Pierre Sonnerat warned against meat eating; Richard Blechynden, a Calcutta resident, translated but did not heed him. (However, "healthy" cold bathing was not an uncommon luxury in early Calcutta, private ponds being freely used by Europeans.)

How, then, to locate changes of attitude? So much is equivocal, as also in regard to women, their nature by now ascribed to biology but long equated with either fallen Eve or virgin Mary. For the eighteenth century, Harrison's emphasis on a belief in adaptability is hard to square with views of national character. Prejudices against India-born Europeans were about miscegenation as much as culture. Already Englishmen resisted climate and marked their difference in dress, food, and architecture. In 1600, Shylock would not have asked "does a Jew bleed?" unless Gentiles were supposed different. Nor were stereotypes of feckless, dishonest natives only "Orientalist." The English readily de-

spised Scots, French, and Portuguese (to name a few) before they enslaved Africans or conquered Indians. *Persicos odi, peur, apparatus*, wrote Horace (*Odes*, I, 38).

But Europeans did adapt even to climate, rising, working, and socializing before dawn; delaying main mealtimes; experimenting with local food, prophylaxis, and remedies. They could regard travel and warmer climes as therapeutic, not unsettling; so sea voyages were favored in eighteenth-century India. Henry Fielding, having been "in the opinion of all men, dying of a complication of disorders," removed "to a warmer climate" (1755) with the approval of "a very eminent physician."

Some will think that Harrison underestimates the impact of power. He often denies uniquely colonial forms and interestingly identifies elements of a "Eurasian knowledge system." But early Europeans praised India's climatic beneficence and railed against its pestilent air, heat, and humidity (linked with a particular theory of disease but also with fecundity and sensuality). Later, having discovered affinities between Asian and European languages, religions, and societies, some still espoused universalism, although race theory predominated. Harrison stresses (*pace* Edward Said) that India was often not regarded as irredeemably "other." All told, this is a most persuasive analysis.

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AZRA ASGHAR ALI. *The Emergence of Feminism among Indian Muslim Women 1920–1947*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2000. Pp. xxi, 291. \$29.95.

In 1991, Madhu Kishwar, one of the founding editors of the Indian journal *Manushi*, wrote an essay with the self-declaratory title, "Why I am not a Feminist." The question of whether feminism has historically been indigenous to non-Western societies or has been imposed from "outside" has preoccupied scholars for several generations. Some, like Kumari Jayawardena in *Feminism and Nationalism in the Third World* (1986), have embraced the term and tracked its local and transnational origins. Others have documented the women's movement in India by folding the question into larger discussions of women's activism; Radha Kumar, for example, called her account of agitation for Indian women's rights *The History of Doing* (1993). Azra Asghar Ali confronts this question directly and (given the troubled fate of the term) somewhat unproblematically. In her view, feminism is "the awareness of constraints placed on women because of their gender system, [an awareness] involving new roles for women and new relations between women and men" (pp. xvii–xviii). Her emphasis is on feminism as the movement of Indian Muslim women into various arenas of the public sphere in the three decades before partition. Ali aims to dispel the myth that Muslim women were secluded from public life by nationalists



hostile to "the woman question" and to engage the question of why Muslim women in this period can and should be identified as feminists. Her conclusion is as straightforward as her definition of feminism: namely, that the emergence of a feminist movement was the "direct response to" and "consequence of" Muslim women's encounters with the West (p. 253), but that it is "Indian Muslim feminism" nonetheless.

To make her point, Ali focuses on five major areas in which elite Muslim women entered "public space" in the 1920s and 1930s: education, health care, social reform, political work, and literary culture. In the process, she writes prominent Muslim women into the familiar story of missionary and state-sponsored higher education in India; of medical institutions and public health; and of marriage legislation and metropolitan events like the Roundtable Conferences of the 1930s. These various "public spaces" are treated as discrete rather than as mutually constitutive domains. This is especially regrettable in the chapter devoted to "literary culture"; its segregation from the others prevents us from fully appreciating how the realm of culture may have served as the inspiration for political action—not to mention the ways in which "the literary" was itself politicized. The most original chapter is the one on Muslim women's involvement in maternity and child welfare work. Unfortunately, Ali tends simply to reintegrate Muslim women's work into the available narratives of elite Indian women's activism in the public health sphere rather than interrogating the class interests that the agendas of both Hindu and Muslim women reformers shared. Still, Ali draws attention to a number of underexamined prescriptive medical texts written by and for Muslim women that have the potential to complicate our understanding of how the body of the Muslim woman, both real and imagined, figured in formulas for "Indian" modernity.

Given the relative scarcity of historical work in English on Muslim women in India, this book is a welcome addition to a growing corpus of scholarship that documents the history of women in South Asia. As Anupama Rao and others have observed, the narratives that dominate this historiographical landscape have been animated by the logic of "Brahmanical feminism"—by which is meant not simply the tendency to privilege gender over caste but also to equate the story of elite Hindu women with that of "Indian women" in toto. Although she does not situate her work in such theoretical debates, Ali intends her monograph to fill a "gap" in the scholarship on Muslim women in India (p. xvii). That she continues the focus on elite women, and not very self-consciously, testifies to the analytical limits of a "recovery" project, however necessary such recuperation might be. This is no doubt why the story she tells about Muslim women will end up looking so familiar not just to historians of Indian women but to scholars of upper and middle-class women involved in modern feminist and nationalist movements around the world as well. Such recognizability is not the result of a transcultural patriarchal

system. It is, rather, one consequence of foregrounding the voices and the experiences of those women whose comparatively privileged structural position has given them enduring visibility in the historical record—the constraints of British imperial and Hindu nationalist hegemonies notwithstanding.

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S. MAHMUD ALI. *Cold War in the High Himalayas: The USA, China and South Asia in the 1950s*. New York: St. Martin's. 1999. Pp. xxxviii, 286. \$59.95.

S. Mahmud Ali reinterprets South Asian international relations between the partition of British India and the Sino-Indian Border War of 1962. He reassesses the foreign policy of Indian Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru, which, on the surface, combined nonalignment in the Cold War; cultivation of China's friendship as based on *panshil* (five principles of coexistence) in their 1954 treaty, and insufficient attention to China's threat to Indian security. When a later prime minister, Moraji Desai, told the Indian Parliament in 1978 that India and the United States had collaborated "at the highest political level" in covert operations against China, he shattered the complacency of the Indian body politic, which had a long history of criticizing America's anti-Indian intrusions in the subcontinent, most notably its military alliance with Pakistan and its "tilt" toward Pakistan during the 1971 war that created Bangladesh. Making extensive use of U.S. documents, some recently declassified, and, to a lesser extent, Indian sources, Ali traces Indo-American covert cooperation to 1947, when Nehru permitted the United States Air Force to use bases in India for missions in support of Chiang Kai-Shek's Kuomintang.

China's seizure of Tibet was the most important issue that pulled Washington and New Delhi into collaborative containment. The People's Liberation Army (PLA) march into Tibet in 1950 convinced Nehru that the newly established Communist government in Beijing threatened India's security and led to the first formal military assistance agreement with the United States, which brought joint support of Tibetan resistance. Backed also by Taiwan and Pakistan, the Tibetan guerrillas continued their struggle throughout the 1950s and 1960s, despite the PLA's superior size and firepower. Nehru thus emerges as a skillful practitioner of *realpolitik*, a leader who recognized the Chinese threat and balanced nonalignment and *panshil* with a clandestine alliance with the United States.

Ali concludes that the Indo-American covert support ill-served the Tibetans and contributed to the savagery visited upon them by the Chinese. All-out overt intervention or none at all would have been preferable to the limited assistance that enabled the resistance to fight on with the false expectation of unending and larger external aid.

Ali's sympathetic portrait of the Tibetans and their

manipulation by outside powers is the most compelling aspect of this book. Underlying the Tibetan tragedy were the imperatives of geopolitics: while the Chinese regarded Tibet a nonnegotiable matter of national sovereignty, the Americans, Indians, and Pakistanis always considered it within the context of broader concerns. Pakistan, once America's "most allied allies," felt increasingly vulnerable and moved toward accommodation with China. India balanced its covert ties with the United States and its status as the largest recipient of U.S. economic aid by strengthening its economic and diplomatic links with the Soviet Union. To limit Sino-Soviet influence in the region, the United States worked to reconcile India and Pakistan but failed to appreciate their fundamental differences. Above all, the intractable issue of Kashmir was a "zero-sum game in which the slightest compromise would be no less than defeat, something neither could accept" (p. 187).

China's 1962 assault forced Nehru to seek direct U.S. military support. The Kennedy administration responded quickly. During this darkest moment in independent India's history, Nehru pursued a formal alliance, but Washington's insistence on detente between India and Pakistan strained relations with both countries and led to an abrupt decline in its influence.

The criticism of U.S. policy has merit, but it is not clear what alternative course the United States should have pursued to enhance regional stability. Ali's argument that the profoundly different founding principles of India and Pakistan created a rivalry without end seems as compelling today as in the early years of independence. Another reading of South Asian history, however, would suggest that, despite the depth of the antagonism, the leaders in India and Pakistan have acted with restraint during crises; the subcontinent's three wars since 1947, while tragic, have been brief. And although it is important for historians to understand the covert side of Indo-American relations, there may be a tendency to overstate its significance, for the record presented by Ali underlines a relatively low level of commitment on both sides to a cause in Tibet that they implicitly recognized had little chance of success.

Ali at times devotes too much attention to the details of documents, and he ought to have incorporated the works of a number of American and Indian scholars, notably Robert J. McMahon, Dennis Kux, and Shivaji Ganguly. Overall, however, he recounts a complex story with clarity and sensitivity.

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#### CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES

PETER MOOGK. *La Nouvelle France: The Making of French Canada—A Cultural History*. East Lansing: Michigan State University Press. 2000. Pp. xix, 340. \$25.95.

This is not cultural history of the postmodern or modern kind. Neither a study of discourse nor of *mentalité*, it is rather a meditation upon what nineteenth-century historians still unashamedly labeled "national character." As such, it is best understood as a contribution to Canada's long-running and anguished debate about the "two solitudes," the disparate worlds of French and English Canadians.

Peter Moogk traces the "distinctive character" (p. xiii) of French Canadians primarily to the legacy of New France, defined—in contrast to that of the British colonies—as "compassionate authoritarianism" (p. 86), ideological conformity, dogmatic thinking stemming from a civil law tradition, and social conservatism. This emphasis on the fundamental difference between French and British colonization, while a staple of the historiography since Francis Parkman, goes against the more recent trend toward Atlantic history and adds to the old-fashioned flavor of the book. In the 1950s and 1960s, similar arguments about the French propensity for rigid, abstract thinking and incapacity for self-organization and lobbying were used to explain France's economic backwardness—until France ceased to be economically backward. Should Canada ever succeed in resolving its perpetual constitutional crisis, this book, too, may lose some of its *raison d'être*. Yet there is much of value to be found here. As a succinct compendium of much recent scholarship, it will prove useful to anyone with an interest in early Canadian history.

The book, which is arranged topically, begins with an overview of French settlements in North America from Newfoundland to the Illinois Country, exclusive of Louisiana. It then explores a number of important themes, among them French-Amerindian relations, government and law, immigration, and colonial society. The chapter on Indians tells the familiar story of their failure to assimilate fully into New French society, even when they accepted Christianity, and couples it with an account of the developing myth of the noble savage. The chapter on government and law describes the implantation of an authoritarian and religiously intolerant welfare state, whose civil law tradition valued the patriarchal family over individual autonomy and dogmatic idealism over pragmatism. The insistence on the civil law as a formative influence is perhaps overstated. While "family individualism" (p. 65), or the drive for family self-sufficiency, was certainly powerful in New France, so too was personal autonomy, as embodied most notably in the half-savage figure of the *coureur de bois* or *voyageur*. Indeed, the mythic struggle between the security of the hearth and the call of the wild has been a staple of French-Canadian literature for two centuries. Likewise, if a civil law tradition fosters dogmatic idealism, in contrast to an Anglo-American spirit of compromise, are today's Louisianians more like Quebecers in this regard than other Americans?

The discussion of immigration again covers familiar territory, with one interesting exception. By comparing

British records for half a dozen French ships seized during the wars of the mid-eighteenth century with French records in the ports of departure, Moogk is able to show that the latter were often falsified. He writes, "Up to a quarter of the surviving notarial service contracts may be fraudulent. Whoever attempts to reconstruct the history of emigration from French ports during the 1700s from embarkation lists, ships' rolls, and notarial deeds, as though they were firm evidence, is walking into quicksand" (p. 104). As it happens, these records have already been used extensively to reconstruct the pattern of French emigration, particularly from Bordeaux, as studied by Jean-Pierre Poussou and his collaborators. Most of these emigrants were bound for the West Indies rather than Canada, but presumably cheating occurred regardless of destination, in order to make it appear that laws mandating a minimum number of passengers were being obeyed. It is unclear how much such fraud would affect the overall profile (as opposed to the volume) of French emigration, but the issue is certainly worthy of further investigation.

Moogk's subsequent chapters explore the emergence of a distinct colonial society, with attention to such topics as group loyalties, the family, and magic and religion. In conclusion, this is a book well worth reading, whether or not one shares completely the author's vision of New France or his conviction of its formative influence on the French Canada of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries.

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ÉRIC AMYOT. *Le Québec entre Pétain et de Gaulle: Vichy, la France Libre et les Canadiens Français 1940-1945*. Saint-Laurent, Québec: Fides. 1999. Pp. 365.

During a visit to Montreal's Expo 1967, General Charles de Gaulle declared: "Vive le Québec! Vive le Québec libre! Vive le Canada français et vive la France!" in a planned attempt to boost the political fortunes of the emerging Québécois neonationalist and separatist movements and to advance the geopolitical interests of France. His intended visit to Ottawa was cancelled by Prime Minister Lester B. Pearson, who asked de Gaulle to leave immediately. At the time, few Canadians recalled that this was not de Gaulle's first visit to Canada. Indeed, General de Gaulle had made a triumphant tour of Ottawa, Quebec City, and Montreal in July 1944 as the co-president of the French Committee of National Liberation, soon to be transformed into the Provisional Government of the French Republic as the Allied Forces pushed back the Germans.

Contrary to the imbroglio of the second visit, which the Canadian government had foreseen but had not tried to prevent, de Gaulle's triumphant tour of 1944 was the culmination of a remarkable and dramatic turn of events that the Canadian government had initially stalled and then aided and abetted. Éric Amyot reveals

in his superbly researched, lucidly written, and brilliantly analyzed account how the minuscule Gaullist forces defeated their far more powerful and entrenched Pétainist rivals in both France and North Africa as well as throughout Canada's French-Canadian communities. The United States' role in the struggle between the Vichy regime and Free France is well documented, and the historiography is mature and highly revealing of the complexities of both the French and American societies. Amyot's study is the first comprehensive account of how this titanic struggle was played out in Canada, primarily in Quebec's French-Canadian community but also in the corridors of power of Prime Minister William L. Mackenzie King's wartime Ottawa.

The traditional historiography maintains that the Pétain-de Gaulle (Vichy-Free France) struggle was a fixation exclusively of French-Canadian nationalistic clerical, political, and intellectual elites. To the contrary, Amyot demonstrates quite convincingly that ordinary French Canadians were preoccupied by the plight of France and became embroiled in the political and ideological battles over France's questionable survival and its future if it did survive. Indeed, Mackenzie King's Liberal government, very conscious of the French-Canadian community's widespread initial support for the Vichy regime of Henri-Philippe Pétain, for purposes of national unity felt obliged to recognize Pétain's diplomatic representatives well into 1943, despite the overt hostility of a large majority of English-speaking Canadians.

Amyot contends, with solid evidence and rational argument, that the vast majority of French Canadians had an ambiguous attitude toward the Vichy regime. They supported Vichy not for its much-hated collaboration with Nazi Germany but because they identified with, and supported, Pétain's "national revolution." A still largely rural and traditional French-Canadian society, led by extremely conservative clerical, political, and intellectual elites, longed for an *ancien régime* France, one that re-embraced and fully supported traditional social, cultural, and religious values, behavior, and institutions (tarted up in the form of Catholic social corporatism). Indeed, most French Canadians were ecstatic to see the defeat of the corrupt, anticlerical, prosocialist Third Republic, even if it meant having to tolerate for a while the presence of the Germany's Nazi occupation forces. Unfortunately, what they got was far more than they dreamed of, including oppressive social and political policies and, of course, inhumane anti-Semitic beliefs and practices that took the lives of thousands of Jews.

How does Amyot explain the French Canadians' decision to shift their support and allegiance to the republican socialist, General de Gaulle, by late 1943 and early 1944? In fact, he reveals that the shift was slow, painful, and came in several stages as they watched the war develop in North Africa and responded to the competing propaganda wars of the declining Pétain and rising de Gaulle forces in Ottawa



and throughout Quebec. Once Pétain decided to go to war against the British and the Americans (following the November 1942 Allied invasion of North Africa and the Nazi occupation of the remainder of French soil), French Canadians were put in an awkward situation. As loyal Canadians, with sons fighting in Europe, French Canadians sided with the Allied Forces and wanted Adolf Hitler's Nazi forces defeated. Yet they remained wedded for a time to Pétain's "national revolution." This explains their support for General Henri Giraud, a strong anticollaborationist whom the Allies put in charge of the French forces in Africa, and who remained a staunch supporter of the "national revolution" once France was liberated from the Germans.

Once Vichy was formally at war with the Allies, Prime Minister Mackenzie King no longer feared for national unity. He quickly sent the Vichy regime's diplomatic corps packing and then waited for the outcome of the struggle between various French combatant forces for control over the Free France movement—as well as for results of the heated propaganda battle within Canada. Indeed, Mackenzie King pushed President Franklin Delano Roosevelt very hard to recognize the legitimacy of the French Committee of National Liberation. The politically inept Giraud proved to be no match for de Gaulle, who used his superb political skills, his panache, and his determination to take control of the French Committee of National Liberation and its successor, the Provisional Government of the French Republic. The effective combination of having the right person (Gabriel Bonneau) in charge of the de Gaulle forces in Canada and an expansive and very supportive liberal press and electronic media shifted the minds and hearts of a majority of French Canadians, beginning in August 1943.

Despite the opposition of the United States, by early summer 1944, de Gaulle asserted himself, with the full support of the free French, as the undisputed leader of postwar France. Succumbing to the inevitable, Roosevelt invited de Gaulle to visit Washington on July 2, 1944. Not to be outdone, Prime Minister Mackenzie King extend an invitation for July 11–12 which de Gaulle readily accepted. It was a perfect opportunity to enhance national unity by rewarding de Gaulle's growing legions of French and English-speaking Canadian supporters with the formal recognition of the legitimacy of his government. French-Canadian nationalistic clerical and intellectual elites were furious, but they no longer had the support of a majority of the French-Canadian people. By opting for de Gaulle and what he represented, French Canadians set out on their long march to political modernity, a process that would culminate in the "Quiet Revolution" of the 1960s, a triumphant return of their hero to Expo 67, and his cry for an independent Francophone Quebec that rang around the globe.

A great deal, much of it of questionable quality, has been written on de Gaulle's impact on Canada-France

relations following 1967. Amyot's excellent monograph puts these developments and the literature dealing with them in their proper historical perspective and will stand for a considerable time as the seminal study of the topic and the period. The book deserves to be translated so that it might reach a wide English-speaking readership inside and outside the historical profession.

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C. DALLETT HEMPHILL. *Bowing to Necessities: A History of Manners in America, 1620–1860*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1999. Pp. x, 310. \$35.00.

In her study of conduct works and etiquette books, C. Dallett Hemphill interprets the changing codes of behavior that served to regulate and represent social relations in America from the colonial era to the Civil War. Her analysis focuses on how the code varied with class, age, and gender and changed over the course of three distinctive periods. Until about 1740, she argues, the primary function of manners was to enforce hierarchical social relations. For middle-aged men of the social elite, the Chesterfieldian code of conduct set forth an aristocratic ideal of strict control of the body. For their inferiors—less prominent men, young men, and women—conduct books prescribed rituals of deference—literally the bowing and scraping of colonial life. In reality, colonial elites never received the degree of deference prescribed. New World "aristocrats" simply lacked the Old World credentials; the material conditions of American life exerted a leveling influence; and because they insisted on maintaining a monopoly over the code of self-control, colonial elites could not count on their inferiors to internalize the behaviors associated with deference.

The period stretching from 1740 to 1820 saw a rejection of patriarchal forms of social organization and the rise in status of the middling sort, adolescent men, and women. Manners, Hemphill argues, allowed these groups to act out their new roles. The newer conduct books were now largely authored by and addressed to members of the middling classes. They focused on relations among peers, discouraged expressions of servility, and instructed their readers in the once exclusively aristocratic code of bodily self-control. Ambitious men were drawn to this code of self-mastery not as a way of aping the aristocracy but as a set of behaviors emblematic of their status as "men without masters." Even as they rejected the aristocracy's basis of power, they "seized the aristocratic armor of manners and remade it for their own purposes" (p. 68). The diffusion of the "secrets of gentility" (p. 215) among young men and among women was a sign of their rising status in this "revolutionary" world as well. Conduct books offered instruction to women that differed little from that addressed to men, inviting them to participate in what had formerly been a man's world. Only women, how-



ever, were repeatedly schooled in the ways of modesty. Thus would female manners serve to ward off the sexual danger posed by the social intercourse of the sexes.

In the antebellum era, Hemphill argues, manners served to disguise the contradictions of inequality in a nominally egalitarian society. Class inequalities were masked by the silent exclusion of all but the respectable from the code of manners, but the critical innovation in manners, and the critical cultural work they performed, was in the area of gender. A new "ladies first" code of etiquette characterized a social world ostensibly ruled by women. But the deference required of men to their "rulers" was not that rendered by inferiors but, quite the opposite, a set of protective behaviors required by female inferiority. Hemphill argues that making women the apparent rulers in social affairs served to compensate them for their exclusion from economic and political power, thus providing a "ritual solution" (p. 221) to the disquieting anomaly of inequality in America. Women may have bought into this regime, Hemphill speculates, because it placed the burden of women's sexual safety on men, requiring them to control their sexual impulses.

Hemphill's keen sensitivity to the ways in which the code of manners changed over time and varied with class, age, and gender enables her to detect innovations—peer relations, middling audiences, ladies first—that signal real social and cultural shifts. Her findings shed considerable light on current debates among historians. She argues that, well before the Revolution, assertive and ambitious Americans were rejecting aristocratic power and formulating a middle-class ethos based on self-mastery. There was no tension between aristocratic refinement and republican equality, she insists, since refinement was arrogated toward egalitarian ends. And she questions the rigid separation of antebellum life into male and female spheres, pointing to the "social sphere" as evidence of a world of experience shared by both sexes.

Questions remain. How are we to distinguish emulation from appropriation of the aristocratic code of manners? Are Lord Chesterfield's rules for comporting one's body truly the ancestor of the Victorian rules for controlling physical appetites? How can one establish that the motive for "ladies first" was the need to mask inequality? Nevertheless, Hemphill makes important and original contributions to debates on our understanding of the workings of class and gender in America.

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ROBERT C. FULLER. *Stairways to Heaven: Drugs in American Religious History*. Boulder, Colo.: Westview. 2000. Pp. ix, 237. \$27.50.

The history of American popular religion, religious innovation, and "unchurched" religious experience

outside the confines of sects and denominations provides ample evidence of the use of mind-altering substances including peyote, LSD, jimson weed, hallucinogenic mushrooms, marijuana, wine, and coffee, which have served as "elixirs of ecstasy." Here religiously motivated drug use assisted individuals in their spiritual quest for innerworldly mystical experience. Drugs were also integral to rituals that sustained communities of faith. Robert C. Fuller even suggests, citing psychopharmacology, that human societies actively pursue drug-induced intoxication as a spiritual quest for ecstasy, akin to a species-specific fourth drive added to the basic drives of hunger, thirst, and sex. He develops this interdisciplinary approach, combining secondary historical sources with anthropological and sociological writings, to examine four descriptive case studies: Native American religions and the peyote cult of the Native American Church; psychedelics and metaphysical illumination during the counterculture in the 1960s; wine use among denominations and new religious movements; and coffee and marijuana in unchurched spirituality.

Fuller wishes to avoid generalizations about Native American religions. Nevertheless, he develops an ideal typical construct that is not situated within any concrete tribal or historical context. According to this formulaic approach, Native Americans have devised a religious complex ("New World Narcotic Complex") that invests sacred meaning to botanicals that aid in the interaction with the spirit world. Shamans variously employ tobacco, tulpi, datura, and mescal to attain ritualized ecstasy and to communicate with the supernatural world by means of trances, vision quests, and divinations. "The Shamanic Complex"—the ecstatic flights of the soul—allow these specialists to diagnose and cure, find lost objects, predict the future, protect persons from supernatural and natural dangers, and maintain and restore harmonious relations with the spirit world.

Fuller employs this ideal type in a compelling account of peyotism among Huichol and other southwestern tribes during early Spanish colonization and the subsequent Americanization and Christianization of this religion following the failure of the Ghost Dance revitalization in 1890 and the devastating consequences of reservation life. The pan-Indian movement incorporated in 1918 as the Native American Church was a syncretism of Christian sacramental ritual and Native American shamanism. Fuller recounts the decades of state suppression of the ritual use of peyote and the recent United States Supreme Court decisions and Religious Freedom Restoration Act (1993) that have legitimated peyote use. Peyote religion, however, like other Native religious practices, was not repressed only because of sacramental drug use. Missionary groups, Indian boarding schools, Bureau of Indian Affairs agents on reservations, and even "progressive" tribal factions actively attempted to eradicate Native language, mythology, and religion.

The discussion of the psychedelic movement care-

fully details the rise of LSD as a medium to achieve metaphysical illumination of an alternative reality. Championed by Aldous Huxley, Timothy Leary, Richard Alpert, and others, Fuller asserts that this movement restructured American religion. Following the emergence of the Hippie counterculture in San Francisco's Haight Ashbury during the 1967 Summer of Love and the allure of Eastern mysticisms associated with the Fourth Great Awakening after World War II, "psychedelics led a good many Americans down the road toward a more Romantic, postmodern, and unchurched form of spiritual thinking. Even among those who didn't use them, psychedelics were a symbol of metaphysical illumination available to all who venture past the narrow confines of consensus religion" (p. 89).

Fuller details the ritual use of wine among acculturated mainstream denominations such as Episcopalians, Catholics, Lutherans, and Jews and the ascetic rejection of wine in the nineteenth century by "grape juice Christians," (Methodists, Baptists, and evangelicals). Here wine was not an elixir of ecstasy but helped foster a sense of group identity and community solidarity. Wine also played an important part among new religious sects. Among the Love Feasts in the Amana Colony of Iowa, early Mormonism in the time of Joseph Smith, and the religious enthusiasm of Thomas Lake Harris's Brotherhood of the New Life, wine promoted "social jollification," holy intoxication, and ecstatic experiences.

The final case study examines the emerging postmodern unchurched spirituality exemplified by "aesthetic delight" and the valorization of natural pleasures through the use of coffee as a sacramental beverage in coffee house culture and "marijuana and the celebration of interiority." This chapter fails to persuade that people in search of postmodern spirituality heighten their attainment of a transcendental Other through these drugs in these settings.

Each chapter-length case study develops a discrete illustration of Fuller's thesis that drugs assisted Americans in achieving spiritual attainments and community. It is unclear throughout this book whether the author's central focus is ecstatic religion or drug-induced religiosity. Fuller struggles in his concluding chapter to ascertain the general historical or sociological significance of this "quest for ecstasy" in America. To answer this question, he might have attempted a comparative analysis of religious enthusiasm and ecstatic religion in America, considering religious innovations that eschewed drugs such as the evangelical pietism of the Great Awakenings, the Holiness movement, Pentecostalism, early Shakerism and Methodism, and many others forms of popular religion. Ann Taves, in *Fits, Trances and Visions: Experiencing Religion and Explaining Difference from Wesley to James* (1999), offers important insights into the historical significance of ecstatic religion in America.

Instead, Fuller introduces tangential discussions of the legality and extra-legality of religious drug use, poses the question of whether or not drug-induced

ecstasies make valid truth claims, and attempts to define under what conditions drug-induced ecstasy promotes "mature spirituality." Despite its limitations, the book introduces an important and neglected subject in American religion that should encourage renewed interest by historians and social scientists.

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BILOINE WHITING YOUNG and MELVIN L. FOWLER. *Cahokia: The Great Native American Metropolis*. Champaign: University of Illinois Press. 2000. Pp. xi, 366. Cloth \$55.00, paper \$24.95.

In the 800s, ancestors of modern Native Americans began to develop what became the Mississippian culture, a way of life that lasted until the first Europeans invaded the Southeast. Based on extensive maize cultivation, this society developed settlements connected by trade relations and stretching from Minnesota to Mississippi. By about 950, the Mississippians living at what is now called the American Bottom in Illinois, just east of St. Louis, came together to begin the settlement of Cahokia. This community, which got its name from one of the tribes of the later Illinois Confederacy, became the largest center of Native population in America north of Mexico. Stretching more than six miles in each direction, the city had a population of between 15,000 and 25,000. Within its boundary stood at least 100 earthen mounds, some more than 100 feet high and covering an area larger than a football field. Because of its size, the large population strained the local resources badly. Gradually they depleted the forests, and that led to increased erosion and flooding that disrupted food production. Then, having to deal with the garbage and sewage for 15,000 or more people posed difficulties. Surviving evidence suggests that when Cahokia's rulers proved unable to deal with these threats their city faded away.

This book traces the history of archaeological awareness and work at the Cahokia site and the professional career of Melvin Fowler, one of the pioneer scientists to work there. From the 1769, when George Rogers Clark described the site to *The American Magazine*, to the 1950s, amateurs dominated investigations of the mounds. Then Fowler began his decades-long career working first for the Illinois State Museum and later for the University of Wisconsin at Milwaukee. He and other scholars faced repeated shortages of funds and the continuing efforts of farmers, builders, and land owners to use the thousands of tons of soil in the mounds for local construction projects.

The federal highway survey accompanying the building of the interstate highway system in the 1960s brought an urgency and an opportunity to do large-scale, serious investigations at Cahokia. Guided by aerial photographs, scholars located dozens of mounds, the outlines of defensive palisades, and the sites of dwellings and temples. Repeated archaeological research since then has raised frequent debates

about the origins, extent, and influence of the Mississippian peoples of western Illinois. Some suggest that the culture resulted from efforts by Mexican traders who provided both the ideas and the leadership for the society. Others propose the opposite: North American influences in some prehistoric Mexican civilizations. While this book has no central thesis, much of it focuses on such issues. It provides a narrative history of the scholarship about the site—rather than of the society that inhabited Cahokia—that brings the professional debates down to the present. Much of the analysis is likely to be of more interest to archaeologists than to most American historians.

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JUDITH S. GRAHAM. *Puritan Family Life: The Diary of Samuel Sewall*. Boston: Northeastern University Press. 2000. Pp. xii, 283. \$40.00.

Judith S. Graham, in an exhaustive analysis of the papers of Samuel Sewall, judge, merchant, and councillor in colonial New England, sets out to squash the myth of the unloved, harshly disciplined historical child. European historiography on the history of childhood, she claims, has affected the interpretation of Puritan family life. Scholars have been too quick to portray the Puritan family as being joyless and repressive, with parents intent on breaking the wills of their children. The family experiences of Samuel, his wife Hannah, and their fourteen children, six of whom survived to adulthood, supply a detailed case study that refutes this interpretation. This book covers the Sewall children from their birth to the lives of their own children, focusing, because of the source material, on their relationship with their father.

Graham describes a world with a great deal of sensitivity to an infant's needs, with no crushing counter force against a child's will, with a strict but affectionate religious education, with moderate punishments, and with recreational family outings. She rereads Sewall's comments and diary entries on his sick children and uncovers evidence of his commitment to his offspring and his grief at their untimely demise. She examines his scrupulous consideration of the most suitable career choice for his sons. Sewall steered but did not dictate the marriage choices of his children: he advised them against unsuitable liaisons, checked into such matters as economic security, and counseled them to accept a good offer, but the final decision lay with them. Two of his daughters as seventeen-year-olds turned down would-be suitors. Both parents apparently found joy and satisfaction in their parental roles and remained involved in their children's lives through adulthood.

Graham carefully integrates her research with the work of other historians and places Sewall's family in the context of the New England community. In the chapter discussing the births of the Sewall children, for example, Graham also examines attitudes to unnatural

births, the bearing of illegitimate children, and infanticide. She contrasts the desperate circumstances of women found guilty of killing their newborns with the joyful expectation of another baby in the Sewall household. Sewall, as judge, presided over several trials of women accused of infanticide and sentenced those found guilty to death.

The book is best when Graham has a new interpretation to offer, rather than merely corroborating and amplifying those who have challenged the black legend of childhood in the past. Thus, for example, in her analysis of the reasons why the Sewall children left home for extended stays in the households of others, she discards arguments that this practice alleviated sexual tensions or, by subjecting children to the strict discipline imposed on servants and apprentices, fostered community consensus. Sewall's children were sent away from home as the need arose: either because they were sick and needed alternative care, or to improve their education, or for social experience or for apprenticeship. Sewall did not relinquish parental authority when his children left home, and he visited them. Leaving home could cause the children stress, and Graham disputes the idea that Puritan adolescence was not a turbulent time. She concludes that the term "putting out" should be retained only for those relationships in which there were clear economic arrangements made and abandoned for visits to do with affairs of schooling, or preparing for a calling, or medical reasons, or family visits.

Too often, the book amounts to only a series of vignettes, recounting the experiences of courtship, marriage, and professional vicissitudes, without probing underneath the surface. Graham also elects to remain within the paradigm of research into the history of childhood, asking, for example, the same type of questions, and hence she does little to push the history of childhood in a new direction. This is, however, a thorough and sensitive exploration of one family's concepts and practices of child rearing.

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JON BUTLER. *Becoming America: The Revolution before 1776*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2000. Pp. x, 324. \$27.95.

What then was this American Revolution, this new start in the New World?

Jon Butler traces the remarkable evolution between 1680 and 1770 of the British mainland colonies. He shows how the initially distinct societies, economies, politics, and cultures developed along convergent lines to produce an ensemble that its politically conscious inhabitants could recognize as their "America." They were by then part of "the first modern society" (p. 7). And they were on the brink of "the first modern revolution, the model for the French Revolution of 1789, and subsequently for so many nineteenth- and twentieth-century revolutions" (p. 227).



The plan of this book is simple, strong, and effective. Under five big chapter headings—"Peoples," "Economy," "Politics," "Things Material," and "Things Spiritual"—Butler reviews comprehensively the great changes that transformed the American colonies from rather primitive, still very English, offshoot societies into a burgeoning, ethnically plural modern society in 1770.

That transformation is the (slow, quiet) "revolution before 1776" of the book's subtitle. The overview is comprehensive and draws together fast-growing literatures on the cultural demography, the production and consumption, the governmental systems, the built environments, and the (perhaps) "sacralized" landscapes created by the rapid multiplication of voluntary religious organizations. Furthermore, Butler's set of comprehensive overviews is *not* a celebration of white male prowess; we also learn in some detail what Indians and African Americans came to eat, wear, and believe, as well as what white women were contributing to that fast-changing world. Readers, then, are certain to end up—as did this reviewer—grateful for so constructive a synthesis of much of the busy scholarship of the last decades.

The concluding short chapter of the book is entitled "1776." It is a presentation of Butler's theory of how the sudden revolution of that year related to the more gradual modernization revolution that he has traced through the body of the book.

The problem with this first-modern-society narrative (both as social history and as background to big-event history) is that it inevitably flickers in and out of the American exceptionalist origin myth. "Modern" is a vague term at best, and Butler declines to make it more explicit (p. 251, n. 1). So, the word becomes synonymous with "American." Indeed, the book's title says it all: becoming modern was becoming American. Surely we need a way to avoid this circularity.

There *is* a way out of this bind. Let the very vague term "first modern" be replaced by the distinctly signifying descriptor: "first society fairly comprehensively organized on capitalist/free-market lines." With "capitalist" substituted for "modern," American history and its inaugural event, the American Revolution, are securely replaced where they belong—in world history. The Revolution, after all, is important not just as the birth-of-the-nation moment in nationalist historiography. (Not that the nationalist aspect is unimportant; the American Revolution *was* a vital part of the process that has made nationalism the world's most pervasive form of political ideology.)

The greatest weakness in Butler's fine book is its lack of systematic comparisons with modernization processes in the larger world of the eighteenth century. In particular, it needed more sustained recognition that the dynamic of expanding capitalism came not from America but from Europe, primarily London. That recognition would then raise explicitly appropriate questions as to why it was that the great revolutionary paradigm shifts first occurred at the forward

front of capitalism's aggressive expansion, America, and not at its central command post, England.

In the 1776 "moment," changed assumptions that had been long in gestation were explicitly reformulated as a new account of the relationship of individual, society, economy, government, and religion. "The subjects" (defined hierarchically) were replaced by "the citizens" (equal white males). This was the central element of the social world reimagined as the domain of "brothers" who mutually contracted to govern themselves, and who declared themselves free to pursue their own happiness. This was not so much an American invention as the benign vision of the Enlightenment, and so the central construct of the first phase of the long-running bourgeois revolution.

America has now become the world's dominant nation: the powerhouse of mature capitalism. Butler's careful assembling of a comprehensive account of the initial emergence of this "first modern," capital-led, capital-driven society is a very valuable contribution to the history of the world we all live in—Americans and the rest.

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JOHN FERLING. *Setting the World Ablaze: Washington, Adams, Jefferson and the American Revolution*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2000. Pp. xxiv, 392. \$30.00.

John Ferling tracks the careers of three leading revolutionaries in this entertaining history of the American Revolution. Having already written fine biographies of George Washington and John Adams, Ferling had at first intended to give Thomas Jefferson equal treatment. But Ferling says he jettisoned this project as he came to see the virtues of a comparative approach. The truth is, Jefferson simply did not measure up.

For Washington, the Revolution was "the chance of a lifetime to capture enduring fame" (p. 107), and Adams saw in it "the opportunity for an individual to achieve whatever his merit could earn" (p. 123). But the "sybaritic" and "reclusive" Jefferson was a much more reluctant revolutionary: he already "seemed to have everything that he had ever desired" (p. 54). Jefferson's wartime record shows him to have been "the least committed to service and sacrifice" of Ferling's three subjects, "the least capable of fully and adequately filling the great offices he held" (p. 303). Whatever their failings—and Washington certainly failed often enough on the battlefield—Washington and Adams both "achieved historical greatness" (p. 306). Through "their unflagging and altruistic dedication to the long struggle for independence" they formed the Revolution's "bedrock" (p. 304).

Without Jefferson to serve as a foil, Washington's warts would be much more conspicuous in this portrait. The "blundering" commander-in-chief nearly lost the war before it had properly begun when the British



occupied New York in the late summer of 1776 (p. 139). But Washington stayed the course and "met the test of wartime leadership," surviving his own strategic miscalculations as he impatiently waited for the French to deliver the decisive support that finally materialized at Yorktown in October 1781 (p. 244). Though Ferling is unsparing in his criticism of Washington's battlefield performances, he joins Adams in extolling the general's "integrity, industry, courage, administrative skills, and sagacity" (p. 278).

Adams himself clearly evokes Ferling's greatest admiration. When Adams and Jefferson were congressional colleagues in 1776, it was Adams who took the lead, driven by "a revolutionary idealism that matched, and at times exceeded that of his Virginia counterpart" (p. 126). Adams devoted himself obsessively to the Revolution, first as "a sagacious, tireless, and courageous congressman" and then as "an intrepid and farsighted diplomat" (p. 305). Meanwhile, Jefferson spent much of the war at home, except for his miserable tenure as Virginia's governor, his "idealism" belied by the "reprehensible" criminal code he proposed in his revision of the commonwealth's laws, not to mention his continuing willingness to "live amid the affluence provided by the toil of his slave laborers" (pp. 161, 167). Neither the irascible Adams nor the proud and pompous Washington was flawless, but the flaws of both reinforced their commitment to the common cause. Rarely at home during the war's long duration, both paid a heavy price for their patriotism: when Adams pushed himself to and beyond his limits he was evidently afflicted with debilitating and life-threatening attacks of thyrotoxicosis. Both patriots recognized that "the greatest threat to the Revolution was posed" by the reluctance of their fellow Americans to make such sacrifices for the common good (p. 201). And "when Washington and Adams thought of men of talent who refused to sacrifice to sustain the American Revolution, each thought of Jefferson" (p. 205).

The most positive thing that Ferling can bring himself to say about Jefferson is that his "faintheartedness"—his solipsistic self-indulgence and aversion to risk—makes him all the "more bewitchingly human" (pp. 163, 303). I suppose that means we faint-hearted moderns can identify with Jefferson more easily than with his revolutionary colleagues. But Ferling himself is certainly not bewitched, and it is unlikely that his readers will be after this devastating portrait. Ferling's debunking of Jefferson recalls Adams's dogged efforts to set the historical record straight and is of a piece with much recent Jefferson scholarship, including Joseph J. Ellis's *American Sphinx* (1997). Adams himself was ultimately able to offer a more generous assessment of his old friend's contributions to nation-making. But animus is an asset in this engrossing study. Ferling has successfully focused our attention on the tortured progress of a revolution that first had to be won—largely by the sacrifices of others—before Jefferson could overcome the ignominy of his own disap-

pointing, if not disgraceful, wartime performances and ascend to the pantheon of national heroes.

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DEREK H. DAVIS. *Religion and The Continental Congress 1774–1789: Contributions to Original Intent*. (Religion in America Series.) New York: Oxford University Press. 2000. Pp. xiv, 309. \$39.95.

Derek H. Davis's book offers a fresh, informative account of official "American" actions and attitudes toward religion before the implementation of the United States Constitution. Davis, who directs Baylor University's Institute of Church-State Relations, examines how the First and Second Continental Congresses treated religious issues and how that treatment affected the Constitution, including the composition and application of the First Amendment's religion clauses. While Davis's efforts at extrapolating from his research to contemporary issues of religion, state, and society may not be as compelling as his historical investigation, the book does contribute to current discussion of those thorny matters as well. The official records of the Continental Congress, along with records of the Constitutional Convention and the published writings of the 337 men who served at least one term as delegates to the Continental Congress, are the sources that Davis puts to good use.

The study's central conclusion is that thinking in the new nation's first Congress was moving in a separationist direction, yet with considerable accommodation to a wide range of officially sanctioned religious practices. The separationist tendency was revealed most clearly by what Davis defines as the meaning of "the separation of church and state" for these founders: the national government would not support an established church (a principle that led to pressure on existing state establishments, all of which were subsequently repealed during the first decades under the Constitution); freedom of religious practice should be expanded as far as possible; there should be no religious tests for public office (which became the only guideline mentioning religion taken up into the Constitution). Yet within the context of ever-expanding notions of religious freedom, Davis also carefully charts the many accommodations made in the period 1774 to 1789 with respect to religion. The Continental Congress called for public days of thanksgiving and prayer; it authorized prayers to open its daily sessions and retained chaplains to offer them; it attended sermons (including Roman Catholic sermons) and church funerals in a body; it sponsored chaplains in the military; it used much more language about God in official documents than would appear in the Constitution; it incorporated religious symbols into the nation's Great Seal; and it provided federal lands in the Northwest Ordinance of 1787 for education in order to promote "Religion, morality, and knowledge" (Article 3, quoted p. 169). Davis's conclusion about these actions is that the

framers were achieving “the real beginning of political modernity” (p. 205) by deliberately ruling out a religious establishment at a time when no other Western state had done so. Yet Davis also shows that most of the Congress’ actions were as much the result of pragmatic efforts to achieve immediate results as they were consistently reasoned efforts at establishing carefully defined principles. An outstanding chapter on “virtue” displays Davis’s reasoning at its most persuasive: these founders were convinced that virtue was essential to the survival of republics and they also felt that organized religion was the most reliable promoter of virtue, yet they deliberately refrained from providing any agencies or actions of their own to promote directly either virtue or religious support for virtue. Other high points include descriptions of why deists Benjamin Franklin and Thomas Jefferson were so eager to incorporate biblical as well as classical symbols in the seal and how skillfully a few Quakers used the Congress’ own principles to defend themselves against oppressive action by the Pennsylvania legislature. Throughout, Davis also demonstrates that the Continental Congress acted consistently in referring religious questions to the states.

This successful book has only a few problems. It is occasionally repetitious. It would have benefited from the use of additional standard treatments, like Peter Brock or Richard K. MacMaster on American pacifists, or Eugene R. Sheridan and Dickinson W. Adams’s editions of Thomas Jefferson’s writings on religion. The largest gap concerns the issue of slavery, which in this pre-Constitutional era was beginning to be treated with the religious and republican discourses that are central to the volume. Despite efforts to address modern arguments about separation, accommodation, and civil religion, the book’s account of contemporary factors that now make church-state debate so different from what it was in the period 1774–1789 is not quite as persuasive as Davis’s work on what actually went on in that period itself.

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ANDREW C. ISENBERG. *The Destruction of the Bison: An Environmental History, 1750–1920*. (Studies in Environment and History.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2000. Pp. xii, 206. \$24.95.

Simple stories are straightforward and reassuring in their accessibility. This is *not* a simple story, but it is one satisfying in its amplex and complexity. Andrew C. Isenberg takes the accepted historical narrative stressing Euro-American responsibility for the destruction of North American bison and complicates it by weaving in “the interactions among ecology, economy, and culture” (p. 4). Isenberg’s work challenges us to think multicausally; to embrace the dynamism of cultural and environmental systems instead of assuming long term stasis; to understand the consequences of interacting systems, which effect new ecological and

cultural permutations; and to see humans as part of rather than apart from their natural world, as actors rather than as simple victims or victimizers.

Isenberg divides his study into six chapters that both overlap and build upon each other. Chapter one describes grasslands environments and bison ecology in dense detail—a wake up call for historians to take biological processes seriously. Isenberg emphasizes environmental dynamism and the volatility of bison populations predating large scale exploitation of the Plains, arguing that human agency alone is insufficient to account for the near extinction of bison. Isenberg then describes the emergence of “nomad” Indians who moved out onto the Plains. He argues that the European biological invasion of horses and disease undermined the more sedentary village lifestyles and the diversified subsistence strategies of some Plains groups—hence his distinction between emerging buffalo hunting “nomads” (a convenient if problematic term for those moving seasonally through known or expanding territories) and village-dwelling Plains Indians who also hunted buffalo.

For those who chose the solar economy of sun to grass, horse, bison and human, fundamental cultural changes multiplied in synergy with the Plains ecology. Isenberg guides us through this “Nomadic Experiment,” elegantly describing the emergence of a complex and contradictory communal ethic within the individualism of Plains societies that led to the overhunting of an already impaired bison population. Here he addresses the realities and stereotypes of Indian-as-ecologist in an honest and even-handed manner, without casting blame or creating stereotypes himself. Isenberg skillfully balances and interweaves Indian oral tradition with Euro-American observations, acknowledging the ideal (cultural proscriptions) and the reality (periodic overhunting and waste) resulting from communal use of a “commons” resource by decentralized peoples.

Chapters four and five inject market forces into the story of ecological and cultural changes that had already prepared buffalo Indians for the hide trade and bison for near extinction. Isenberg outlines the impact of steamboats, wagon trails, livestock, and disease and correlates the emerging hide trade with the changing roles and status of Indian women. The final straw, of course, is the old familiar story of bison near extinction: treaties, soldiers, hunters, industrial expansion, and political premeditation. Isenberg tells this not as the beginning of the end but as the end itself. Even in this final phase he injects persistent ecological factors to demonstrate that “anthropogenic and environmental causes of bison mortality worked in concert” (p. 143). Ultimately it was not about Indians or Euro-Americans but about the dynamics among human, non-human, and environmental factors over hundreds of years. Herein lies the satisfying complexity in place of the simple story.

In a final chapter, Isenberg discusses preservationist attempts to salvage bison populations—attempts that

by the 1920s resulted in their domestication in private herds or the biotic islands of national parks. This is both a logical and an unfortunate ending for both bison and this history. Isenberg briefly addresses some modern issues, like the slaughter of bison ranging outside Yellowstone National Park during the 1990s, but he misses his chance to bring the story full circle by discussing the rise of the Intertribal Bison Cooperative (ITBC)—an organization of forty-nine member tribes seeking to return buffalo to Indian lands for the cultural and economic benefit of their peoples. In the ITBC we see another dynamic interplay of cultural, economic, and ecological factors contributing to the revitalization of potentially “wild” bison herds rather than to their extinction. Time will tell.

Isenberg's book is a powerful interdisciplinary synthesis, exhaustively researched, and keenly argued. It should find widespread use in the classroom for its methodology and contributions to historiographic debates in environmental and American Indian history.

DAVID RICH LEWIS  
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ROBERT BOYD. *The Coming of the Spirit of Pestilence: Introduced Infectious Diseases and Population Decline among Northwest Coast Indians, 1774–1874*. Seattle: University of Washington Press. University of British Columbia Press, Vancouver. 1999. Pp. xv, 403. \$50.00.

Just when you think there is nothing left to say about disease in Indian country, along comes Robert Boyd. True, Northwest Coast demographic history has been little explored except by Boyd himself over some twenty years. But by now, one should be able to predict the narrative in any part of North America: in a terrible onslaught, novel microbes arriving with Europeans caused epidemics killing thousands of indigenous people lacking immunity, effective preventive measures, and adequate treatment. When the diseases arrived, initially they struck what is commonly called virgin soil. They were truly horrifying; it is nearly impossible today to comprehend what it must have been like to be a member of a community struggling to contain novel sickness that defied known remedies. Ultimately the diseases also defied familiar explanations, and native people were far more open to conversion to the religions of the new people who did not die.

Boyd's story unfolds chronologically, beginning with smallpox in the 1770s and early 1800s, then taking up syphilis and tuberculosis (both introduced to the Northwest Coast from endemic regions elsewhere in the Americas) in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries; malaria, dysentery, influenza, and smallpox again in the 1830s; and finally measles and smallpox from the late 1840s to the early 1860s. Interested in epidemiology, Boyd is careful to amass as much evidence as possible for the spread and impact (mortality) of each disease event in specific regions of the Northwest Coast such as the North Coast, Columbia River

Drainage, Columbia River Plateau, Southwest Washington, Lower Fraser, and so on. He provides an extraordinary amount of documentary information and is careful to distinguish credible, first-hand reports from others less so or more removed in time and space. His accounts of the epidemiology of venereal disease and of malaria are especially valuable. Throughout, Boyd tends not to move beyond his evidence.

This is a careful book, but that is not its only strength. Indeed, what I find unusual and valuable is the wealth of Native testimony relating to specific diseases. This book goes far beyond most other examinations of the impact of disease on American Indians. Even if it makes for cumbersome reading (and Boyd's narrative is not reader friendly), the sheer interest of lengthy excerpts from a variety of contemporary and retrospective sources makes this book compelling. For example, the Kwakwaka'wakw affected perhaps with smallpox, whose body “was covered all over with mouths which all laughed and shouted at the same time” (p. 28); the Haida stories of the Pestilence spirit, who came in a canoe “like a white man's vessel,” out of which sparks flew (p. 54); the Chinook man who tried “to shake off what he wears,” an afflicted skin (p. 59); the theory along the Oregon coast that tuberculosis was caused by a sorcerer who introduced “a disease insect with a very hard shell and a number of legs” that entered a victim where it “[fed] on the tissues and [increased] in size” (pp. 80–81). Theories of disease causation ranged from spirits that resided in certain stakes or sticks to an orphaned child who was consequently buried alive, or sorcerers of European descent, or the south wind. Many Indians believed that disease could be contained in or released from a bottle, which non-Native traders and others used to advantage in seeking to alter Indian behavior.

Over the last forty years, scholars have debated passionately the size of the aboriginal population in the Americas. Boyd's soundest evidence suggests population declines on the Northwest Coast of sixty-six to ninety percent. His final population figures are slightly higher than those in the more conservative recent analyses. In other words, simply because diseases were so horrifying does not also mean aboriginal populations of astronomical size. Boyd's is the latest analysis pointing to this conclusion.

SHEPARD KRECH III  
Brown University

STUART BANNER. *Legal Systems in Conflict: Property and Sovereignty in Missouri, 1750–1860*. (Legal History of North America, number 7.) Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 2000. Pp. xiii, 206. \$39.95.

This study of conflicting legal systems in Upper Louisiana is the seventh volume in a series—the Legal History of North America—under the general editorship of Gordon Morris Bakken. Stuart Banner's book is a welcome addition to that series. Broadly considered, the study examines the connections and the



transformations that occurred in one of the divisions of the French and Spanish legal order that fell outside the jurisdiction of Louisiana and its civil law system during the early nineteenth century. As such the book belongs with Morris Arnold's *Unequal Laws Unto a Savage Race: European Legal Traditions in Arkansas, 1686–1836* (1985) and George Dargo's *Jefferson's Louisiana: Politics and the Clash of Legal Traditions* (1975). In the end, however, the work disappoints. It is at once a bold attempt to deal with interpretive theory in legal history and a modest description of some of the actual experiences of the French, Spanish, and American immigrants into the region that became the state of Missouri. It is a selective work in that the author omits serious consideration of entire areas of the legal systems that met in Missouri. For instance, there is no sustained discussion of the various efforts to adopt and use legal norms within the criminal justice system. This meant a missed opportunity to examine legal philosophies in conflict, and, in particular, the weight of Benthamism in this remnant of the French and Spanish jurisdiction. There is a very significant book that would have allowed Banner to go so much deeper than he has: Edward Livingston's *A System of Penal Law for the State of Louisiana* (1833). Banner's decision to focus little on the law of crime left Livingston's work (a leading example of the impact of Benthamism on American law) on the margin.

The other subject largely ignored was the substantive body of legal norms and rules concerning the institution of slavery. This meant that Banner does not utilize the work of Judith Kelleher Schafer, *Slavery, the Civil Law, and the Supreme Court of Louisiana* (1994). Even though Missouri was outside the jurisdiction of Louisiana's law, there was still much to compare, remnants to find. At a deeper level, there is a conceptual compatibility between Schafer's thesis of an ongoing study of the effort to "Americanize" Louisiana law and Banner's discussion throughout of the incorporation of American legal notions into the legal system of Missouri. I think that Banner missed an opportunity to provide a crucial comparison in legal history, and to explore the process of transference of legal doctrines from one legal system to another. One illustration should suffice. As late as 1825, Louisiana's legislators included within the state's legal framework a feature of the civil law of Europe that is missing from the common law of England. Common law jurisdictions held to the rule that there could be no succession to land on the ascendant side: that is, a father or mother could not enter into the line of succession, they could not inherit land from one of their children. Civil law jurisdictions held inheritance on the ascendant side was lawful. Were lawyers and judges hostile to civil law rules within Missouri? Not always. Judge Abiel Leonard of the Missouri Supreme Court wrote to his son, who was about to leave for Berlin, that he should learn "Roman Private Law, the study of which is justly I think regarded as contributing preeminently the basis of a sound legal education" (Collection 3,

folder 395, Leonard Papers, State Historical Society of Missouri).

Finally, a word on the boldest question in Banner's book: "What causes the law to change?" The answer is that change was "culturally driven" (p. 6), and that means more than economics was of issue. Banner, however, never defines "culture" in any deep and coherent fashion. Indeed, he includes a discussion that reads very much like an analysis that would be at home in the work of the law and economics school of thought. An "explanation" for the French use of common field farming was that it was something they retained because they may have "found it costly to reallocate property right in their land" (p. 78). Where is "culture"?

Despite these criticisms, Banner's effort still deserves some plaudits. He has highlighted a significant but largely unnoticed change in popular thought about land. By the mid-nineteenth century, the view prevailed that the people were the ultimate owners of the land, but that the "government had the right to sell it" (p. 141).

Banner's work does not develop in any depth, however, a coherent theory of legal change which was one of his objectives. But Banner still deserves credit for not falling into that form of legal history that rests upon one methodology: that is, hermeneutics. Hermeneutics as an interpretive approach has much to offer, but it tends to be doctrinally oriented. It is an internal analysis of doctrinal change that is in the hands of legal practitioners such as judges. This can be a very arid approach to grasping legal transformations, and Banner does a good job of working his way around the pitfalls and reminding us of the importance of custom, for example. Perhaps that is contribution enough.

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DARLENE CLARK HINE and EARNESTINE JENKINS, editors. *A Question of Manhood: A Reader in U.S. Black Men's History and Masculinity*. Volume 1, "Manhood Rights": *The Construction of Black Male History and Manhood, 1750–1870*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1999. Pp. xvii, 599. Cloth \$49.95, paper \$24.95.

It is always odd to read a collection of essays from cover to cover, since we more often read selectively from such volumes in accordance with particular research and teaching goals. But only a start-to-finish engagement with this book can make clear just how creative an assembling of scholarship it is. Editors Darlene Clark Hine and Earnestine Jenkins have gathered essays from nearly three decades of scholarship (all of the pieces are reprints) for the purpose of illuminating a field of study only very recently defined. This means that some of the older essays do not offer explicit gendered analysis; in others, authors write about, for example, "slaves," without specifying gender. Yet that is precisely the value of the collection:



that the authors have sought out pioneering work about the historical experiences of African-American men, some of which dates from a time in which the analytical categories of "manhood" and "masculinity" were not recognized. In light of recent strides in the field, those well-versed in the literature will be able to glean the gendered analyses therein, especially given the inclusion of many recently produced essays that do explicitly treat gender and masculinity as historical constructs. Moreover, the editors' introduction serves as a useful guide, offering lengthy interpretations of each essay in relation to the history of gender. (Because the editors rehearse considerable detail from each article, some readers may find it more useful to read the articles themselves first.) In the final pages of the introduction, Hine and Jenkins pose their central inquiries: "How do we determine how black men construct manhood and express masculinity? And, what social, economic, political, and cultural forces have helped shape black male identity, and what has been the male-gendered response of black men to historical events and change?" (pp. 56-57). The introduction also offers textbook-like background that will be useful to undergraduates and beginning graduate students.

A life, a community, a town, a rebellion, a craft, a regiment: these are some of the paths—not always well-lit by surviving documents—that historians might take in an effort to recreate the experiences of African-American men from the earliest days of enslavement through the Civil War and emancipation. The contributors to this collection have walked these paths and more. From cover to cover, in fact, the volume serves beautifully to teach not only history but also methodology. The multilayered language of slave narratives; the clues yielded in Spanish colonial records and physical artifacts; the inversion of voices in sources generated by white people (whether a biography or a business ledger); the intense and exhaustive combing of censuses, tax lists, crew lists, inventories, newspapers, court records, and military records: in all of these can be found invaluable lessons in rigorous and creative research. Sidney Kaplan and Emma Nogrady Kaplan, for example, trace the participation of black men in the Revolutionary War through the presence of black figures in paintings of white heroes, as well as by tracking down obscure obituaries and memorials, songs and ballads, and literally fading scraps of paper. To give another example, Emma Jones Lapsansky's attention to the historical consciousness of the black men who meticulously kept the records of Philadelphia's elite Banneker Institute lights otherwise dim paths of inquiry into class divisions within urban black communities.

By arranging the essays both chronologically and thematically, Hine and Jenkins lend the volume a notable coherence. The life of a West African prince who purchased his own freedom in eighteenth-century New England prompts Robert E. Desrochers, Jr., to draw an intriguing portrait of a dynamic and self-

fashioned identity that is at once African and American. A free black town in colonial Spanish Florida, Jane Landers finds, illuminates the formation of an African-Hispanic identity that is also intertwined with American Indian and British cultures. The Stono Rebellion in colonial South Carolina comes under the scrutiny of John K. Thornton, who uncovers the rebels' African heritage in their Kongolese military tactics.

Labor, culture, resistance, and freedom are central themes as the essays move into the antebellum and Civil War eras. The means by which enslaved ironworkers subtly and partly controlled their work is the subject of Charles B. Dew's careful investigation. The exceedingly dangerous labor performed by young black chimney sweeps in early New York City can be linked, in the eyes of Paul Gilje and Howard B. Rock, both to revolutionary ideology and to postrevolutionary northern racism. Some enslaved men in antebellum cities lived with quasi-freedom, and Loren Schweninger scrutinizes these precariously positioned "free-slaves" in an exploration of the life of one Nashville barber. Sailors also enjoyed a degree of freedom unknown to most African-American men; W. Jeffrey Bolster's voyage into their multifaceted experiences of opportunity and discrimination offers a gendered analysis of what he calls "roughhewn forecabin equality" (p. 362). Musicians, who served as a kind of folk elite, played a crucial role in the social and cultural lives of enslaved people, Paul A. Cimbala demonstrates, arguing that these figures "nurtured resistance to the white domination of the black soul" (p. 311). Religious experience is treated in the work of William H. Becker, who in the early 1970s was a pioneer scholar writing about ideals of manhood in the lives and words of black preachers. James Oliver Horton and Lois E. Horton directly address ideologies about manhood in their investigation of the contested and complicated place of violence in black men's protests, whether as slaves or as northern abolitionists, against slavery. Fighting for freedom at the battlefield brought black men some of the social markers of American manhood, and Jim Cullen's essay explores those ideals—independence, respect, fulfillment of duty—in his gendered analysis of the struggles of black Civil War soldiers.

Other essays discuss runaway slaves in colonial North Carolina, with gender as a central category of demographic analysis; skilled black labor in rural Maryland, with a valuable appendix on sources for these elusive craftsmen; the extraordinary life of possibly the only African-American clockmaker in the antebellum U.S.; the little-studied but illuminating Easter Slave Conspiracy of 1802, which grew from the more famous Gabriel's Rebellion of 1800; the treatment of some black men accused of raping white women in the slave South; and the nearly invisible participation of black men in the U.S. Army during the Mexican War. A series of articles in the book's last section treat black men in the military history of the Civil War, including investigations of controversies surrounding the raising of the First Michigan Colored

Infantry and the ultimate triumph of its soldiers; the ambiguous position, and the struggles, of Louisiana's free men of color during the conflict; experiences of black men in the Army of the James (distinguished as having the largest percentage of black troops, and later as the only army corps made up entirely of black units); and the efforts of black men who labored for the Union during the occupation of Nashville, Tennessee.

The volume's foreword, by Aldon D. Morris, rightly notes that as a whole, the articles focus on "the ennobling side of the Black male experience" (p. xii) in an effort to counter the negative images of black men so consistently found in the popular media and social science literature. This opens up a complicated issue, and one that the Hortons address in their brief discussion of the ways in which gendered ideologies within African-American communities at times served further to oppress black women. Among those women, the Hortons write, "only the boldest voices were raised in opposition" (p. 395). Ultimately, it is the scholarship in collections such as this one that will make it possible for historians to investigate such crucial, though difficult, topics as tensions between black men and women in the context of slavery, as well as in freedom.

Without exception, the endnotes are goldmines, although because the articles are reprints, readers must take care to follow up on dissertations now published, articles now extended to monographs, or works cited as forthcoming that are now in print (and the absence of contributors' biographies deprives readers of ready citations to the authors' latest scholarship). This is the first volume of a projected series. The subsequent volume (or volumes), in the capable hands of Hine and Jenkins, will no doubt prove to be equally rich.

MARTHA HODES  
New York University

DEENA J. GONZÁLEZ. *Refusing the Favor: The Spanish-Mexican Women of Santa Fe, 1820-1880*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1999. Pp. xx, 186. \$45.00.

As the title states, this book tells the story of the Hispanic women of Santa Fe, New Mexico, for thirty years before and thirty years after the American conquest. It is a story filtered through a distinctly feminist viewpoint. In fact, it is not too much to say that this book is a model of the "we were victims" school of history. The formula is three-fold: how we suffered and were oppressed and exploited; how hard we struggled back against our oppressors; and how oppression and exploitation still continue today. The "we" in this formula varies, depending on whichever minority group an author identifies with, but the outline—a formula for feeling in turn indignant, proud, and politically angry—remains the same. Deena J. González's chapter titles follow the formula, at least in the first three of four: "Women in the Courts: Conformity and Dissonance before the War,

1821-1846," "Women under Siege: Sexuality and the Gendered Economics of Colonization, 1840-1852," and "Women's Survival Strategies: Gifts and Giving as Methods of Resistance, 1846-1880."

There is no separate "oppression continues today" chapter. Instead, the book's final chapter, "The Politics of Disidentification and Recuperation," is an attack on overly timid historians still interested in objectivity. In the course of that attack, González makes the third point of the formula clear: "the Chicanas of Santa Fe, presently endure ongoing colonization" (p. 107) and "the hierarchical imposition of conquest—that is, the superimposition of domineering values, ideologies, and practices—remains with us today" (p. 108).

In this last chapter, González champions the post-modern vision of history as without objective meaning. "Many historians, even traditionalists, argue that the question of objectivity 'bit the dust' a long time ago" (p. 117). For González, that frees the historian to use his or her work for present political purposes. She argues that "an entire generation of Chicano scholars is oriented in the direction of establishing and assisting social justice through their academic work" (p. 109): in her case, through seeking "the connections between what current cultural and political observers witness as the ongoing colonization of Santa Fe and its colonial, nineteenth-century antecedents" (p. 118). Those fusty traditionalists (such as this reviewer) who feel that history is degraded by its blatant use for present political purposes are dismissed by the author's observation that "fear of presentism is simply part of a larger pathology" (p. 117).

Setting aside the historiographical arguments, it is a shame that the author is trapped inside the standard format of "exploited—struggled back—still underdogs." The outline seems to shape the story more than does the evidence. For example, González presents clear evidence that the Spanish-Mexican women of Santa Fe suffered economically and culturally as a result of the American conquest. Even intermarriage with Americans did not materially improve their status. On the other hand, the evidence offered that these women heroically struggled back is very, very thin.

A much greater shame is that González, to her great credit, has unearthed considerable material from rarely mined sources: litigation records and wills. These materials could be used to construct a nicely nuanced view of women in both their ordinary and extraordinary roles in Santa Fe society. The feminist jargon and ideological slant just gets in the way of that story.

DAVID J. LANGUM  
Samford University

FIRTH HARING FABEND. *Zion on the Hudson: Dutch New York and New Jersey in the Age of Revivals*. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press. 2000. Pp. xvi, 284. \$50.00.

The relationship between religion and ethnic identity has long fascinated American historians. Firth Haring Fabend examines the Dutch experience in the nineteenth century, wondering how and why Dutchness persisted in the face of no new Dutch immigration and the pressures to assimilate into an American culture increasingly dominated by Protestant evangelicalism. Interestingly, she finds that religion served both conservative and transformative functions amid the nineteenth-century Dutch, although in the end the latter proved more potent and "Reformed [Dutch] churchgoers . . . seamlessly merged into the mainstream of American Protestantism" (p. 216).

According to Fabend, Dutchness, defined here as loyalty to what are thought to be the "distinctive qualities . . . [of] the Dutch national character and culture" (p. 13), was closely bound to the doctrines and traditions of the Reformed Dutch Church from New Netherland's earliest settlements. In particular, fidelity to the strongly Calvinistic Canons of Dort, formulated in 1618–1619, became a touchstone of religious and, in turn, ethnic "orthodoxy" among the Dutch in New York and New Jersey. Divisions in the colonial era over Pietist teachings and ecclesiastical relations with Amsterdam foreshadowed an ongoing progressive-conservative split in the nineteenth century. By the 1820s and 1830s, the overarching issue was how far the Reformed Dutch should go in accommodating mainstream evangelical Protestantism. Fears of being permanently labeled "foreign" and consequently unable to compete effectively for adherents pushed some to embrace almost all things evangelical. Conversely, fears of abandoning the theology of Dort and losing a sense of Dutch exceptionalism pushed others in the opposite direction. One of the few points of agreement was rejection of Charles G. Finney's "New Measures" revivalism, although eventually most in the denomination endorsed revivals as an important means through which God renews his church.

Amid these internal debates, which continued at least until the Civil War, a sense of Dutchness survived and sometimes even thrived, and not just because of the conservatives' allegiance to Dort, an allegiance Fabend probably overestimates. She argues that "the revival of interest in Dutch history through the reportage of the *Christian Intelligencer* [a denominational newspaper] . . . the successful efforts of the New Brunswick Seminary and of Rutgers [denominational schools] to create a physical and psychological center of Dutchness in the heart of the former New Netherland, and geographical factors governing settlement patterns, social life, and marrying customs" (p. 130) all played key roles in keeping Dutch ways and customs alive. In perhaps her most fascinating chapter, Fabend shows how ethnic enclaves of Dutch folk in New York and New Jersey lead almost self-contained religious and social lives in which they "mingled almost exclusively with others reared in the same religious culture as themselves" (p. 131). In the process, Dutchness was reinforced.

Even so, countervailing forces inexorably drew the Dutch away from the margins and toward the center of American culture. These "de-ethnicizing, modernizing forces" (p. 214) included the popularization of evangelical concepts of family life and child rearing, the growth of the public school system, the rise of the evangelical "benevolent empire," the sectional crisis, and evangelical beliefs and practices concerning death. The Dutch Reformed found common ground with other American Christians on all of these matters and more. As they did, "the fashions of the religious culture of evangelical America" (p. 216) displaced traditional Dutch ways.

Fabend does well at identifying the particular factors that pushed and pulled the Reformed Dutch in opposite directions in the nineteenth century. In the process, she deepens and complicates current understanding of how the Dutch, and by implication, other ethnic groups, became Americanized. Yet her tendency to assume that any step the Reformed took toward evangelicalism was a step away from Dutchness seems problematic. Were parallel attitudes or actions by the Reformed Dutch and mainstream evangelicals always indicative of a loss of ethnic distinction on the part of the Dutch? Were retaining a sense of Dutchness and becoming more a part of the evangelical mainstream necessarily mutually exclusive? What Fabend presents as a zero sum game might occasionally have had elements of both/and. That remains the case today, as new ethnic churches find their place and identity within the pluralism of American Christianity and culture.

RICHARD W. POINTER  
Westmont College

BETH BARTON SCHWEIGER. *The Gospel Working Up: Progress and the Pulpit in Nineteenth-Century Virginia*. (Religion in America Series.) New York: Oxford University Press. 2000. Pp. xii, 267. \$49.95.

Beth Barton Schweiger's fresh and innovative study of Methodists and Baptists in nineteenth-century Virginia challenges many standard historical interpretations of southern evangelicals; indeed, she rejects the idea that any such homogeneous group existed. In her view, southern evangelical churches were not "bastions of premodern and antimodern sentiment" or "havens of old-time religion" (p. 4) but rather the source of religious, social, and material progress. Schweiger refutes the argument that southern churches languished in cultural captivity, and she refuses to accept the declension theory that condemns southern religion as a failure for its embrace of the proslavery ideology. She focuses on the most important transformation in the history of nineteenth-century American religion: the dramatic shift from sects to denominations, or what H. Richard Niebuhr referred to as the inevitable "institutionalization and secularization of the kingdom" (*The Kingdom of God in America* [1937]). In order to understand that shift, she compiled biograph-



ical data for 800 Methodist and Baptist ministers who built those denominational bodies.

She begins with an examination of the trials and tribulations that confronted preachers in rural Virginia: low pay, low status, and challenges to clerical authority from independent-minded congregations that led many ministers to seek the comfort and respectability that an urban pulpit offered. These town and city pastors worked to professionalize their calling and transformed their humble sects into wealthy denominations. Schweiger argues that even though most evangelicals lived in rural areas, towns and cities gave birth to denominations and set the tone of antebellum religious life. City preachers insisted on the necessity of an educated clergy and led in the construction of expensive churches, denominational colleges for men and women, Sunday Schools, denominational presses, and missionary and benevolent societies. These ministers also embraced a proslavery theology and advocated segregated worship; indeed, their very public proslavery stance gave them a prominent public role and enabled them to increase their status and authority. The resulting sectional division within the Methodist and Baptist denominations only contributed to the growth of southern churches and further enhanced the ministers' role in southern society.

The Civil War brought dramatic changes to southern religious life that endured throughout the rest of the nineteenth century. Virginia clergymen embraced the Confederate cause and took a bold public stand in support of the war effort. Scores of Virginia ministers served as army chaplains and worked to carry out a mass evangelization of the army, although they were often disappointed in the cool reception they received from Confederate officers. The South's devastating defeat in the war only increased the ministers' determination to put religion at the center of the South's reconstruction, and they joined in the effort to build that New South along segregated lines. The swift departure of blacks from the biracial churches prefigured the Jim Crow era and made African Americans "invisible" (p. 116) to southern white Christians. The collapse of the plantation economy widened the gulf between the rural and urban ministers, and the size and influence of urban congregations grew even larger. Benevolent work also expanded after the war and brought a more prominent role for southern women in denominational life. Schweiger concludes that the expanding denominational structures actually made religion more insular and "less relevant to public life in the late nineteenth century than it had been in earlier times" (p. 170). That assessment, however, does not completely mesh with the active role ministers played in the state's postbellum political life, particularly over such issues as prohibition, gambling, and political reform. In fact, of all the many provocative conclusions that Schweiger draws in this important study, her final determination that religious denominations and the

men who led them exercised a less important role in 1900 than in 1850 may be the most problematic.

RANDY J. SPARKS  
Tulane University

LEIGH ERIC SCHMIDT. *Hearing Things: Religion, Illusions, and the American Enlightenment*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2000. Pp. xiii, 318. \$37.50.

Leigh Eric Schmidt begins and concludes this book with references to contemporary American culture. He introduces his subject by pointing to the work of Joe Nickell, a magician he describes as keeping alive "the Enlightenment dream of exposing the illusions, impostures, and credulities of religion" (p. 1). In the epilogue, Schmidt argues that the desire for "holy listening," the spiritual longing for both sounds and silence that bespeak a depth of religious meaning in the universe, has not by any means subsided by the beginning of the twenty-first century. In the five chapters between, Schmidt elaborates an appealingly complex cultural and historical conversation about what can or cannot be heard, should or should not be heard. It is grounded in the American Enlightenment but makes multiple connections forward and backward in time and ranges back and forth across the Atlantic as well. The larger, framing plot for this stimulating study is the ongoing, ever intertwining story line of demystification, disenchantment, and re-enchantment, dual and dueling convictions about divine absence and presence in the world. In Schmidt's interpretation, the ear, not the eye, becomes the instrument of both efforts.

Schmidt arranges his five central chapters so as to demonstrate the dramatic tension between two parties: particular kinds of American Protestants, who heard God's voice, sometimes as clearly as they heard the voices of human beings and sometimes in the echoes of Scripture; and the literati or philosophes, as Schmidt calls them, whose intellectual efforts were aimed at demonstrating that any sound detected by the human ear must emanate from nature. Sounds said to be from realms beyond the natural universe, these intellectuals said, could only have their origins in human duplicity aided by credulousness. And yet, as Schmidt points out, both religious institutions and literati had their reasons for regulating the senses and disciplining the ear.

Chapter one, "Hearing Loss," lays out the two-fold plot in Western culture that shapes Schmidt's narrative: the primacy of sight over other senses and the disenchantment of the universe by the disappearance of sacred sounds, a process Schmidt argues is not inevitable. Chapter two, "Sound Christians," listens for the sounds of evangelical piety "to establish a baseline, of aural perceptions and habits among devout Protestants" (p. 8). Faith that was too noisy, too far beyond the baseline became "bad" faith, as Schmidt puts it, and in this conviction religious regulators were joined by the literati. Chapters three and four, "Oracles of Reason" and "How to Become a Ventriloquist,"



chronicle the energies of scientists, philosophers, and entertainers to demonstrate the emptiness of ancient oracles, to discipline the ear to hear only what in their estimation was really real, and to turn all sounds of the supernatural into "rational recreation." This pursuit of demystification "almost always included the abuse of the credulous" (p. 177). In chapter five, "Voices from Spirit-Land," Schmidt concentrates on Emmanuel Swedenborg, eighteenth-century scientist turned mystic who saw angels and heard their voices on visits to the heavenly realm and whose fame in American religion waned at the end of the nineteenth century only to rise again near the conclusion of the twentieth.

The strengths of this book are many. Schmidt offers not a simple story of the warfare between religion and secular culture but a new focus for interpreting both their antipathy and comingling along with a particularly nuanced version of one historical moment in a never-ending story. Schmidt himself defines his subject as "the pitched battle over modern hearing" (p. 6) and the historically contingent way the modern ear was taught to hear some things and not others. The book's illustrations are many and wonderful, and Schmidt incorporates references to gender, race, and class in an organic rather than a contrived way. This is a very provocative book, as well, in terms of its implications for further study. I found myself wondering how the story line would have gone if Schmidt had chosen to look at Congregationalists or Roman Catholics instead of Methodists and Swedenborgians. This is not to say he should have done so—rather that his approach will motivate others to try it on new subjects, and that is high praise.

Finally, I appreciate Schmidt's efforts to articulate where he stands in regard to the two major groups he interprets. He makes a clear claim in the introduction and epilogue that his historical work has both content and perspective to contribute to contemporary conversations about divine presence and absence, and, in this respect, because it is concerned with matters of "reality," writing religious history can be tricky business. To his credit, Schmidt fosters a critical sympathy toward both groups without ignoring the distinctive excesses of either party nor the fact that people who hear "holy sounds" in contemporary culture probably need more defending, or, at least, interpretation, than those who do not. He neither demonizes nor condescends but reflects carefully and incisively, thereby providing his readers with motivation to go and do likewise.

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CRAIG JAMES HAZEN. *The Village Enlightenment in America: Popular Religion and Science in the Nineteenth Century*. Champaign: University of Illinois Press. 2000. Pp. 194. Cloth \$34.95, paper \$19.95.

Craig James Hazen joins the list of scholars who argue that harmony, rather than conflict, best describes the relationship between science and religion over the

course of American history. He argues that, at least in the antebellum nineteenth century, most Americans viewed science and religion as harmonious enterprises cooperating toward the same ultimate ends. Hazen employs historian David Jaffee's concept of the "village Enlightenment" to draw attention to the ways in which Enlightenment ideas were assimilated into popular American culture. What most intrigues Hazen about the village Enlightenment is how it fostered efforts to use science for the purpose of both constructing and validating novel religious worldviews.

Hazen points out that local newspapers and the burgeoning lyceum system provided antebellum Americans with a rich source of science education. Science, as presented in these forums, became something of a code word for utility, certainty, optimism, and progress. Many of those whose thinking had been greatly influenced by the village Enlightenment assumed that the inductive methods of science were also applicable to the supernatural world. They consequently embraced science as a potential ally rather than enemy of such newly emerging religious systems as Transcendentalism, Swedenborgianism, Mormonism, spiritualism, and mind cure. In Hazen's words, a good many Americans "considered themselves loosed from medieval intellectual shackles and endowed with the freedom to promulgate new ideas. They were convinced that Baconian scientific reasoning could make unerring choices between competing ideas" (p. 148).

Hazen traces the influence of the village Enlightenment on the relationship between science and religion by examining the writings of the Mormon apologist Orson Pratt, the spiritualist writer Robert Hare, and the mind cure practitioner Phineas P. Quimby. Hazen contends that Pratt was the premier nineteenth-century Mormon apologist. His writings tried to show the compatibility between science and Mormon cosmology, thus demonstrating the truth of Mormon beliefs to "reasoning men." Joseph Smith had, after all, proclaimed that matter is eternal and really real; anything that is not material simply does not exist. Therefore, even spirit is matter. This cosmological postulate made it possible for Pratt to use scientific reasoning to investigate the elusive world of spirit. His principal work, *Key to the Universe* (1879), was a treatise on celestial mechanics that reached conclusions remarkably consistent with Smith's prophetic revelations. It is not, however, totally clear that Pratt's writings exemplify Hazen's thesis concerning the prolonged honeymoon between Baconian science and religion. First, Pratt never once made reference to either Francis Bacon or his empirical philosophy. Moreover, Pratt's methods were really more deductive than inductive, using scientific information in ways that could never lead him in truly novel or unexpected dimensions. And, too, when Pratt did make theoretical innovations, he soon found himself being censured by church leaders.

Hazen's argument about how the village Enlighten-

ment fostered strange alliances between physics and metaphysics is illustrated more clearly in the writings of Hare. An inventor and professor of chemistry at the University of Pennsylvania, he was able to forge "natural" pathways into "supernatural" realms because he, too, came to believe that there is no ultimate distinction between matter, mind, and spirit. His conversion to spiritualism in late life gave him a new arena in which to demonstrate his Enlightenment conviction that science and reason would invariably lead to progress. Through trance-bound mediums, spirits taught Hare that the universe is surrounded by six successively "higher" metaphysical spheres. Each sphere, he learned, consists of an increasingly subtle or rarefied form of matter. For this reason, anyone willing to abandon the dogmas of the medieval period could inquire into the lawful operations of these spheres and apply them to ensure ongoing mental and moral progress. Spiritualism, by envisioning a universe in which every inhabitant might continually progress in mind and character, thus reaffirmed the village Enlightenment's unquestioned faith in the "immutable law of progression."

Quimby, like Hare, affirmed the materiality of spirit, a cosmology of progress, and the importance of practical demonstration. The former clockmaker's introduction to mesmerism set him upon a path at odds with the Calvinism of his day. For him, science was not so much an epistemological tool as an eternal repository of wisdom available to the properly inquiring mind. Quimby's rather crudely fashioned philosophy of mind cure was based on the premise that the God of Science, unlike the God of Calvinism, is in no way capricious. Both personal and social harmony are but awaiting our realization, requiring only that we learn to act in accordance with the orderly laws of cosmic wisdom. To this extent Quimby's religious progeny—Christian Science, New Thought, and much of today's New Age philosophy—can all be viewed as important embodiments of the village Enlightenment.

In his haste to illuminate patterns of cooperation between science and religion, Hazen diverts our attention from how these three nineteenth-century figures championed science as a weapon against the prevailing religious orthodoxy of their day. Conflict and warfare were never far from the honeymoons Hazen seeks to highlight. Furthermore, Hazen's recurring references to the causal influence of Baconian philosophy upon the village Enlightenment suggest a "highbrow" intellectual history that is fairly disconnected from the intellectual sagas of these "middlebrow" religious pioneers. Yet Hazen's argument that the village Enlightenment emboldened persons to utilize science for the purpose of constructing religious systems opens up rich new ways of thinking about persisting themes in American religious thought. This is a fine and thought-provoking work.

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DAVID MORGAN. *Protestants and Pictures: Religion, Visual Culture, and the Age of American Mass Production*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1999. Pp. xiv, 417. \$35.00.

Despite frequent professions to the contrary, American Protestants make widespread use of pictures in their day-to-day life and piety. In 1996, David Morgan edited a volume, *Icons of American Protestantism: The Art of Warner Sallman*, that investigated one major twentieth-century example of this phenomenon: Warner Sallman, whose *Head of Christ* (1940) has been, according to some estimates, reproduced five hundred million times. Now Morgan offers a well-researched and provocative exploration of the nineteenth-century roots of contemporary Protestant engagement with the visual arts. In this account, technological innovation plays a major role. For example, Morgan notes the importance of the successive development of wood engravings, electrotypes, and color halftones, which made the inclusion of pictures in books or tracts progressively cheaper and the quality of reproduction better. But while acknowledging that technology provided the indispensable precondition for the mass production of pictures, Morgan stresses that Protestants were not passively swept along by the latest inventions or by the forces of the secular marketplace. They aggressively used up-to-date technology to pursue their own ends and in the process helped direct the market. In fact, Morgan argues, rather than simply conforming to a secular commercial culture, American Protestantism actively participated in the creation of consumption, powerfully anticipating the commercial use of the mass media (p. 262).

Protestant purposes were diverse, and Morgan is adept at showing how the use of images corresponded to the various crosscurrents of religious life. For example, in the decades before the Civil War, the American Tract Society (ATS) used pictures in *The Christian Almanac* and in numerous other works to limn a postmillennial destiny in which American example would gradually uplift the world into the Kingdom of God. Judging from the pictures used to illustrate it, the ATS's millennial vision was one in which republicanism, the middle-class home, and Protestantism merged. It was also a vision, Morgan notes, in which African-American slaves remained invisible or, when visualized, were seen as subordinate to whites, a vision in which Roman Catholics were depicted as the instruments of an unrepentant European system and in which Native Americans were relegated to the past as visual symbols of the nation's ascent (p. 107). Morgan's other chief example of the Protestant use of pictures in the antebellum period points toward a different millennial vision. The Adventist movement, which coalesced around the prediction of Baptist preacher William Miller that Christ would return in 1843 or thereabouts, expected the dramatic end of the current age, not its gradual improvement. To convey that message, Millerite preachers used elaborate

charts and pictures providing a map of prophecy on which observers could readily locate themselves. The differences between the ATS and the Millerite movement were dramatic, but the groups also shared much. Both assumed that pictures should serve a didactic purpose and that they were closely tied to the texts they were designed to elucidate.

One of the most significant contributions of Morgan's study is to show how this assumption was modified. In the course of the nineteenth century, didacticism gave way to a more expansive view of the place of pictures in religious life. Pictures were in some degree released from subservience to texts and were assumed to have power in their own right to mold and influence character for the good. The way was then open for Protestants to make devotional use of pictures. Differences that had traditionally separated Protestant practice from that of Roman Catholicism and Orthodoxy thus diminished. Morgan's demonstration of this transformation provides an effective rebuttal to the oft-cited argument of Walter Benjamin that images lost their ability to convey a presence or power after they were mass produced. In the illustrations Morgan provides, the aura of the image actually increased as the tools of mass production were employed.

Many ironies attend the story that Morgan tells. One of the chief of these is the pioneering role that liberal Protestants played in promoting the devotional use of pictures. It was they, more than their conservative counterparts, who provided an intellectual rationale for the iconic use of pictures and thus prepared the way for Sallman's *Head of Christ*. Yet by the late twentieth-century, conservative evangelicals embraced Sallman, while liberals largely criticized him. Surely there is a story here that needs to be told in greater detail.

The scholarly significance and richness of Morgan's book are difficult to overstate. Thoroughly grounded in the secondary literature on nineteenth-century Protestantism, his book incorporates the insights of that work with his own prodigious research in order to produce a compelling new synthesis.

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WILLIAM GERRETT PISTON and RICHARD W. HATCHER III. *Wilson's Creek: The Second Battle of the Civil War and the Men Who Fought It*. (Civil War Americas.) Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2000. Pp. xix, 408. \$37.50.

The fascination about the Civil War is as much due to the allure of great books as it is great battles and intriguing leaders. It is perhaps the most storied of any war; the storytellers of the Civil War were the thousands of soldiers who managed to scribble something on a piece of paper while in combat or in camp while longing for the war to be over. There can be no denying that the trend in Civil War scholarship over the last two decades has been to bring the confluence

of war and society front and center in understanding the conflict. William Gerrett Piston and Richard W. Hatcher III have added to the allure of the Civil War not only by writing a wonderful book that gives the participants a voice, but also by considering the political and military ramifications of the battle of Wilson's Creek in the larger societal context. They deepen our understanding of the relationship between the soldiers and the communities from which they came.

At the beginning of the conflict, Americans were anxious to see which states would join the secession movement and which would remain loyal to the Union. Missouri was among those border states where loyalties were bitterly divided. The question of whether or not the state would remain loyal to the Union was largely settled at an obscure creek in southwest Missouri made famous by the battle on August 10, 1861 that bore its name. For Piston and Hatcher, the second battle of the Civil War, Wilson's Creek, was as significant for its participants as it was for its political and military ramifications.

The battle was fought between the Union forces of Nathaniel Lyon and Franz Sigel and Benjamin McCulloch's Confederate troops and the prosecessionist Missouri State Guard under Sterling Price. Although facing an enemy twice their size and short of supplies with many recruits whose ninety days were due to expire shortly, Lyon divided his forces and launched a surprise attack on the southerners encamped along Wilson's Creek. Lyon was killed during the battle, but his surprise attack was so stunning that it enabled the Union to retreat quite effectively. The Union retreat allowed the Confederates to claim victory.

Wilson's Creek was one of the most fiercely contested battles of the war. The combat was marked by fighting at extremely close range and the troops on both sides were pathetically armed and mostly without uniforms. In fact, at one point, due to mistaken identity, Sigel stopped his attack on the Confederates and allowed a Louisiana regiment (thinking it the First Iowa) to approach his forces. Though both Union and Confederate commanders claimed victory, McCulloch and Price did not pursue the Federals. Instead, they split their forces, which doomed their hold on the state for the Confederacy.

Piston and Hatcher provide a more complete context than usually accompanies battle narratives or campaign studies. In their attempt to study the broad impact of events on the families of the soldiers and the families in whose neighborhoods these momentous events occurred, they do not disappoint. They tell the story of the common soldiers from the time they joined up through the battle and follow home many of the ninety-day troops who were discharged when their enlistment expired.

In the experience of war, the communities were drawn closer. As the authors contend, the company-level identities were far stronger and lasted much longer than historians have previously recognized. In one way or another, "every village, town, city, and



county that contributed troops to the struggle was affected by the experience" (p. xv), which featured more than simply a contest between North and South, abolitionists and defenders of slaveholding, preservers of the Union and advocates of states' rights. Moreover, communities recognized the need for continued support of their hometown volunteers, which manifested itself in many ways. Soldiers reciprocated this support by attempting to maintain honor throughout the conflict. Many soldiers had come full circle in their social contract, as the authors argue; they were sent with honor and returned with their honor, as well as the honor of their communities, intact.

Although the story of the battle of Wilson's Creek is well known, thanks to Piston and Hatcher there are new storytellers who make the story as intriguing as the plot itself. With a fresh interpretive framework and rich with insights, this book will take its place among the great battle narratives. The authors provide an excellent analysis of not only "why" but also "how" soldiers extended, and to some degree, transformed their sense of community within the confines of war. In sum, this is an excellent study that deserves a wide recognition for its substantial contribution to Civil War scholarship.

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W. TODD GROCE. *Mountain Rebels: East Tennessee Confederates and the Civil War, 1860-1870*. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press. 1999. Pp. xviii, 218. \$40.00.

East Tennessee and northwestern Virginia were the two most disaffected regions within the seceding states. Because the Ohio River and its tributaries linked trans-Allegheny Virginia with neighboring Ohio and Pennsylvania rather than with Old Virginia, geography predisposed the future state of West Virginia toward the Union side. East Tennessee cannot be so neatly pigeonholed. Separated from the western two-thirds of the state by the rugged Cumberland Plateau, it was a region apart. In the 1850s, however, new railroads drew East Tennessee closer to Virginia, Georgia, and the lower Mississippi Valley. By 1858, a rail corridor through East Tennessee connected Knoxville and Chattanooga to Richmond, Atlanta, and Memphis. If geography is destiny, one would expect to find growing trade ties between East Tennessee and the slave South, along with a more pro-Southern orientation in the heretofore isolated uplands.

W. Todd Groce demonstrates that East Tennessee did, to a considerable degree, follow the above script. Commercial agriculture surged in the 1850s, as buyers in distant markets snapped up the region's growing output of high-quality wheat and flour. Its scenery and climate also attracted Deep South planters and their families to upland mountain resorts, notably Montvale Springs in Blount County. The rising commercial elite

in East Tennessee began to hobnob with summer visitors from the lowlands and to adopt their outlook.

And yet, of course, East Tennessee spurned the secession South. A constant thorn in the flesh of Confederate authorities, the region probably sent three men into the Union army for every two Confederates. Accurate data is hard to come by, but Groce calculates that 191 Confederate companies were raised in East Tennessee, or perhaps 20,000 total soldiers (p. 75). Far smaller numbers proved ready for the long haul: Groce notes chronic desertion, especially during the last two years of the war. Union enlistments are even more difficult to estimate; Richard Nelson Current set the figure at 30,000 or more (*Lincoln's Loyalists: Union Soldiers from the Confederacy* [1992], pp. 60, 215). Irregulars and guerrillas on both sides conducted increasingly vicious partisan warfare, targeting both soldiers and civilians (Noel C. Fisher, *War at Every Door: Partisan Politics and Guerrilla Violence in East Tennessee, 1860-1869* [1997]).

Groce focuses on the Confederate minority. The core of his analysis is Confederate officers who commanded units recruited from East Tennessee during the first year of the war. He finds among them a disproportion of merchants, professionals, and townsmen—in short, a rising commercial class that benefited from the economic boom of the 1850s and used it to forge closer ties to the slave South. Most had been Democrats before the war, but few had exercised "anything akin to real political power" (p. 65). When the war went badly, the surviving Confederate leadership mostly left the region (pp. 151, 155).

It is often assumed that an upland location and an absence of plantation slavery predetermined pro-Union loyalties. We now realize that these important preconditions were by themselves insufficient. A fine recent anthology that previewed the new scholarship of Groce and others pointed out that Appalachia was no "Unionist monolith" but rather a "house divided" (Kenneth W. Noe and Shannon H. Wilson, eds., *The Civil War in Appalachia: Collected Essays* [1997]). The most important determinant, or so it seems to this reviewer, must have been leadership. In East Tennessee, proven leaders from both antebellum parties joined hands as unconditional Unionists: the minnows who led the Confederate cause were no match for Andrew Johnson, William G. Brownlow, and other antebellum political pacesetters. Even in June 1861, pro-southern forces could rally a majority vote for secession in only six of East Tennessee's twenty-nine counties. In nearby western North Carolina where pro-southern loyalties had an even more slender economic basis, the Confederate cause enjoyed better leadership. John C. Inscoe showed how U.S. Senator Thomas Clingman legitimized the concept of secession in western North Carolina, and how conditional Unionists led by U.S. Congressman Zebulon Vance then carried the region (and the state) into the Confederacy as soon as the war started (*Mountain Masters*,



*Slavery, and the Sectional Crisis in Western North Carolina* [1989]).

Groce has rescued from "ill-deserved obscurity" (p. xvi) an unusual group of Confederates who not only lost the war but also lost their home region. In the end, they could not withstand Parson Brownlow's ferocious denunciations ("unmitigated cowards, God-forsaken scoundrels, hell-deserving villains, and black-hearted assassins and murderers") and the resonance his rhetoric elicited among the unconditional Unionists of East Tennessee (Stephen V. Ash, ed., *Secessionists and Other Scoundrels: Selections from Parson Brownlow's Book* [1999], p. 62).

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JOHN C. INSCOE and GORDON B. MCKINNEY. *The Heart of Confederate Appalachia: Western North Carolina in the Civil War*. (Civil War America.) Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2000. Pp. xi, 368. \$39.95.

Popular stereotype has viewed Civil War Appalachia as an all-white bastion of simple, sturdy, and reliably Unionist mountaineers. The reality, at least in that portion of Appalachia that lay within the boundaries of the state of North Carolina, is, as John C. Inscoe and Gordon B. McKinney ably demonstrate, far more complicated.

The antebellum population of western North Carolina was diverse, with wealthy and refined planters (and their slaves) living in the fertile river valleys and poorer, more or less backward farmers living on the less desirable lands, tilling a portion of their acreage and running livestock on the rest of it. Overall, it was an economy far more diversified and involved in regional markets than stereotype has hitherto depicted. Western Carolina's reluctance to plunge into secession along with the cotton states of the Deep South indicated not a questioning of the institution of slavery (much less anything like abolitionism) but rather an attitude of waiting and watching to see if the Abraham Lincoln administration would passively accept secession. The Unionism of this stage of the crisis in western North Carolina was extremely conditional. If Lincoln did not passively accept the secession of the Deep South, the people of the Carolina hill country were prepared to see that as sufficient provocation for their own secession.

Nevertheless, the near-unanimous support of western North Carolinians for secession after Fort Sumter belied very complex motivations. Often the decision to support secession was merely a decision to follow the leadership of prominent persons or to acquiesce in the will of a noisy majority. In the same way, western North Carolina enthusiastically responded to the first Confederate calls for troops. Social pressures and the leadership of prominent individuals boosted the outpouring of enlistments. Women, too, took a role in

encouraging men to go to war, in contrast to their relative invisibility in the debates over secession.

The long-accepted interpretation of western North Carolina, as of other mountainous regions of the Confederacy, is that it was an overwhelming hotbed of Unionism during the war. This perception is in need of considerable refinement, which Inscoe and McKinney amply provide. Strong state differences existed, and western North Carolinians were far more favorable toward the Confederacy than were their neighbors in East Tennessee. Beyond this, deeper study reveals that a great many inhabitants of the mountains and valleys felt no overwhelming allegiance in either direction but rather proclaimed and acted out loyalty to whichever side seemed to offer them the best prospects for escaping trouble and personal ruin. While the region had its staunch Unionists, a large majority were probably at least nominally loyal to the Confederacy until the South's declining fortunes on the battlefield and the war's rising cost and impact had the effect of producing ever-growing numbers of "Unionists" during the last half of the war.

The authors emphasize that conscription was the most disruptive of Confederate government policies. Forcing into the army men who cared little for the cause or who had opted to stay home and care for their families proved a highly effective means of alienating large numbers of the hill people. It contributed to the growing political opposition to the war and also fed an increasing amount of violence, as men dodging the draft lay out in the woods and mountains and sometimes banded together to obtain their subsistence and resist Confederate authorities. Union forces also waged guerrilla warfare in western North Carolina, crossing the mountains from East Tennessee. The violence could sometimes take extreme forms, as in the famous Shelton Laurel incident, and in all its forms it contributed to the progressive breakdown of almost all the institutions of mountain society. Women, to whom an entire chapter of the book is devoted, bore an especially difficult burden in the upheavals of the second half of the war. Ironically, in view of slavery's central role in the causation of the war and the motivation of even the mountain people to rally to the Confederacy, the peculiar institution in western North Carolina remained relatively untouched until the very end of the war, and few inhabitants of the region seemed capable of reading the handwriting on the wall.

This thorough and detailed study provides a comprehensive and sophisticated picture of western North Carolina society during the Civil War. In so doing, it greatly enhances our understanding of a region that lay at the heart of the Old South.

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MARK A. WEITZ. *A Higher Duty: Desertion among Georgia Troops during the Civil War*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 2000. Pp. x, 227. \$30.00.

Scholars of the Civil War era have approached that conflict in myriad ways. Some of the best recent work has dealt with the motivations of the soldiers wearing blue and gray. But not since the late 1920s and early 1930s has anyone addressed why men who eagerly went to war in 1861 made the decision to leave the army without permission. Mark A. Weitz addresses this gap in the literature in his thoughtful monograph.

The revisionist nature of Weitz's study is evident from the outset. As Weitz observes, previous studies of desertion by Ella Lonn and Bessie Martin relied on the *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (1880) for their evidence. Both historians broke down desertion rates into specific periods or waves. Weitz challenges their "periodization" and their reliance on the *Official Records*. He utilizes the Register of Confederate Deserters and surveys individual Georgia counties in his quest to understand the role desertion played in Confederate defeat. For Weitz, the issue is "whether desertion acted as a primary cause of Confederate defeat or as a symptom that the Confederacy had already lost its spirit" (p. 6).

Weitz begins his book with an analysis of Georgia's economic geography. According to him, economic, geographic, and cultural variations within the state shaped the way Georgians reacted to the war. For the yeomen in the upper Piedmont and the upcountry, local and family ties loomed larger than any affinity for the state of the Confederacy at large. Conversely, residents of the plantation belt, with their active participation in the market economy, maintained a broader perspective (pp. 16, 24, 32).

The Union's policy toward prisoners of war and deserters operated on almost an ad hoc basis until late 1862. Indeed, not until the summer of 1863 did officials differentiate between Confederate prisoners and deserters. Those deserting the Confederate standard were allowed to return home. Over time, both officers and civilians saw the benefit of encouraging southern desertions. Aiding and even actively encouraging Confederates to desert became a keystone of the effort to reconstruct the South while undermining the Confederate war effort.

The 1864 campaigning season proved pivotal for the Confederacy in general and Georgia in particular. As William T. Sherman and Joseph E. Johnston maneuvered in the hills of north Georgia, Confederate desertions reached almost epidemic proportions. As Weitz notes, the evidence demonstrates "a strong relationship between desertion, the Army of Tennessee, and Sherman's invasion of Georgia" (p. 81).

Weitz argues that "men would be willing to abandon their sense of duty to nation, state and comrades" as Sherman's juggernaut marched from Atlanta to the Sea (p. 91). He maintains that Georgia soldiers left the army because they received too many letters from home despairing of the situation and voicing fears of starvation, occupation, and perhaps even death. A close examination of soldiers' letters indicates that morale was related more to the situation behind the

lines than to the army. In letter after letter, Weitz discovered "severe deprivations on the home front and acute distress" (p. 106). He concludes that the Georgia soldier's decision to desert came "not as a result of any great military defeat but from the long, steady grind required of both soldier and civilian" (p. 118).

The final chapters of the book attempt to put "faces" on those who walked away. They also attempt to assess why certain counties in Georgia had more deserters than others. What comes across is the different experience of Georgians in the war. Weitz concludes that virtually all Georgians were touched by the war in some way, but that those who decided to desert did so because they "chose home over the Confederacy" (p. 175).

Weitz has produced an impressive monograph on desertion and one that should encourage further state studies of this important topic. Well written, persuasively argued, and meticulously researched, this book alters previous interpretations of why men fought and walked away. Showing the close interplay between battlefield maneuvers, difficulties at home, and a complex set of internal beliefs, Weitz succeeds in recasting how we view the influence of home front and battle front. His monograph should set the standard for future studies on Confederate desertion.

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JUDITH ANN GIESBERG. *Civil War Sisterhood: The U.S. Sanitary Commission and Women's Politics in Transition*. Boston: Northeastern University Press. 2000. Pp. xiv, 239. \$40.00.

Judith Ann Giesberg's book is a welcome addition to the growing literature on women's participation in the Civil War. Giesberg argues that the generation of women who ran and staffed the major commission branches between 1861–1865 challenged antebellum separate spheres ideology and, in doing so, created an expanded role for women in the political culture with important consequences for Gilded Age and Progressive reform movements. "The Sanitary Commission served as an interim structure," Geisberg asserts, "the missing link . . . between the localized female activism of the first half of the century and the mass women's movements of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries" (p. 11). Hence, she correctly views the years from 1861–1865 as a critical "transitional" period for women's politics. Giesberg disagrees with George Fredrickson and Lori D. Ginsberg's interpretation of these same upper and middle-class women as rejecting prewar humanitarian, female-centered reform for an elitist and repressive brand of reformism.

The Woman's Central Relief of the Army and Navy of the United States (WCAR) began in April 1861 as one of many grassroots organizations that supported Union soldiers in camp and field. Northern women formed thousands of local aid societies sending clothes, food, equipment, and medical supplies to their

loved ones. How best to organize and distribute the wealth of supplies that were pouring forth from the nation's cities, towns, and rural communities? To help answer that question, socially prominent leaders of the WCAR formed an advisory board that included men as well as women. An all-male delegation, headed by the New York City minister Henry W. Bellows, went to Washington to meet with President Abraham Lincoln to persuade him to establish a civilian advisory board to the Army Medical Bureau. On June 13, 1861, Lincoln signed the order bringing the U.S. Sanitary Commission into existence.

Women played a critical role in formulating policy and programs, despite disappointments and discouragement. Elizabeth Blackwell and Dorothea Dix's visions of a commission-led professionalized and salaried female nursing corps were brushed aside by Bellows and other male leaders. The older, and conflicting, versions of female power represented by Blackwell and Dix found a fresh face as the twenty-something branch managers busied themselves in creating and sustaining a complex network of women-powered organizations. Leaders such as Louisa Lee Schuyler of New York City, Abigail May of Boston, and Mary Livermore of Chicago created a phenomenally efficient infrastructure for the distribution of aid. Giesberg's major contribution is in showing "the way things worked" for the major branches of the WCAR. Schuyler, for example, developed a system of assistant managers that stressed cooperation and respect between the mostly urban and upper/middle-class women who ran the branches and their rural constituents, a feat that required hard work, sensitivity, and political acumen. After the war, according to Giesberg, the ties forged in "sisterhood" shaped the contours of powerful reform movements led by the many women who previously worked for the commission.

On the critical side, Giesberg's argument is not as new as she suggests. Many others have made the connection between the legacy of women's war activism and their postwar activities, yet she does not acknowledge their contributions in any significant way. Her focus on Schuyler and May and the powerful organizations they headed in New York and Boston necessarily raises serious questions of how far her evidence for a new woman's political culture can be extended. The final, slim chapter on "Commission Women in the Gilded Age" hardly sustains Giesberg's claim that "The sisterhood of states wartime women had built with women across the North did not fall apart in the postwar years" (p. 167). That said, this book will be of great interest to students and scholars of women in the nineteenth-century. Giesberg wryly notes that chosen symbol adorning the frontispiece of a widely distributed 1866 history of the commission, "the Angel of the Battlefield," effectively erased from historical memory the "real" story of women's contributions. She recovers that story effectively, and with it an appreciation of power that young women claimed for themselves in the U.S. Sanitary Commission, the

largest private philanthropic organization up to that time, and by any standards, an extraordinary success.

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RICHARD WIGHTMAN FOX. *Trials of Intimacy: Love and Loss in the Beecher-Tilton Scandal*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1999. Pp. xi, 419. \$30.00.

With this book Richard Wightman Fox joins the brave band of historians who defy present conventions of historical narrative. His story is an often-told one of intense friendship that dissolved into scandal and a ruined marriage. The friendship was between Henry Ward Beecher, the most famous Protestant minister of the day, and a younger, reform-minded couple, Theodore and Elizabeth Tilton. In 1874, Theodore sued Beecher for "criminal conversation" with Elizabeth and for alienation of her affections. The 1875 trial was inconclusive, which never prevented confident assertions about what really happened between Henry and Elizabeth. Among the virtues of this account is its dismantling of those assertions, including a recent one that Elizabeth carried Henry's child. Equally important is Fox's insistence that we understand the bonds between Henry and Theodore and the religious and moral worlds of the three, rather than focus on whether or not Henry and Elizabeth committed adultery.

What is most striking about this book, nonetheless, is that it rejects the linear, chronological structure of most historical monographs. In visual terms, it is circular. The first images are of the gravestones of the three, as are the last, viewed from a different angle. Within chapters there are circles back to earlier events or accounts. The central organizing principle, however, is not to circle but rather to move backward in time. After a brief, mostly visual chronology of events, the book begins with the "Final Stories" the three told about their friendship and its dissolution. From there it moves progressively to chapter seven, when we arrive at "Early Stories," followed by chapter eight, in which Fox's voice gives way to letters between the Tilttons before Theodore became convinced there had been an improper relationship between his wife and his dear friend. Only the final chapter violates the backward movement to engage present-day historians and to take the reader, through Fox's own journey, back to the gravestones.

Perhaps the most important achievement of disrupting conventional chronology is to make the narrative less familiar and to place emphasis on how Theodore, Henry, and Elizabeth told their stories, as well as how others supplemented, contradicted, or reinterpreted their words. There is a creative tension between recognizing that the truth of the matter is unknowable and watching Fox masterfully tease approximations of certainty out of the evidence. The approach comes with costs. There is repetition, much use of "perhaps,"



and a disjunction between the nineteenth-century voices Fox quotes generously and his own contemporary, sometimes slangy, one. (A remarkable paragraph contains the terms "radical chic," "white-trash relatives," and "waltzed up"; see pp. 153–54.)

For scholars of the period, the book will probably stand or fall less on literary ambition than on what it says about American culture. When Fox speaks of large-scale changes such as an age of "strangely dissolving selfhood" (p. 50), he is often cryptic and not especially fresh. When he corrects other scholars, he is sharp and on target. When he dissects the Tiltons' marriage, and to a lesser degree the Beechers', he gives a fascinating account of how romantic love masked issues of power and turned to coldness and hatred. When he shows the high degree to which each of the three principal figures viewed life through fiction, he demonstrates something few have shown so complexly or compellingly.

For historians in other fields, this may be the intellectual equivalent of a book to read at the beach—an engaging, sometimes elegant work that compels us to think about our craft, one that takes the indeterminacy of truth as the point, not the problem.

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KEVIN KENNY. *Making Sense of the Molly Maguires*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1998. Pp. xii, 336. \$19.95.

Kevin Kenny convincingly revises previous accounts of the Molly Maguires that viewed them as just Irish miners who terrorized the anthracite coal region of eastern Pennsylvania in the 1860s and 1870s. Kenny argues that the Molly Maguire violence was a form of "retributive justice" common in rural Ireland between 1760 and 1850 that "was adapted in Pennsylvania to the conditions of industrial exploitation" (p. 8) that many Irish miners faced. Although his evidence suggests the Molly Maguires were conspiratorial, he claims that mine owners and other contemporaries greatly exaggerated the conspiracy to discredit enemies which actually had no ties to the Mollies. These included Irish miners, Irish organizations like the Ancient Order of Hibernians (AOH), and the powerful Workingmen's Benevolent Association (WBA).

Kenny's evidence shows that many miners came to Pennsylvania from exactly those parts of north-central and northwestern Ireland where secret agrarian societies like the Whiteboys and the Molly Maguires had retaliated against disruptive landholding practices earlier in the nineteenth century. (The Molly Maguires apparently derived their name from the practice, perhaps borrowed from mummery, of disguising themselves as women.) They eked out meager lives as unskilled miners in Schuylkill County and fumed because the better jobs went to their Scotch, German, English, and Welsh neighbors. The violence attributed to Molly Maguires erupted during the Civil War. The

Mollies were blamed for two assassinations, attacks against draft officials and mine owners, and even robbery and brawling. "By the end of the war," Kenny writes, "the term *Molly Maguires* was being used in the lower anthracite region to describe any and all forms of violence and disorder involving Irish mine workers" (p. 85).

Struggles with mine owners intensified after the Civil War, but only two assassinations occurred between 1868 and 1874 (both men were mine superintendents who had resisted unionization and cooperated with draft officials during the war), partly because the WBA provided an effective alternative to the Molly Maguire violence and also because of the area's new tough-minded police and judicial system. Yet Molly Maguire violence exploded soon after Franklin B. Gowen gained control of the region's coal production. The president of the Philadelphia and Reading Railroad, Gowen drove small coal operators out of business in 1873 and then took aim at the WBA by insisting publicly that there was no difference between the union and the Molly Maguires. Gowen smashed the WBA after a six-month strike in 1875. Kenny says that with their union in tatters, many frustrated Irish miners "turned to violence as the sole remaining strategy for winning some sort of rudimentary justice in the mines" (p. 186). In just three months, the Molly Maguires were blamed for assassinating six mine superintendents, public officials, and other miners.

Gowen and others quickly struck back. Over fifty suspected Molly Maguires were indicted on sixteen counts of murder. All were members of the AOH. Kenny rightly claims that the trials "bordered on a travesty of justice" (p. 213). Detectives from Gowen's private railroad guard made the arrests, Gowen himself was the chief prosecutor, and informers like James McParlan, the undercover Pinkerton detective agent and agent provocateur, supplied the evidence. Yet Kenny does not seek to exonerate the Irish altogether. While many indictments lacked merit, he acknowledges that "many of the men who stood trial had engaged in violence, up to and including assassination" (p. 214). Local officials made much of this fact and hung ten men on the same day in June 1877 to emphasize that mine-owner rule had returned to the region. To Kenny, the hangings, known locally as "Black Thursday," also "consolidated the notion that the Molly Maguires were inherently depraved and had represented a conspiracy of enormous proportions. In this way," he concludes, "the myth of the Molly Maguires was refined and perfected" (p. 246).

This terrific book adds much to our understanding of the Molly Maguires and provides details about the social and ethnic landscapes of eastern Pennsylvania. It also sheds new light on how many Irish Americans understood Catholicism. For example, in a short but fascinating section Kenny describes how the working-class Irish struggled against the Catholic Church and an emerging Irish middle class to maintain customs and beliefs that the church had purged during the



"Devotional Revolution" after the Famine. He explains how Irish miners "seemed to have practiced a version of Catholicism markedly different from the one propagated by the hierarchy in Rome, Dublin, and Philadelphia" (p. 159). No wonder church officials helped Gowen smash the Mollies.

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WILLIAM G. THOMAS. *Lawyer for the Railroad: Business, Law, and Power in the New South*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1999. Pp. xx, 318. Cloth \$47.50, paper \$24.95.

William G. Thomas has blazed a new trail in the study of American legal and railroad history by examining the relationship between railroads and their lawyers in the South. He describes how companies from the end of federal Reconstruction to the era of World War I adapted their legal activities as they moved from shortlines or intraregional carriers to being truly regional and even interregional operations. Initially, the upstart railroads engaged local lawyers to assist in acquiring rights of way, other real estate, and the overall process of line construction. Then, as carriers began service, their executives arranged to have local legal representatives manage matters that ranged from personal injury cases to anti-whistle ordinances. In the process, companies developed more bureaucratic and hierarchical legal departments, especially during the process of "system building" that swept Dixie toward the end of the nineteenth century and in the early years of the twentieth century. The volume of legal business steadily grew, necessitating an army of lawyers, some of whom received annual salaries and others, usually county seat attorneys, kept on retainers. Activities focused heavily on personal injury litigation and state and federal regulatory measures and policies.

Thomas provides considerable insights and materials that have been lacking from the historical literature. He is especially adept at showing how southern carriers responded to their legal problems and how these responses affected the legal community. The topic is fresh, and Thomas has exploited a number of heretofore untapped sources, including the papers of Baker and Botts, a major law firm in Houston, Texas, that served several major trunk roads in the Lone Star State.

But this book suffers from several shortcomings. Although Thomas proposed an examination of railroad lawyers in the South, he virtually ignores two of the region's largest roads, the Atlantic Coast Line and the Seaboard Air Line. And he spends an inordinate amount of time commenting on happenings in Texas, hardly a typical southern state, where the non-southern-based Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe, Missouri Pacific, and Southern Pacific dominated. Thomas generally sees the railroad corporation as a negative force in southern life. Admittedly, companies at times mis-

behaved but they never acted as full-fledged agents of the devil, as he implies. To place the historical record in proper balance, Thomas might have commented on the common occurrence of "strike" legislation: namely bills introduced by cunning lawmakers that were solely designed for payoffs by railroad lobbyists. Railroads were seen as "cash cows," and these shakedowns knew no geographical bounds. Similarly, American farmers, including cash-strapped southerners, repeatedly took their dying livestock to track side so the locomotive of the "night flyer" or even a poky local might impale these "prized" possessions. Finally, Thomas seems confused about southern progressivism. He repeatedly lumps reformers together, failing to distinguish between those who sought modernization and efficiency and those who battled for consumers' rights. Likely the objectives of these two types varied when it came to regulating the railroad enterprise.

Although hardly a perfect study, this book is a beginning point for a better understanding of the relationship between the legal profession and America's first big business. Surely what occurred in Dixie happened in varying degrees elsewhere. But how did the experiences of Granger railroads differ from carriers in the West or the South? Just as ties between lawyers and railroads are significant so, too, for example, are those between physicians and the carriers. The linkages between rising big businesses and emerging professions need to be fully explored.

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MARK WAHLGREN SUMMERS. *Rum, Romanism and Rebellion: The Making of a President, 1884*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2000. Pp. xv, 377. Cloth \$55.00, paper \$19.95.

Few American historians today write—or read—the detailed narrative studies of elections and the internal world of political professionals that once constituted the stock in trade of political history. Instead, historians pursue questions of power, authority, and ideology by intensively examining small communities, local associations, families, and the political activities of oppressed or marginalized groups. By that measure, Mark Wahlgren Summers's close study of the much-caricatured presidential election of 1884 is old-fashioned. Based on extensive research in manuscript collections and newspapers, the book focuses on Republican James G. Blaine, Democrat Grover Cleveland, and the scores of officeholders, factional leaders, and party operatives that conducted the tightly contested campaign. Discussions of the tariff, political scandals, and patronage matters figure prominently in the narrative. Yet, as in his studies of corruption and the political press from the sectional crisis through the Gilded Age, Summers again demonstrates that energetic, intelligent analysis of traditional topics can yield important insights into such major subjects as the

construction of public power and the restricted nature of late nineteenth-century American democracy.

Summers does not intend to rewrite the history of Gilded Age politics but rather to clear away some interpretive cobwebs that have obscured the significance of the 1884 campaign. First, Summers attacks the view that the Cleveland-Blaine campaign was a meaningless battle over patronage that reflected the issueless organizational politics of the Gilded Age. Denying that such Gilded Age political mainstays as the tariff, civil service reform, and the bloody shirt were symbolic tropes of partisan identification, Summers painstakingly reconstructs the significant policy differences they embodied. The personal scandals and blundering remarks (such as the "Rum, Romanism, and Rebellion" slander aimed at Democrats by a misguided Blaine supporter) that are the campaign's best-known artifacts are contextualized by Summers. He contends that Blaine's corruption and Cleveland's alleged illegitimate son attracted attention to the extent that they reinforced important issues in the campaign. Summers further argues that the election of 1884 helped propel other significant political changes. Cleveland's victory moved the Democratic Party toward a conservatism that could not contain the soft money demands of the 1890s and cultivated greater solidarity and intransigence in the white Democratic South.

Summers's second target is what he sees as a nostalgic view of the Gilded Age as an era of extensive popular participation in politics and more authentic democracy. The charge is insubstantial, but by exploring it Summers powerfully documents the extent to which Gilded Age democracy was a closed system run by party professionals. Summers expertly sketches northern machine politics in action, but the key to his analysis is the South after Reconstruction. By intimidation and fraud, white Democrats essentially eradicated the black, mostly Republican, electorate in many southern states, thus tilting the entire political system off balance. Without genuine popular politics in the South, elections centered on a handful of swing states in the North. These circumstances virtually dictated that political candidates had to come from a small group of states, often Indiana, Ohio, or New York. Since momentous results hung on a few thousand votes, party newspapers connived with candidates in the manipulation of events, failing to report some news and spreading false reports. Access to money and influence determined election outcomes. Both Democrats and Republicans tried to bend independent movements and third parties to their own ends. Thus, Democrats cultivated Mugwumps to draw votes from Blaine, and Republicans ineffectively subsidized Benjamin F. Butler's People's Party campaign in the hope that it would cut into Democratic returns. The GOP also disastrously paid to remove the Prohibition candidate from the race, only to learn too late that they had been defrauded by a disreputable broker who disappeared with the money. When party officials

pressured the Prohibitionist, he defiantly continued his campaign and siphoned critical votes away from Blaine in New York. In a system in which "politics was not so much national as federal, a crowd of state elections, each with its own specialties" (p. xiii), the final result could turn on such mistakes. Behind the bands, parades, and high voter turnout, small groups of powerful and sometimes miscalculating men dominated national elections. Written with gusto and peppered with insights, this is old-fashioned political history at its best.

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RICHARD SCHNEIROV, SHELTON STROMQUIST, and NICK SALVATORE, editors. *The Pullman Strike and the Crisis of the 1890s: Essays on Labor and Politics*. (The Working Class in American History.) Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press. 1999. Pp. 258. Cloth \$49.95, paper \$18.95.

This book reproduces eight essays presented to the hundredth anniversary conference—held in Eugene Debs's hometown of Terre Haute, Indiana—of the pivotal Pullman railroad strike of 1894. Technically a national boycott of Pullman Company sleeping cars by Debs's American Railway Union (ARU), the strike's defeat at the hands of federal troops enforcing a court injunction raised basic questions in the minds of contemporaries about the partiality of the state in labor matters, the breakdown of corporate paternalism, and the crisis of the late nineteenth-century labor movement.

In 1880, George Pullman built his "model" company town, complete with library, parks, and playgrounds, far enough away from Chicago's industrial grime to insulate his car manufacturing shops—or so he hoped—from the corrupting influences of the city's turbulent working class. After the industrial collapse of 1893, however, he cut wages and fired many of his employees, refusing at the same time to lower housing rents or reduce prices in his company store. Hence the strike, which was in fact supported by many of Chicago's workers. This essay collection provides few new details about the course of the conflict, a task already carried out by Almont Lindsey in his pioneering, if dated, narrative (*The Pullman Strike: The Story of a Unique Experiment and of a Great Labor Upheaval* [1942]). Nevertheless, it contains some highly valuable essays. For example, despite her somewhat dubious comparison between Pullman and the national railroad strike of 1922, Susan Hirsch presents some interesting new data about the ethnic origins of Pullman's skilled British and Scandinavian car shop workers. It is a pity, though, that she draws no link between the craft outlook of these elite workers and the cultural background of the unskilled elements in the labor force. This would have thrown more light on labor's failure to secure industrial unity between the exclusive Railroad Brotherhoods and the more proletarian railroad maintenance workers, which is one of the book's recurrent

themes. But Larry Peterson breaks important new ground when he shows how press images of class violence during the conflict undermined not only Pullman's efforts to project his town as a paternalistic haven, but also the ARU's desire to frame the strike in terms of a labor republican ideology that was fast becoming obsolete. Melvyn Dubofsky successfully reinterprets the legal aspects of the court injunctions issued against the strikers under the Sherman Anti-Trust Act, arguing that the state was less heavy-handed in upholding the interests of capital than is usually supposed. Jan Reiff and Victoria Brown introduce a welcome new gender theme into the discussion when they explore the significance of Jane Addams's essay on the Pullman strike entitled "A Modern [King] Lear." Casting the strikers' wives in the role of Lear's daughters, Reiff goes Addams one better when she not only contrasts the "female" Progressive search for a humanitarian solution with the harsh "masculine" crackdown by federal troops but also points up the contrast between the "manliness" of the male workers who came out on strike and their implicit approval of Pullman's paternalistic treatment of their wives.

Most of the other essayists focus on the efforts made by reformers to find a political solution to the broader problem of intensifying class conflict exposed by the defeat of the Pullman strike and the depression of 1893–1896. Robert E. Weir, Shelton Stromquist, and Richard Schneirov all explore the demise of "producerism," which—despite its refusal to acknowledge the permanency of class conflict—had held the labor movement together for more than a generation. These authors also examine the possibility of a "new liberal alliance" emerging in the 1890s, based on the ideas of Progressives, Populists, and civic-minded businessmen with whom the unions might find common cause. In the end, Schneirov's optimism on this point notwithstanding, no new liberal political block emerged to the left of the two major parties which held up over time. To the contrary, the American Federation of Labor's failure to endorse a general strike in support of the Pullman boycott, its repudiation of the ARU's experiment in industrial unionism, and its rejection of the socialist political program at its 1894 convention resulted in the further fragmentation of the labor movement into three quarreling groups who never overcame their differences: syndicalists, socialists, and craft unionists. Whose fault this was remains a matter of historical debate. One immediate problem lay in the inability of the unions, still influenced by their producerist legacy, to grasp fully the class-conscious intentions of the employers. As a consequence, the crisis precipitated by the defeat of the Pullman strike forced labor onto the defensive for many years, leaving corporate capitalism largely in possession of the field.

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MAURY KLEIN. *The Life and Legend of E. H. Harriman*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2000. Pp. xvi, 521. \$34.95.

Maury Klein portrays Edward Henry Harriman as a person who craved power, not money, and who pushed himself obsessively as he worked on whatever project (usually more than one) in which he happened to be engaged. An imperious man, Harriman cared little about what the public thought of him as long as he was able to get the job done properly, according to his lights.

He was a successful, middle-aged, Wall Street broker before the importunings of his friend Stuyvesant Fish and the challenges of railroading lured him into that field. Nevertheless, Harriman remained a financier all his life. Unlike his conservative contemporaries, he was unafraid to spend huge sums of money or to take chances, if by so doing he accomplished his purpose. He proved his point by spending several millions and several years modernizing western railroads, including the Union Pacific and the Southern Pacific. His success in these and other ventures made him a leading figure in finance and industry in the United States. Klein believes it was Harriman who set the pattern for railroading "into the new era of high volume traffic carried at lower rates" (p. 445).

As he grew older, Harriman's advanced ideas on business procedures brought him into conflict with many former associates and friends. Yet he remained a fighter, standing his ground even though several causes in which he was a participant were not truly his, and he would have preferred to devote his time to personal endeavors.

The public vilified Harriman, fearful that if he were to dominate United States railroads, it would lead to government ownership. Americans considered him an archetypal second-generation robber baron, thanks to his lack of concern about what his fellow citizens thought of him. Basically, he wanted the government and the public to leave him alone so he could use his methods to pursue his endeavors. In spite of his reputation, he was a generous man who helped others in need. For instance, he was the sole representative of Wall Street's monied group who personally rushed to San Francisco's aid at the time of the 1906 earthquake and fire. Nevertheless, it was not until his final years that he managed to cleanse his name.

This book is the product of thorough research and very good writing. Klein knows his subject well, and his knowledge, coupled with his enthusiasm, is apparent throughout this fast-moving account. Klein not only describes the financier's public life but delves into his private life, detailing his devotion to his wife and children, for whom he always made time. He was, nevertheless, a demanding father who urged his offspring to extend themselves beyond what they considered to be their limits, although he never asked them to do anything he would not do himself.

While Harriman did take long vacations, his pres-



sured dedication to business led to frequent bouts with colds and influenza as he overextended himself. Later in life, he was plagued by constant pain from hemorrhoids and, in the end, by stomach cancer, about which he complained very little. Klein balances his treatment of Harriman by pointing out his numerous weaknesses, such as his quick temper and lack of patience with those who could not absorb information as quickly as he.

This volume is more than a biography of an important historical figure. Klein explores the backgrounds of many incidents and their principals, such as the Northern Securities case and the Interstate Commerce Commission hearings, which were so much a part of the twentieth century's first decade. He does not conceal his dislike of Theodore Roosevelt, who he believes double-crossed Harriman. Klein also shows how society and business of the period affected each other as he writes of Harriman's role in the Equitable Insurance Company scandal, and its main character, James Hazen Hyde. Those who are not necessarily students of the period will finish this book knowing a great deal about how society, politics, and business were intertwined as the United States entered the twentieth century.

All in all Klein has put forth a first-rate book that explains an interesting era through the eyes of one of its leading participants.

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MARY N. WOODS. *From Craft to Profession: The Practice of Architecture in Nineteenth-Century America*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1999. Pp. xvi, 265. \$50.00.

Mary N. Woods's book is the first work to comprehensively survey the history of the architectural profession in nineteenth-century America. Although specialists will find much that is familiar, the book gives a valuable perspective on the legacy of nineteenth-century architects' practices and values. Woods's interests and arguments are apparent from the first page of her introduction. She is intent on writing a more balanced examination of "architecture as work and business, not in its typical guises as art or problem solving" (p. 1). Her concern is animated by her affiliation with Cornell University, home of one of the country's most prominent schools of architecture. Underlying the book's focus, then, is the author's desire to survey the history of the profession and explicate the lessons from that history.

Woods begins her narrative with a familiar figure in American architectural history, Benjamin Henry Latrobe, who was trained in England and emigrated to the United States in 1796. As an architect, Latrobe struggled for years to find a niche between the world of gentleman amateurs and carpenter builders who maintained control of construction and most design. La-

trobe argued that his knowledge of the art, theory, and practice of building was superior to that of either the builders or their patrons, but his claims of authority and prickly sense of status grated on American sensibilities and tight-fisted economics. Woods does a fine job setting in relief Latrobe's considerable design and engineering skills and his limited sense of how to reconcile his artistic vision with his patrons' financial interests. In essence, Latrobe becomes a metaphor for the enduring challenges of the job: how to make a living at a profession that reveres aesthetic, intellectual, and design skills, but survives through attention to sound business practices and cultivation of clients.

Professionalization depended upon a critical mass of practitioners and a sense of collective benefits that cooperation might bring. Woods devotes her second chapter to the history of professional organizations particularly the American Institution of Architects (AIA) and the Western Association of Architects (WAA). The first was dominated by architects from the Northeast, the second by architects from the upper Midwest. Among the concerns of both groups was a desire to regulate building commissions, design competitions, and professional practices. The two organizations finally consolidated in 1889. Woods is critical of the profession's accomplishments during this period. Its focus was on large-scale commissions that paid well and that typically benefitted members in large cities. Moreover, the AIA paid little attention to smaller commissions and had little interest in architects' educations.

Chapter three and four explore the changes in architects' training, education, and practice. For most of the nineteenth century, Woods finds that architects trained through a form of apprenticeship, working at drafting in architects' offices, looking at books on architecture, and observing office practices. Training was often haphazard and unsystematic. University schooling in architecture emerged after the Civil War, modeled in part on European examples such as the *École des Beaux-Arts* and in part on professional schools of engineering. University degrees imparted intellectual cachet to a gentlemanly career, but they also systematized training. While many nineteenth-century architects continued to train through office practice and schools of fine arts, university trained architects who had survived studio projects, competitions, and juried work increasingly became the norm in the twentieth century.

As buildings became larger and more complex in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the nature of building changed. While the reality of architectural work was a form of collaboration with a building team, the profession's ideal remained independent practice. Woods expands on these contradictions by discussing the current state of the profession. Although the argument would benefit from a more detailed analysis of twentieth-century conditions, she considers the growing distance between university training and professional practice. The reality for



many graduates of university architecture programs is that they will become employees rather than independent artists.

This book will prove thought-provoking reading for architects in training, for scholars who are studying the process by which occupations negotiate the path to professional status, and for architectural historians seeking information on the internal practices of large firms. It leaves open for further study the question of why so much architectural authority in the United States is still diffused among builders, developers, financial institutions, and clients. Woods reminds us that we have much to learn about the ways people express, subvert, and contest the power to define architectural aesthetics.

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WITOLD RYBCZYNSKI. *A Clearing in the Distance: Frederick Law Olmsted and America in the Nineteenth Century*. New York: Scribner. 1999. Pp. 480. \$28.00.

Among the first advocates of long-range planning in the industrializing republic, Frederick Law Olmsted was often seen as extravagant, impractical, and slow. In his defense, his patron Reverend Henry Bellows argued that Olmsted was "long-headed," a man who looked to the future and saw greater economies to come from present investments. Olmsted's patient concern with the future is the central argument of Witold Rybczynski's book. Although sometimes impatient with Olmsted's wide range of interests and projects, Rybczynski endorses Lewis Mumford's praise of Olmsted's years of travel, observation, and practical experience—supplemented by reading—as the best American education. Olmsted's meandering career, from scientific farmer and critic of the slave South through service to the Union war effort and, finally, work as a landscape architect, pioneer environmentalist, and city planner unfolded like a puzzle with apparently mismatched pieces lying about. But the pieces eventually fell into place, revealing an unmatched preparation for a man whose life work was building the parks—beginning with New York's Central Park—that would civilize American cities.

One could hardly find a better starting point for understanding American civilization in the nineteenth century than this remarkable figure. Son of a Hartford patrician who was part of a regional elite in a decentralized republic, Olmsted became an energetic proponent and charter member of a new national intellectual elite. Like so many heirs of the American Revolution, Olmsted worried that his countrymen lacked the character necessary to live up to that legacy. But unlike many pessimists, Olmsted committed himself to the creation of democratic culture, of which his parks would become a central element.

At a critical point in the transition from subsistence to commercial agriculture, Olmsted developed the model of the farmer as practical scientist-businessman.

A key figure in the disunion crisis, he traveled the antebellum South, sending back dispatches supporting the free soil movement and giving shape to the free labor ideology. As head of the U.S. Sanitary Commission (organizing care for casualties of the war) and cofounder of *The Nation*, Olmsted served the Union in war and Reconstruction. A long career in planning and landscape architecture still lay ahead.

A study of this seminal figure, updating Laura Roper's *FLO: A Biography of Frederick Law Olmsted* (1973) with reference to the scholarship of the last generation, is much needed. But this is not that study. Although Rybczynski's subtitle is "Frederick Law Olmsted and America in the Nineteenth Century," he relies almost exclusively on Olmsted's published and unpublished works. Even a short list of secondary works that Rybczynski could have usefully consulted would take up the rest of this review. His detailed account of Olmsted's life does little to suggest his place in nineteenth-century America.

Rybczynski does better in suggesting Olmsted's relevance to our own times. A pioneer environmentalist who helped to design and administer the largest public works in the nation, Olmsted speaks to our mounting environmental problems in a period of fierce privatization. In describing the current condition of places Olmsted designed and especially in the dozen plates included, Rybczynski captures Olmsted's prescience. He notes Olmsted's interest in civic spaces and institutions as a counterweight to the calculating spirit of the market and his belief that large public investments could reduce future social costs.

But Rybczynski makes no effort to tie these insights to environmental history or the history of civic action and public works. Instead, he blurs the issues. Rybczynski argues that the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition reflected how much Americans had learned from Olmsted. Given Olmsted's concerns, that is an odd conclusion to draw about a corporate-sponsored, paper-maché mirage built to be quickly dismantled. Defending his work for the Vanderbilts' Biltmore estate, Olmsted described it as "a private work of very rare public interest" (p. 384). Believing that a properly managed forest would encourage more responsible stewardship of natural resources, Olmsted convinced Gifford Pinchot to serve as manager of Biltmore's 100,000 acre forest. Rybczynski points this out but dismisses Olmsted's argument and fails even to note that Pinchot went on to become a pioneer conservationist. Instead, Rybczynski concludes that Biltmore was nothing more than the private indulgence of a plutocrat and that Olmsted required no defense. Despite his earlier insistence that landscape architecture was more civic planning and social reform than pure art, Rybczynski here reduces Olmsted to an artist justifiably unconcerned with social issues. We need a study of Olmsted and nineteenth-century America for our own times, and Rybczynski helps us see that need.

But Roper's biography remains the essential starting point.

JOHN D. FAIRFIELD  
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JAMES A. PRITCHARD. *Preserving Yellowstone's Natural Conditions: Science and the Perception of Nature*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 1999. Pp. xix, 370. \$45.00.

For many people, Yellowstone National Park represents a vestige of primordial North America where nature is free of human disturbance and wild animals still act out the ancient struggles of life and death. James A. Pritchard reminds us that this American Eden is hardly free of human values and actions. Rather, it is the product of intensive management schemes that have alternately killed and cultivated various segments of the park landscape to make them fit changing conceptions of nature, science, and preservation. As Pritchard writes: "The park border remains not an ecological border but a cultural boundary delimiting particular ways of understanding and using the landscape" (p. xvii). Because Yellowstone is one of the most symbolically charged landscapes in the United States, and because the park has long served as an important center of ecological study both within and outside the National Park Service (NPS), the history of scientific study in Yellowstone has relevance far beyond the park itself.

It is becoming a standard refrain in environmental history to call "wilderness" or "nature" a cultural construct, but very little work has been done on what is actually constructed or the processes by which it comes into existence. This book goes a long way toward addressing those shortcomings, and Pritchard sees in the history of scientific management in Yellowstone a model for understanding the complicated array of values that can shape all "natural" landscapes. In Yellowstone, we find that a place largely regarded as one of the most "intact" ecosystems in North America has long been shaped by "a complex interaction among cultural movements, ideal notions about how nature works, changing conservation strategies, scientific information, institutional structures, and a good dose of politics" (p. 314).

Although he begins with the development of Yellowstone National Park in the late nineteenth century, Pritchard is mostly concerned with the park's history since the creation of the NPS in 1916. Charged with two basic purposes—to preserve the natural scenery and wildlife within the parks and provide for their enjoyment by the public—the NPS also managed the parks as great outdoor laboratories. The study of nature was expected to reconcile the demands of tourism with the need to protect the flora and fauna of the parks, and this uneasy association of preservation, tourism, and science has played out in a story of intervention and reaction that continues to characterize the management of Yellowstone.

From early efforts to exterminate predators and feed popular game species to more recent concerns about letting ecological processes regulate the park environment, debates over how best to manage Yellowstone have always been about definitions of nature and its appropriate enjoyment. Disagreements have reflected popular concerns as well as political and economic pressures, but they also followed major shifts in environmental science. From the 1930s until the 1950s, a concern with maintaining a certain balance in nature led to aggressive efforts to counter-balance human disturbances in the park—with mixed results at best. By the 1970s, ecologists had soundly rejected the notion of "natural balances" and posited a new model of dynamic ecosystems that were best left to their own devices. Although debates continue about whether or not to intervene, finding equal expression in the reintroduction of wolves and a "let it burn" approach to fire management, Pritchard argues that judicious manipulation of Yellowstone should be considered both "natural" and necessary.

This book stands apart from most works about national parks, which tend to fall under the categories of policy or cultural studies. In that respect alone, it is an important contribution to the history of parks and their management. Nevertheless, Pritchard could have delved deeper into how nature is perceived by drawing from a rich and growing body of literature in the cultural studies of science. For instance, the book includes tantalizing references to the disdain that wildlife managers had for the "hysterical" views of unprofessional women, but it does not explore how conceptions of nature and its management are and were highly gendered. This is not to plead for more material in an otherwise full and thorough study, but for a careful use of "culture" as something more than a synonym for "public pressure" or "bureaucratic structures." Such criticism should not take away from the value of a book that is remarkable both for its careful argumentation and the exemplary quality of its research. Indeed, Pritchard has produced an excellent study of a still little appreciated aspect of national park history that should attract a great deal of attention for many years to come.

MARK SPENCE  
Knox College

PETER C. BALDWIN. *Domesticating the Street: The Reform of Public Space in Hartford, 1850–1930*. (Urban Life and Urban Landscape Series.) Columbus: Ohio State University Press. 1999. Pp. ix, 360. Cloth \$50.00, paper \$19.95.

The central theme of this focused study of Hartford, Connecticut's space-planning movements is the rise of "segregation" as the master planning ethic by the early 1920s. This medium-sized city (population of only 150,000 by 1930) provides Peter C. Baldwin with a case study both small enough to be highly knowable and large enough to share concerns with the largest me-

tropolises. In the 1850s, Hartford's crusading minister Horace Bushnell practically founded American city planning through his romantic theological arguments that the emergent class, ethnic, and race divisions of the rising American city could be overcome through environmental contact in shared park and street spaces that would remake the city in the image of the bourgeois home. By the 1920s, however, planners eagerly embraced and reinforced social divisions through zoning for specific property values and uses. Baldwin reconstructs this transformation chronologically. In the early efforts of the 1860s to 1900, reformers sought to "purify" the entire city of poor environmental influences. Their idealism was tempered by the gradual discovery that it was easier to segregate and divide urban space than to purify and unify it. An accumulation of segregated spaces evolved: first the segregation of parks, as metaphoric "parlors"; then newspaper girls and boys (from one another and from pedophilic danger); then parks and playgrounds suited to different class uses; and then express delivery men and cart peddlers. Finally, by the late 1910s and early 1920s, the official city plans envisioned whole portions of the city devoted to different social classes and social uses enforced through major traffic street plans and zoning laws.

Richly researched in Hartford newspapers, local commission reports, and secondary literature (nearly the last third of the book is composed of footnotes), this study is also admirably nuanced. The chief goal of the early reformers was to "domesticate" the city by applying bourgeois Protestant values of decorum to the park and sidewalk (but this theme is lost by the end of the book). Baldwin avoids (at some cost, as we shall see) simplistic "social control" or Marxian models by giving a very fair hearing to the theories of the reformers. Rather than ridicule Bushnell's daughter, the banker's wife and society matron Dortha Bushnell Hillyer, Baldwin empathetically follows her efforts in the Civic League and the Municipal Art Society to seek, through public cleanliness, a purified visual and auditory decorum that would influence moral behavior. Baldwin has in particular profited greatly from feminist scholarship about the important connections between city planning and gendered ideologies of domesticity and the public sphere.

Hillyer's philanthropic Victorian leadership was eclipsed, predictably, by the instrumentalism of the Progressive professionals. George A. Parker, superintendent of Hartford's parks, along with the city's leading planning firm of Carrère and Hastings, saw segregation and ultimately zoning as the solution to any inefficiency or social problem. "The emphasis in Hartford's city planning gradually turned from the usefulness of beauty to the beauty of usefulness until the older values finally faded away" (p. 260).

Baldwin wants very much to avoid imputing class, race-ethnic, or technological causation of the segregated cityscape that emerged by the 1920s. His success, like that of his reformer subjects, is mixed. He fre-

quently downplays his own evidence of rampant and deep-seated bigotry on the part of the upper-class Protestant reformers by trying to separate their class and racial attitudes from the "sincerity" of their other motivations (pp. 22, 60, 74, 105, 147-48, 185, 193, 219, 259-66). But Baldwin errs by protesting too much and misses a chance to make some very valuable connections. Most surprisingly, Baldwin spends seventeen pages (pp. 128-45) in chapter five detailing how Parker, who ran the city's park system for twenty crucial years (1906-1926) embraced a functional-use theory of ethnic and class park segregation, without mentioning for another hundred pages (pp. 251-52) that Parker was a former Maryland plantation overseer, a fervent and explicit fan of the South's racial segregation, and a personal friend of Georgia's notorious segregationist "Pitchfork" Ben Tillman! Only then does Baldwin reveal that Parker consciously used class criteria to conceal race segregation (p. 252).

Likewise, Baldwin is very unclear about the efficacy of his reformers because he is all too forthcoming about their limitations, showing over and over again that demographic growth, impersonal market forces, and changing consumer behavior were remaking Hartford into a use-segregated city in which the automobile had displaced inter-group public life from the major public thoroughfares.

Although Baldwin falters at the threshold of the hardest analytical tasks, his middle-range theory of multiple causes for the segregated city is serviceable enough. Although this book does not reference much of the avant-garde literature on modernist urbanism, it stands solidly in the more muted tradition of urban social and political history and in this way is a very valuable empirical contribution to the emerging scholarship on the social construction of urban space.

PHILIP J. ETHINGTON

*University of Southern California*

JAMES DUANE BOLIN. *Bossism and Reform in a Southern City: Lexington, Kentucky 1880-1940*. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky. 2000. Pp. xvii, 202. \$24.95.

The political boss and machine played a central role in American urban history. Both illustrate the strange mixture of strong personality and institutional hierarchy that marked turn-of-the-century cities. As most textbook histories explain, the boss arose during the late nineteenth century and then faced the challenges of Goo-goos and Progressive-era reformers, being displaced by a host of political initiatives like council government or city manager systems. The political boss appears like a blip in history.

James Duane Bolin challenges this standard narrative in his important book. He focuses his attention on Billy Klair, political boss of Lexington, Kentucky. The first thing Bolin does is show how Klair managed Progressive-era reform so that it worked to his advantage. This boss certainly practiced petty patronage and grew rich from his private insurance monopoly. At the

same time, he co-opted certain reform initiatives, including the woman's suffrage movement and the efforts of settlement house activists like Madeline Breckenridge, who was inspired by Jane Addams. (Addams herself admitted to the difficulty of resisting the power of Chicago's bosses in her reform initiatives, and Bolin's book would have benefited from explaining this history a bit more.) Other city reform initiatives like civil service laws and commission government, Bolin shows, never significantly challenged Klair's power. If anything, the Progressive era in Lexington, Kentucky witnessed a "confusing interplay of bossism and reform" (p. 155).

The second important thing Bolin does in this book is extend his horizons beyond the Progressive era into the New Deal. Bolin shows that federal power—especially in the form of the Works Progress Administration (WPA)—certainly bamboozled Billy Klair. Now, it seemed, there were more places for Lexington's residents to go for patronage than just the boss. Bolin writes, "While Klair recognized the necessity of work programs like the WPA, the baffling array of federal relief programs surely perplexed him" (p. 132). Even so, Klair managed to hold on to power. The feds did not displace him. In fact, Bolin suggests, they enhanced his power: "In Lexington . . . federal New Deal assistance worked to oil the cogs of the machine, providing financial support that would not otherwise have been available" (p. 147). Bolin believes it was World War II—and more specifically the suburbanization in the war's wake—that finally helped dethrone Klair. Even so, the decline in boss power was "gradual" and not attributable to any single factor.

Bolin's book is well written and sheds light on the conundrum of political reform and the power of urban bosses. But it is not entirely clear that his findings can be generalized. After all, he admits that Klair's power was peculiar to the "paternalistic" culture of the South (p. 9). And Bolin has no pretense of writing anything but a history of one very particular town. Nonetheless, he has certainly complicated our inherited picture of Progressive-era reformers sweeping away the power of urban bosses. For that alone, Bolin's book deserves an audience among urban historians and those concerned with the history of American democracy.

KEVIN MATTSO  
Rutgers University

JOHN AUBREY DOUGLASS. *The California Idea and American Higher Education: 1850 to the 1960 Master Plan*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 2000. Pp. xiii, 460. \$55.00.

State systems of higher education have been the testing grounds for American experiments in mass higher education. After World War II, and especially after Sputnik, a growing political and academic consensus supported extending higher education to one-third, one-half, or even more of the next generation. Most private colleges and universities opted for no or

slow growth and greater selectivity. Thus, public community colleges, teachers' colleges, and universities served most of the millions of new students.

States expanded existing public institutions and constructed new ones, especially community colleges. The new scale of public higher education overwhelmed existing administrative frameworks. Constitutional limitations and state sensitivities limited the federal role, leaving the coordination and financial burden largely to the states. In response, most created a statewide system or systems, learning from each other but creating fifty different versions.

Although the work of these systems significantly affected modern America and has influenced other countries as they extend their citizens' access to higher education, few historians have sought to chronicle them. And it is a daunting task. How do you write the history of a bureaucratic network governing campuses scattered across a state, especially one as large as California? John Aubrey Douglass answers that question by rooting his study in California's political culture.

California's story has particular significance. Early in the twentieth century, California opened higher education to an unprecedented percentage of its population. Only New York, with its numerous private colleges, had a similar level of access. Thus, California was unrivalled in public education. In the 1930s, one-quarter of young Californians experienced higher education, and over half by 1960. Douglass examines that extraordinary achievement from statehood in 1850 to Clark Kerr's masterplan of 1960.

In the decades just after the gold rush, state leaders saw no reason to create a public college until seduced by the blandishments of the Morrill Act (1862) to found the University of California at Berkeley. The inhospitable climate lasted for the rest of century. Even President Daniel Gilman failed to generate support and left to launch Johns Hopkins University.

The Progressive movement transformed the relationship of California and higher education. Determined to break both the power of the Southern Pacific Railroad and rampant political corruption, California's progressives took inspiration from "the Wisconsin idea" that made higher education a central ingredient in modernizing the state. In 1907, they initiated the first state support for junior colleges, a decade before any other state did so. Progressive education leaders envisioned an integrated tripartite state system consisting of the junior colleges, the normal schools, and Berkeley. Although the Progressives' power declined after 1912, their legacy was permanent.

President Benjamin Ide Wheeler supported the tripartite system, partially to protect Berkeley's elite research nature by diverting the mass of students to the other institutions. This backhanded support by Berkeley's leaders continued throughout the century. Junior colleges fit into that strategy, but the normal schools (which became state teachers' colleges in the



1920s and multipurpose colleges in the 1930s) had competing ambitions.

World War II transformed California; its population and wealth ballooned, and it became the center of military research. Under Governor Earl Warren, the constituent elements flourished, but the rivalries between the colleges and Berkeley continued. Despite setbacks from McCarthyism and budgetary conservatives, public higher education continued to be part of what it meant to be a Californian. "The California idea" was sufficiently embedded that higher education became inseparable from visions of the state's seemingly limitless future.

Given public higher education's visibility, however, feuding among the elements of the tripartite system made it increasingly vulnerable to calls for greater legislative oversight. Douglass's final chapters chronicle the now legendary events that led to acceptance of Kerr's masterplan of 1960, which codified the differentiation of function among the three types of institution. *Time* put Kerr on its cover and admiring observers streamed in from other states and countries.

Douglass's clear prose is augmented by exceptionally useful timelines and tables. These help non-Californians understand its higher education system and political history. They also place California events into a national context without complicating the text. Stanford University Press did readers a service by including a bibliography as well as extensive explanatory footnotes.

Trouble awaited the triumphant Kerr, and further dramas beset the system through the rest of the twentieth century. Douglass has so masterfully told the story to 1960 that I hope he will bring us up to the present with another volume. For now, we must rely on Nicholas Lemann's journalistic *The Big Test: The Secret History of the American Meritocracy* (1999) as the most accessible treatment of later events. Douglass has given us both a model for approaching the history of state systems and a fine account of the creation of (and it hurts a New Yorker to admit this) the nation's leading system.

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ROBERT M. BUCHANAN. *Illusions of Equality: Deaf Americans in School and Factory 1850-1950*. Washington, D.C.: Gallaudet University Press. 1999. Pp. xvii, 214. \$39.95.

Throughout the latter nineteenth century and for much of the twentieth, deaf Americans have struggled to maintain their language, community, schools, and indeed their very identity. They were beset at every turn by those who attempted to destroy sign language, the hearing purveyors of "linguistic Darwinism" who sought to base the education of deaf students on a foundation commonly called oralism (speech and lip-reading). Although they could never entirely eradicate

manualism, by 1920, according to oralist claims, eighty percent of those attending residential schools were instructed by the oral method. During the assault on their method of communication, and, in fact, their way of life, the American deaf populace has been nothing if not resilient.

Robert M. Buchanan relates this background and more in his new work focusing upon the American deaf community. The first two chapters of his study cover material thoroughly and, at times, brilliantly detailed in Douglas C. Baynton's *Forbidden Signs: American Culture and the Campaign Against Sign Language* (1996), but Buchanan has provided us with some insight into the lives of deaf workers, the discrimination they encountered, and how the leaders of this linguistic minority responded to the larger and better organized hearing majority. Fighting to maintain a semblance of cohesiveness, members of deaf society fought to preserve their dignity as laborers.

In addition to agitating to keep their language from being suppressed, those who were deaf encountered discrimination from the federal government, particularly the United States Civil Service Commission. One of the trades taught at residential schools that attracted especially bright deaf students was printing. This growing class of artisans had been able to secure many positions in the Government Printing Office. In 1906, however, reversing a policy that had existed for three decades, civil service commissioners added "total deafness" and "loss of speech" as "disabilities" that barred individuals from taking the Civil Service examination. Deaf leaders began a campaign to overturn the ruling.

This dissent, the first deaf protest directed at employers, writes Buchanan, proved to be a turning point in the organizing abilities and "consciousness on the part of the developing national community of deaf citizens" (p. 37). The consequences of their efforts would influence the decisions of deaf leaders and the political activities of their associations for decades. The cause gained hearing supporters and united activity among local, state, and national groups of deaf citizens, but it "ironically aggravated relations and increased the distance between the organized deaf community and other people with physical disabilities" (p. 37). President Theodore Roosevelt reversed the exclusionary ruling in 1908.

After their hard-earned victory in the civil service debate, leaders of the deaf, and especially the National Association of the Deaf, began to concentrate on educating hearing employers about the skills and reliability of deaf workers. This entailed the establishment of labor bureaus in a number of states. Anson Spears, a Gallaudet College graduate, coordinated the efforts of several educational and labor groups. Success came in 1913, when Minnesota established a Division for the Deaf in its Department of Labor. It was the "first state-sponsored agency for deaf workers" in the United States (p. 59) and was headed by a deaf woman. Spears's vision was watered down in the

legislative process, but the idea had significant ramifications.

During World War I, deaf workers excelled in the Akron, Ohio, tire factories of Goodyear and Firestone, and built a flourishing community with a vibrant social life. Layoffs began with the end of the conflict, and, by 1921, a majority of deaf workers had been forced to leave the city. With the advent of the Great Depression, the labor situation only worsened. Even New Deal programs such as the Civilian Conservation Corps refused to employ deaf workers, although the latter did labor in the Works Progress Administration. On the educational front, deaf organizations fought for vocational instruction, campaigned to oust incompetent residential school superintendents, and continued to challenge the use of oralism in state-supported schools.

During World War II, deaf and handicapped employment increased considerably, but a clash emerged and a lack of unanimity resulted between the two groups. Deaf activism and advocacy centered on the schools the deaf had helped to create but marginalized those with weak English skills. They remained ambivalent in affiliating with other disability groups, rejecting the idea they were handicapped or disabled. This severely limited their effectiveness in promoting a broad coalition emphasizing diversity and difference. Buchanan's book is a valuable demonstration of how deaf leaders articulated the concept of "excellence," which they used to combat discrimination and secure labor opportunities.

BARRY A. CROUCH  
Gallaudet University

HERBERT M. KLIEBARD. *Schooled to Work: Vocationalism and the American Curriculum, 1876-1946*. (Reflective History Series.) New York: Teachers College Press. 1999. Pp. xvii, 292. \$22.95.

This book tells two different but related stories. Herbert M. Kliebard, a well-known historian of the American curriculum, recounts the early history of vocational education in the United States. He also tells how vocationalism eventually came to mold the entire curriculum, from elementary school through college, so that today's students are far more concerned with how education can lead to jobs than with how education can enrich their lives. This is a tendency he deplores; Kliebard began his teaching career at a New York vocational high school, and he has never forgotten what he learned there about the limits of vocationalism.

At the turn of the last century, vocational education was highly promoted by educational reformers. It originally won popularity, Kliebard tells us, because it could appeal to two (sometimes conflicting) audiences. On the one hand, it hearkened back to older values associated with craftsmanship in a rapidly industrializing nation in which individual skills were becoming less relevant and work was increasingly divorced from a

product in which the worker could take satisfaction. On the other hand, it appealed to those who believed that it was up to the public schools to provide training for industrial workers, for whom the older tradition of apprenticeship was becoming obsolete.

Using the schools of Milwaukee as a case study, Kliebard, in collaboration with his former student, Carol Judy Kean, shows how the development of vocational schools was the product of negotiations between business leaders (who saw a well-trained labor force as essential for competition in international markets), unions (who viewed vocational training as part of a program for social mobility), and school officials (who wanted schooling to be relevant for a new student population). He argues that the desire to be in step with modern trends in education pushed Milwaukee rapidly to develop separate schools for vocational training. In Milwaukee, vocational education progressed from offering a few manual training classes begun in the late nineteenth century to the development of separate vocational schools for both boys and girls by the eve of World War I.

This story is important, but it is hard to argue that Milwaukee, with its strong socialist tradition and a Socialist mayor, was representative of American industrial cities. It may well be that vocational education in Milwaukee was more benign than in other cities. For example, here as elsewhere, the new curriculum tended to put children of working-class families into the vocational track. Yet, unlike other urban programs, where the vocational education was often an academic dead-end, Milwaukee's Trade School did offer students the opportunity to take the kinds of courses that would allow them to be admitted to the University of Wisconsin's School of Engineering.

Although vocational education is often included under the rubric of Progressive education, Kliebard is careful to distinguish its supporters from other Progressive reformers like John Dewey and Jane Addams. While Dewey and Addams argued that acquaintance with the world of work could enrich the general curriculum, they saw the danger of making vocational education into a device for sorting children into predetermined categories. The major proponents of vocationalism, on the other hand (like Franklin Bobbitt and David Snedden), were disciples of Frederick Taylor and were concerned with promoting social efficiency. For them, sorting children into categories based on their predicted future roles in the economy was an important way to promote the efficiency of schooling. At the same time, vocational classes were promoted as a way to retain children in school even if they were not college bound. Ironically, Kliebard points out, repeated studies have demonstrated that vocational programs did not really prepare children for the jobs that awaited them.

Kliebard offers us a highly readable account of vocational education through the Depression and World War II. He has little to say, however, about its recent history. The kind of vocational education that

thrived at the beginning of the twentieth century has disappeared, or is in the process of disappearing, from the high school curriculum. The rapidly growing community colleges have become the major venues for vocational education.

But the larger question Kliebard addresses—the pervasive influence of vocationalism throughout the curriculum—has survived. The current movement for academic standards and testing that regards schools as more or less efficient producers of potential workers echoes the concerns of the founders of vocational education. In this world, children are the “raw materials” to be turned into “finished products” (p. 121). There is little room here for Dewey’s ideal of the school as an embryonic community in which children are allowed to enjoy fully their childhood.

ARTHUR ZILVERSMIT  
Lake Forest College

DAVID R. REYNOLDS. *There Goes the Neighborhood: Rural School Consolidation at the Grass Roots in Early Twentieth-Century Iowa*. Iowa City: University of Iowa Press. 1999. Pp. xii, 306. \$39.95.

Historians of the Progressive era have long been fascinated by the various remedies prescribed by reformers who believed that embracing “progress,” “modernization,” and “centralization” would guarantee a higher quality of life for all Americans. In particular, they have focused on those reforms that affected the burgeoning urban populations of the time. What class, racial, ethnic, and gender biases, they have asked, motivated reformers in their quest for—and basic definitions of—an “improved” lifestyle for the immigrants, women, and African Americans who were transforming the urban landscape? But Progressive reform was hardly limited to the increasingly diverse city population. Business, educational, and religious leaders also set their sights on improving “country life.” Nevertheless, few rural historians have examined the “Country Life Movement” and its consequences in detail. Even fewer have wondered how the increasingly diverse rural population may have influenced reform.

David R. Reynolds begins to widen the scope of Progressive era historiography by examining the movement for rural school consolidation in Iowa at the turn of the century. In doing so, he shows that the notions of “progress” and “modernization” were as fraught with class and cultural conflict in rural America as they were anywhere else. After all, it was not local farmers who became fed up with the one-room schoolhouses where their children were educated, but outside experts and local elites who determined they had to go. They argued that small rural schools were ineffective, inefficient, and unfair to rural students and that they ultimately contributed to rural depopulation by forcing the “best and brightest” rural students to seek educational opportunities away from home. Consolidated schools, on the other hand, would borrow the organizational structures and administrative techniques of

more modern city schools, without being located in cities but in “central” towns and villages. The opponents of rural school consolidation, including small property holders, Catholics, and German Americans, argued that rural schools were central already: central to traditional rural neighborhoods where local control, local democracy, and local systems of reciprocity were deeply rooted in the soil.

The conflict over rural school consolidation reflected class differences, differences that Reynolds contends were specific to the particulars of culture and geography. “A place-based class movement,” he contends, “is one in which class consciousness and a sense of place (and community) are inextricably entwined and mutually reinforcing. Not only do struggles occur in particular places, but the nature of these places as social and territorial entities significantly mediates whatever class consciousness exists among people in a locality” (p. 8). Without a providing an example of how similar people in different places may have experienced rural consolidation differently, Reynolds can not convince the reader of the mediating impact of place. Nevertheless, his use of class analysis in examining conflict in rural America is quite important. Much of the agrarian myth is predicated on the supposed absence of class difference in rural society. Nothing could be farther from the truth.

Reynolds’s examination of the ways in which class and ethnic conflict combined to create a powerful hate group—the viciously anti-Catholic Ku Klux Klan—contributes more substantially to our knowledge of the rural past than his notion of “place-based” class conflict. Rather than simply a conflict between insiders and outsiders, rich and poor, or townsfolk and farmers, Reynolds demonstrates that the conflict over rural school consolidation was also a conflict between powerful Protestants who hoped that school consolidation would force Catholics to use the (Protestant-controlled) public school system and poorer Catholics who hoped to maintain a parochial educational system. In fact, when reformers created centralized places, like Bucks Creek, Iowa, for consolidated schools they actually were trying to create “Protestant places” by forcing Catholics to choose between attending the public school and moving away. Protecting and defending the movement for consolidated schools in Bucks Creek was the local Ku Klux Klan, whose leaders were well-respected parishioners of the Bucks Creek Methodist Church.

Just as Progressive-era historians have neglected rural reform, rural historians have given short shrift to the entrenched power of anti-Catholicism in the Upper Midwest in the 1920s. The Ku Klux Klan was deeply implicated in the activities of local churches, schools, and governments from Indianapolis, Indiana, to Grand Forks, North Dakota. Rural school consolidation in Iowa sometimes failed on the local level, and the Iowa legislature ultimately determined that they could not support it. This result, however, did not reflect any lack of effort by reformers who came to the

table with the widest variety of motives. Better schools, better teachers, more opportunities for farm children—and more control over local Catholic families—all these were part of the contradictory mix of rural democratic and anti-democratic politics in the early twentieth century.

CATHERINE McNICOL STOCK  
*Connecticut College*

STEVEN J. KEILLOR. *Cooperative Commonwealth: Co-ops in Rural Minnesota, 1859–1939*. St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press. 2000. Pp. xiii, 457. \$35.00.

Steven J. Keillor begins his study of rural cooperatives in Minnesota by defining cooperatives as organizations “where customers combined to own and manage a business through which they by-passed private firms, where this business was democratically operated and characterized by expectations of egalitarian solidarity” (p. 6). He links cooperative economies to democratic political action through use of the Rochdale principles, which he argues were in general use. With this emphasis on both democratic and economic goals, he modifies Richard Hartshorne’s rules for a successful polity and applies them to his study of cooperatives. A successful cooperative had “(1) members purchasing and selling in the same market; (2) members having similar racial, religious, political, occupational, and linguistic characteristics; (3) members sharing a tradition of jointly running an organization such as a church or a voluntary association; and (4) an absence of factions or contradictory economic interests among members” (p. 31).

Throughout the book, Keillor emphasizes the importance of strong cultural and social bonds among members of successful cooperatives. Shared ethnicity, church, or school district, as much as common economic interests, linked members in a consumers’ or producers’ polity. A cooperative with purely economic interests was bound to fail. Most important, perhaps, was the geographic area served by the cooperative. Small, localized cooperatives seemed to have longevity and effectiveness that regional or state-wide organizations were unable to attain and allowed members to maintain democratic procedures. In 1919, Minnesota boasted more cooperatives (more than 2,600) and a larger percentage (forty-four percent) of farm products marketed through cooperatives than any other state.

Keillor analyzes cooperative stores, fire insurance mutuals, creameries, grain elevators, rural telephone exchanges, and oil companies as well as the originating and supporting organizations such as the Farmers’ Alliance and university agricultural faculty. He states that over time, with increasing experience on the part of the cooperators and legislative, university, and extension service support, the cooperatives were able

to maintain their local strength, develop new cooperatives around new needs or technologies, and occasionally combine to operate regionally.

Keillor argues for vital and dynamic local communities of farmers who made decisions based on their own economic and social interests. The cooperatives they created “changed the economic geography of Minnesota” (p. 343). These cooperatives provided social and cultural community and training in political action, business practices, and technological advances. Keillor substantiates his arguments with an abundance of detail that sometimes overwhelms his thesis, but he rescues the reader with several clear, informative, and well-argued chapters near the end of the book.

Keillor insists that Minnesota cooperatives did not grow from Scandinavian models, but that ethnic loyalty, cultural security, and economic common ground were more important factors. But this leaves us asking why, then, did cooperatives not become widespread outside of Minnesota? According to his qualifications for a successful cooperative, even assuming that old-stock Americans did not have enough common culture to cooperate, they ought to have proliferated in states like North Dakota, South Dakota, Nebraska, Iowa, and Wisconsin, where ethnic loyalty, church and school district bonds, and economic interests should have been strong enough to support cooperative buying and selling. This and the examples he offers of disagreements within ethnic communities suggest taking a closer look at the role of ethnicity in cooperatives. Keillor does not describe the origin of the idea of cooperatives among Minnesota farmers—an idea that seems to be less well understood in agricultural townships in other states.

This study of cooperatives is important in the way it links democratic principles and marketing within the geographic polity, but it offers little analysis of social and economic factors operating within family and community that may have supported or hampered the development of cooperatives. For instance, a study of milk and cream cooperatives that does not draw on gender theory and changes in women’s roles on farms as the century turned probably overlooks some significant factors in farmers’ determination to establish cooperative creameries. It would also tell us something about how changes in dairy marketing affected women’s ability to direct family purchases in town stores, catalogs, or crossroads cooperative stores. Readers will also want to know more about how cooperatives shaped the distribution of labor and power on family farms and the process by which individual farmers decided to join cooperatives.

Keillor has written a convincing study that not only advances knowledge of Minnesota’s agricultural economies and politics but opens doors to new avenues of inquiry about rural life and agricultural economies.

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STEVEN M. GELBER. *Hobbies: Leisure and the Culture of Work in America*. New York: Columbia University Press. 1999. Pp. xi, 374. Cloth \$57.00, paper \$21.00.

To understand the history of American hobbies, Steven M. Gelber reveals, is to understand the extreme distrust and discomfort that Americans have felt with the notion of leisure. Gelber's closely analyzed and well-researched book explains that hobbies served important functions for an industrializing, capitalist economy. Hobbies offered people with an inherited distrust of idleness a way to embrace productive leisure. In the process, hobbyists reaffirmed and embraced the salience of work. Focusing on two hobbies, collecting and crafts, Gelber gives an extensive explanation of who collected and crafted, and what they collected and crafted, from the mid-nineteenth to the mid-twentieth century. Despite a changing array of objects, both crafted and collected, Gelber sees important continuities. Throughout the entire period, hobbies, he explains, were a form of "disguised affirmation"—affirming the values of capitalism in the guise of leisure.

Collecting was a perfect example of a leisure activity that "emulated work both in form and in meaning" (p. 64). Collecting was not only fun but potentially educational and, as important, profitable. Gelber surveys the range of collectibles—autographs, dolls, dishes, stamps, coins, books, antiques—and the range of collectors. He is particularly sensitive to the issue of gender. Usually gendered male, collecting still attracted a considerable number of female hobbyists. Women, for example, appreciated the aesthetic quality of stamps and became their first collectors. Still, by the late nineteenth century men had made the hobby their own. The fact that collecting conformed so easily to the structure of the market made it a "natural" for men. Collectors struggled, however, with whether the cut-throat and competitive values of market capitalism should invade this leisure world. Stamp collectors were more successful at keeping education and pleasure above profit, but antique collectors in search of hidden treasure often stooped to the same unscrupulous techniques that characterized the world of business.

Crafts, the second hobby that Gelber explores, were also linked to work. Since people who engaged in a craft were clearly busy and productive, crafts offered a perfect antidote to the potential dangers of idleness. As such, crafts were first the purview of that sector of the population—middle-class Victorian women—who appeared to have the most time on their hands. Not until the twentieth century did men also become interested in crafts. Influenced by the arts and crafts movement as well as by the desire to reassert manly skills by wielding hammer or saw, middle-class men found crafts an attractive form of leisure. Crafts were similar to work, but still different in important ways. Crafters clearly labored, but they worked out of choice, not compulsion. Moreover, they were free to decide what, when, and how they would

produce. Crafting thus became, Gelber argues, a way to affirm the basic value of work even as it simultaneously critiqued the conditions of most industrial labor.

While crafts continued to play this important cultural role, the specific forms they took changed as the century progressed. During the Depression, when many people had more time than money, crafts provided men with a way to feel useful and productive. An emerging crafts industry after World War II helped encourage more men to take up the hobby. The result, Gelber insightfully explains, was to create a sphere of "domestic masculinity"—a male realm within the household that in many homes took physical shape in the form of a basement workshop. By the 1950s, the "do-it-yourself" movement made home repair into a male hobby and provided suburban men a way to be useful around the house without becoming feminized. If in the nineteenth century work and home had become increasingly separate entities, in the twentieth century hobbies helped to bridge that gap. Never losing sight of the facts that the home was the locus of women's work and that women were always avid hobbyists, Gelber explains how hobbies brought the values of the workplace into the domestic sphere and made the home a place of productive leisure for both women and men.

While Gelber is sensitive to the ways in which some hobbies and hobbyists changed over time, his story is predominantly one of continuity. Whether in the nineteenth or twentieth century, hobbies served to affirm the basic values of industrial capitalism. Crafters reinscribed the culture of work within the home while collectors used their leisure to engage in a form of buying and selling that mirrored the market. But what makes this story so fascinating is the very ambivalence of that affirmation. Embedded in Americans' growing interest in hobbies was an implicit condemnation of the culture that these hobbies endorsed. Crafts spoke to a desire to find work that brought psychic pleasure, a sense of accomplishment, and a creative outlet while collecting reflected the longing to obtain and collect objects for their intrinsic or aesthetic rather than monetary value.

Gelber has uncovered an astonishing array of writings—advice literature, popular magazines, newspaper articles—on hobbies. He is aware that most of his sources are pitched at a middle-class audience and that finding evidence of working-class hobbies is more problematic. One wonders how he might have treated hobbies like blood sports, pub crawling, or baseball. Still, Gelber takes an unusual and little studied topic—the history of hobbies—and shows us its depth, its breadth, and its importance. This is a fine book, one that reminds us that the study of leisure is also the study of work, gender, and culture.

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MARY TODD. *Authority Vested: A Story of Identity and Change in the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod*. Grand Rapids, Mich.: William B. Eerdmans. 2000. Pp. xvi, 336. \$20.00.

The Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod remains one of the more anomalous religious groups in American history, one that trumpets its ethnic insularity, stubbornly resists any hint of ecumenism, and clings fiercely to conservative doctrines. It is also one of only three major religious groups in American history—the others being the Society of Friends in the eighteenth century and the Southern Baptists in the twentieth—that elected to decimate its ranks in order to reclaim a doctrinal purity; in the case of Missouri, its “purge” of moderates from the denomination anticipated the more celebrated Southern Baptist purge of 1979 by nearly a decade.

Mary Todd, a member of the Missouri Synod who also teaches in one of its universities, offers a fascinating history of the denomination that is grounded in prodigious research. In the process, she lays bare some of the less savory aspects of the synod’s past, beginning with the tale of its real founder, Martin Stephan, who rarely appears in the sanitized versions of Missouri’s history. Stephan was a charismatic, pietist preacher in Saxony who managed to gather around him a coterie of young theological students—as well as, apparently, a coterie of young women. After the authorities shut down Stephan’s conventicles, he and his followers made plans to emigrate to the United States. Stephan assumed the title and the elaborate trappings of bishop, and while his followers struggled to gain a foothold in the New World, Stephan began construction of his sumptuous bishop’s residence in Perry County, Missouri, using the band’s common fund, which he controlled. His followers eventually confirmed their suspicions about Stephan’s financial malfeasance and his dalliances with an assortment of women. The clergy ousted their leader and sent him into exile, literally rowing him across the Missouri River in 1839 and depositing him in Illinois.

For Stephan’s followers, the Stephan debacle provided a formative lesson about the dangers of ecclesiastical autocracy. C. F. W. Walther, pastor of the group’s flagship church in St. Louis, stepped forward as leader of the movement, which insisted on congregational autonomy rather than episcopal authority. For Todd, the history of the group from its 1847 reorganization as the German Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri, Ohio, and other states to the present can be read as a steady slide back into ecclesiastical centralization and autocracy, especially regarding the role of women in the synod. In so doing, the synod compromised one of the central principles in its charter document: “Matters of doctrine and conscience shall be decided only by the Word of God; all other decisions shall be by majority vote” (p. 77).

The author carefully traces this history of a group that came to think of itself as the guardian of “Old

Lutheranism” in the New World, a self-conscious description that obtains to this day. It is difficult to escape the impression from Todd’s account, however, that the synod’s approach to any issue was informed more by a reflexive conservatism than by considered theological review. Although its first English-speaking congregation was admitted to the synod in 1856, Missouri stoutly resisted English-language worship until World War I (it published a devotional magazine in German until 2000).

Nowhere does this reflexive conservatism manifest itself more baldly than in the Missouri Synod’s attitude toward women, who are still denied the vote in some congregations. The issue of woman suffrage gained importance because of the preponderance of female teachers in the synod’s parochial schools by 1954, and Todd rehearses the determined resistance to women on the part of denominational officials by any means necessary: belittling, cooptation, and specious theological argumentation. Here, once again, the centralized authority quashed grass-roots dissent, a strategy that was also applied to Concordia Seminary in St. Louis and led to massive defections of students and faculty in 1974. “Despite its foundational adherence to a polity based on the autonomy of the individual congregation,” Todd writes, “the church in the second half of the twentieth century became increasingly centralized and dependent on what are supposedly advisory-only bodies—the synod itself, its boards and commissions” (p. 199).

At one level, to paraphrase Edmund Morgan’s infamous remark about the Puritans, this book tells us more about the Missouri Synod than any sane person should care to know, but it can also be read as a cautionary tale about the arrogance of power and the perils of routinization. Despite the publisher’s lapses in copyediting—“impact,” “reference,” and “task” are allowed to pass as verbs—Todd has produced a superb book, one that suggests a larger story while telling a particular story. This work now stands as the definitive history of the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod.

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MARGARET D. JACOBS. *Engendered Encounters: Feminism and Pueblo Cultures, 1879–1934*. (Women in the West.) Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 1999. Pp. xiii, 273. Cloth \$45.00, paper \$20.00.

Margaret D. Jacobs is a scholar who enjoys complexity and contradiction, and her book is, at heart, about such dissonance. Tracing the changing patterns of American women’s involvement with Pueblo people, it contributes to a growing body of work on the power-infused intersections of gender and “race.” Jacobs’s willingness to play in the inconsistencies of Indian policy and her engagement with broader themes of race, gender, and sexuality make this book a superb study.

Jacobs situates the book in the literature on Indian policy but moves the field forward by showing how, in this case, Pueblo people became the ground upon which contests over female sexuality, modernism, and culture were conducted. A contradictory portrait emerges wherein Pueblo women were depicted, variously, as "naturally" pure but degraded or "naturally" sexually liberated, and Pueblo culture as being either in need of preservation or eradication. Jacobs points out that neither the moral reformers nor the antimodern feminists were inclined to pay attention to what Pueblo people had to say.

Jacobs begins by examining the work of female moral reformers highlighting the disharmony between the doctrines of gender difference women were hired to preach and their own independent lives. Not only did they eschew marriage and domesticity, but they also were vocal critics of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Jacobs's analysis of women reformers is not new. We have known for some time that the lives that white, middle-class women envisioned for their less-privileged sisters were not the same as those they chose for themselves. Jacobs reminds us, however, that fluctuating gender roles influenced work in "Indian country" as much as they did the settlement house.

In contrast to the moral reformers, antimodern feminists espoused cultural relativism, rejected assimilation, and lauded Pueblo culture. They reproved modernism and sought "natural" gender relations and sexuality. They were drawn to Pueblo society in particular because, to them, it offered a model for the reformation of their own world. Some took the desire for emulation to the level of appropriation and sought through material consumption, sexual relations, and permanent liaison to merge into Pueblo ethnicity. In doing so, however, they did not explode the dichotomies of primitive/modern or male/female but rather simply reversed or reframed them.

Here, too, are contradictions. While these women avoided simplistic notions of gender and cultural differences, they did not resist essentializing Pueblo culture or gender relations. Antimodern feminists did not grant any more agency to the Pueblo than did their predecessors. So we see antimodern feminists collecting Pueblo ceramics and placing them in museums so that Pueblo women artisans could learn to make "authentic" Pueblo pottery. Similarly, Mabel Dodge Luhan demanded the Pueblo to be "anti-American" even as she, as a white middle-class woman, sought to become Pueblo herself. These examples of ironic ambivalence show how easily undermined the authority of anthropological knowledge can be even at the moment that it asserts its validity.

Jacobs portrays the differences between the moral reformers and the antimodern feminists by examining two issues in which both were involved: the Indian dance controversy and the Indian arts and crafts movement. Here, too, the results are paradoxical. Moral reformers sought to ban the dances on sexual grounds and yet, the documentation they produced to

support their view was itself sexually explicit. Antimodern feminists encouraged women's ceramic production to support Pueblo women's traditional role even as marketing the pottery took women out of the home.

Throughout the book, Jacobs attempts to bring out Pueblo perspectives. To an extent, she succeeds. But she consults contemporary written sources and concludes that they are suspicious on two grounds: Pueblo perspectives are expressed second hand, and autobiographical sources are most often penned by atypical Pueblo. She then rejects speaking directly to Pueblo people and conducting oral histories because, she argues, this only replicates the work of the women she studies as agents of cultural imperialism. This methodological humility is understandable but marks out a conceptual mire. Just as Jacobs will not engage in literal dialogue with Pueblo people (or at least not use such conversations as sources), so too does she ignore the dialogic nature of cross-cultural relations. By ignoring the ways that the Pueblo-American encounter was mutually formative (though this mutuality is not even), she falls into two of the traps that she spots both moral reformers and antimodern feminists falling into. First, she, too, defines Pueblo authenticity as unattainable, at least in her source material. Second, because we hear so little about Pueblo reactions to these women, Jacobs makes her own value judgements. To be sure, the American women's actions are repugnant to us, but surely our views, speaking across time, are irrelevant. How much more interesting to hear how Pueblo responses were integrated into the perspectives and the actions of the American women who encountered them. In that way, we would really see the full complexity of those engendered encounters.

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GAYLE GULLETT. *Becoming Citizens: The Emergence and Development of the California Women's Movement, 1880-1911.* (Women in American History.) Champaign: University of Illinois Press. 2000. Pp. xiii, 272. Cloth \$42.50, paper \$18.95.

This book has long been needed. Gayle Gullett's study is a general history of women's organizations in California in the era when they appeared on the public stage and won significant victories. California was a crucial suffrage state, becoming in 1911 the sixth to give women full voting rights. It was also a key battleground for the labor movement, Populists, Socialists, and Progressives. California thus deserves more attention than it has received heretofore from historians of women, and it is an ideal location for Gullett's broad history of "the women's movement." She explores not only campaigns for suffrage but a variety of women's activities in the public sphere.

The book has four chapters, arranged chronologically, and the author assigns a theme to each decade. "The Politics of Women's Work" covers the 1880s, offering a thorough account of the California Women's



en's Christian Temperance Union, early club work, and the complicated school politics that spurred women to action in San Francisco. "The Politics of Politics," on the 1890s, recounts women's activities in preparation for the Chicago World's Fair, the rise of the Pacific Coast Woman's Press Association, and the defeat of California's woman suffrage referendum in 1896. "The Politics of Altruism" (1900s) and "The Politics of Good Government" (1910s) follow women's club work and their entry into civic and reform associations, primarily in San Francisco and Los Angeles. The last chapter ends with the suffrage victory in 1911.

Gullett highlights some issues that were unique to California, notably women's responses to the 1906 San Francisco earthquake, and the subsequent battle against bubonic plague. Her coverage of the 1890s campaign to purify the press includes a wonderful examination of the contrasting workplace cultures of William Randolph Hearst's *San Francisco Examiner* and the more woman-friendly *San Francisco Call*. Gullett also recounts women's successful efforts to save old-growth redwood forests. She is attentive to the sharp class divisions among California women and careful to note the biases of all actors in her narrative. She gives more attention, however, to urban, elite, white, and conservative organizations and leaders, especially after 1900, although she observes that suffrage activism in California had its strongest bases elsewhere. Mobilized in fights against the open shop, working-class voters in Los Angeles gave large majorities for suffrage in both 1896 and 1911, as did rural voters touched by Populism. At the latter date, San Francisco's elite districts still polled less than forty percent in favor of women's enfranchisement.

This raises questions of emphasis in a book organized around the suffrage referenda but treating organized womanhood more generally. Was there a single "women's movement" in California? If so, who spoke for it? Populists and Socialists, farm women and labor unionists get little coverage here. Although the work of such groups was not woman-centered, it is unclear why women's participation in, for example, the City Beautiful movement receives so much more attention. By chapter four, Gullett concentrates largely on urban women who were Progressive Republicans, in a decade when rural and Socialist women were building the largest prosuffrage majorities. Gullett argues that a unified women's movement "fragmented" (p. 203). Her evidence suggests, instead, that there was never one, unified woman's movement in the state. Even when working for a common goal, suffrage, activist women had such conflicting political concerns that those on left and right ran virtually separate campaigns.

These problems arise in part because of the author's ambition: Gullett takes an expansive view of women's public activities, and she searches for connections among women's varied concerns. She succeeds in telling one part of this story very well. This book will soon, I hope, be complemented by the publication of

Sherry Katz's book on California Socialist women. (Katz has published several articles on these women's strategies and successes.) Taken together, Katz's and Gullett's work tells us what we need to know about women's public activities in California. The two authors provide important new perspectives on the connections and tensions among women's movements, women's work in a variety of public causes (from environmentalism to the fight for an eight-hour day), and their political positions on the left and right.

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LYNNE CURRY. *Modern Mothers in the Heartland: Gender, Health, and Progress in Illinois, 1900-1930*. (Women and Health.) Columbus: Ohio State University Press. 1999. Pp. x, 206. Cloth \$40.00, paper \$18.50.

In Illinois during the 1920s, one of the most popular attractions at state and county fairs was the Better Baby contest. This improbable use of a cattle-judging format to promote infant health was in fact just one element in a thirty-year campaign to reform the way that Illinois mothers looked after their children's health. This book under review is the story of that campaign, told with grace and clarity by Lynne Curry.

The goal of Illinois's health reformers was to apply the new principles of germ theory and infection control to women's traditional role of family health provider, and in the process to modernize the very concept of mothering. Women played a sizable role in this campaign, in part because the woeful understaffing of the state's public health services caused department officials to welcome the support of women's organizations. Curry pays respectful attention to the different motivations and resources of the women whose lives were touched by the campaign, including the Chicago clubwomen who helped launch it, female professionals like public health nurses and extension service agents, immigrant mothers in the city, poor rural women, and more prosperous farm wives. Giving advice, receiving advice, and negotiating the terms of their dialogue, these women tested the fundamental meaning of such familiar terms as "health" and "motherhood."

The book consists of five chapters. After the first chapter sets the stage, the second describes the first years of the reform campaign, which targeted low-income mothers in Chicago (especially immigrants). In the third chapter, the campaign moves to the state's impoverished rural areas. The fourth chapter describes the great variety of outreach methods used by the reformers, including free clinics, home visiting, club meetings, lectures, newspaper columns, brochures, traveling exhibits, and movies. The last chapter recounts the bitter 1923 debate in Illinois over the Sheppard-Towner Act, a pioneering federal program that would have significantly expanded the kinds of activities the state's health reformers had been pursuing. When Illinois became one of only three states in the country to say no to the program, the decision



confirmed the emergence of a physician-dominated style of medicine that would leave little room for the features that had distinguished Illinois' health reform efforts since the turn of the century: the extensive use of public health nurses, a significant role for female volunteers, an emphasis on free care, and a lively program of public education.

Despite this book's brevity and its narrow focus (one state, three decades, one reform agenda), Curry uses her material to raise a number of provocative questions. She describes her book as a study of the "historical intersections of progressivism, maternalism, and health reform as they merged into an energetic and diverse social reform movement in one state" (p. 5). Along the way, she invites the reader to think carefully about such issues as the reformers' focus on changing mothers' behavior rather than tackling the structural problems in their lives; the influence of the recipients' response in shaping the reformers' campaign; the recipients' success in accepting elements of the reform message while still accommodating to the traditions and necessities of their own lives; the assumption (held by most reformers and not a few of their clients) that adopting modern methods of hygiene represented a step "up" toward middle-class values and true Americanism; and the level of privilege implied by the reformers' very assumption that people should expect to feel well most of the time.

Besides drawing on a wealth of official sources and on reformers' observations, Curry has also managed a more difficult task, which is to let the reader hear the voices of the immigrant and rural women who were the object of the reformers' campaign. There is some repetition in the later chapters, and there are places where the account could have been expanded, most notably in the description of the "parallel" program mounted by African-American clubwomen to serve an audience almost entirely ignored by the mainstream campaign: poor black women. Despite these minor drawbacks, this is a valuable exploration of an important topic—the kind of book that gives local studies a good name.

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GARDINER H. SHATTUCK, JR. *Episcopalians and Race: Civil War to Civil Rights*. (Religion in the South.) Lexington: University Press of Kentucky. 2000. Pp. xiii, 298. \$32.50.

Episcopalians, unlike Methodists, Baptists, and Presbyterians, never divided over slavery. It is true that, for a brief time during the Civil War, southern Episcopalians formed a Protestant Episcopal Church in the Confederate States of America. Since, however, northern bishops had never severed relations with their southern counterparts, it was possible to welcome them back into the church and maintain that the unity of the church had never been broken. Thus begins the

history told by Gardiner H. Shattuck, Jr., of a church torn between unity among white Christians and justice for African Americans.

Shattuck begins his account of the Episcopal Church and race with the Emancipation Proclamation and takes it up through the 1991 decision to hold the church's general convention in Phoenix despite the rejection of Martin Luther King, Jr. Day as a holiday by the voters of Arizona a year earlier. As Shattuck develops it, his narrative is one in which pleasing the southern segregationist faction usually won out over gospel-motivated instincts to include black members in conventions, institutions, and even worship. Even among those churchmen who advocated for the rights of blacks, proposed solutions to various problems in race relations were often paternalistic in the extreme. Indeed, it was sometimes difficult to tell the friends and enemies of African-American Episcopalians apart (as, for example, when the racist bishop of Arkansas, William Montgomery Brown, agreed with some leading African-American priests that special missionary districts ought to be created). But where the black priests and laity had sought independence to be Episcopalians free of humiliating concessions to white churchmen, Brown believed that "Negro degeneration" (p. 22) had reached such a point in the forty years since emancipation that the best course was to separate the races from one another in as many things as possible. Meanwhile, a paternalist majority decided that black Episcopalians would be best advanced under the careful nurture and admonition of regular diocesan structures. Throughout the period Shattuck covers, the theme repeats itself: what looked like full inclusion to one group looked to another like keeping members of an inferior race in its place, where whites could keep an eye on them.

The struggle between forces favoring recognizing the power of the gospel to make all races one in Christ and those favoring the recognition of spiritual oneness within the limits imposed by temporal government and custom recurs throughout the book. It is painful to read. However, Shattuck does not slight the contributions of courageous Episcopalians whose faith impelled their quest for racial justice in and outside of the church. These included not a few white southern moderates, like Sarah Patton Boyle, Anne and Carl Bratten, Ralph Cousins, John Morris, and almost the entire theological faculty of the University of the South, all of whom were made to suffer for their actions in the civil rights movement. Several of the key African-American leaders in the movement, like Kenneth B. Clark, Thurgood Marshall, and Pauli Murray, were also Episcopalians, and their faithful contributions to justice are given their due against the background of a church that was often less than supportive.

Denominationally focused history as a genre possesses a low reputation. Usually this is because it is troped as a celebratory paean, an example of Whig history at its worst whose purpose is to tell the story of

the denomination's glorious ascent. Shattuck, by contrast, offers a model of how good this kind of history can be when it is well researched and centers on the difficult choices faced and made by people who share institutional and faith commitments in settings that call those commitments into question. Moreover, Shattuck uses archival and published sources well and adds insight into the last sixty years from a large number of interviews he personally conducted. He places his narrative in its larger social contexts, compares what Episcopalians were doing to the activities of other denominations, and does not assume too much knowledge about the church on the part of his readers. Finally, he names names and resists facile generalizations. One generalization, however, does emerge from this fine and important book: namely, that racial paternalism is a deeply ingrained habit for American Christians in the older denominations, one whose last chapter, sadly, is not yet written.

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YVONNE CHIREAU and NATHANIEL DEUTSCH, editors.  
*Black Zion: African American Religious Encounters with Judaism.* (Religion in America Series.) New York: Oxford University Press. 2000. Pp. xii, 241. Cloth \$49.95, paper \$17.95.

The ten essays that make up this collection represent a wide array of academic fields and intellectual perspectives. Coming from religious studies, anthropology, sociology, cultural studies, and history—including American Jewish and American religious—as well as international studies, they cast a wide net around the issues that bring African Americans into the orbit of Jewish religious life in America. From all these different disciplines, the book makes a point about the multiplicity of African-American religious practices and the reliance of some of them on Judaism.

In addition, several of the writers who participated in bringing this book into being have come from the ranks of journalism and community activism. They bring to this book a contemporary agenda, a call for greater understanding across barriers.

This particular rationale for the volume is most problematic. The editors claim that "African American Jews . . . undermine the image of Jews as a race unto themselves or as belonging to a single race, be it white, Semitic, or Asiatic" (p. 7). It is not clear who at the beginning of the twenty-first century holds such a view or why such an outdated and inoperative idea needs to be dismantled by these essays. If there is any substantive contemporary problem that several articles address, it is that of the Black Hebrews who migrated from Chicago to Israel, and none of these provides a complex or nuanced view of that issue.

The book is divided into three sections. The first examines, by means of historical research and a combination of ethnography and journalism, groups of African-American men and women who lay some

claim to Judaism as either a historic or contemporary community. Some of these groups propose that they, not the white-skinned Europeans who are understood (and obviously understand themselves) to be Jews, are the rightful heirs of the Children of Israel whom Moses delivered from Egypt. Others of these African-American communities have sought to be counted within the ranks of American Jewry.

The second grouping of essays looks at the syncretism that exists in contemporary African-American Islam, between the themes and images drawn from the Koran and those drawn from Judaic sources. The set of essays does the same with Christianity. That is, these essays look at the ways in which some Afro-Christian and Afro-Islamic groups weave in Jewish words, phrases, visual markers, and ideas, creating distinctive forms of Christianity and Islam in America.

In the midst of this last section are two excellent essays that do not fit the structure of the book. Susanna Heschel has written a moving piece on the mutual inspiration and admiration between her father Rabbi Abraham Joshua Heschel and Martin Luther King Jr. Karla Goldman has contributed a fascinating article on the process by which a Cincinnati synagogue became a Cincinnati African-American church. Both pieces have much to say and open up some very important analytic possibilities, but they do not further this particular book's purpose: "the development and elaboration of new religious identities by African Americans" (p. 3).

It is this underlying purpose that gives most of the book its rationale. It is based on the fact that, for much of the history of African peoples in America, the religious imagery of the Hebrew Bible provided them with a powerful lens through which to see their own situation. The Children of Israel who strode out of the pages of Exodus and the other books of the "Old Testament" (in quotes only because the phrase reflects a Christian world view) lived in slavery and through divine intervention were saved. Their slavery did not mark them as inferior or despised but rather functioned as an essential element in their chosenness and in their covenantal relationship to God. Without the slavery of Egypt, there could have been no revelation at Sinai. Slavery provided the Judaic system with the spine of its metanarrative.

This point is well demonstrated in much of the earlier scholarship that focused on African-American religion and some of its distinctive forms, including spiritual music and oratory. Here it is made with great deliberateness. In essays like that written by one of the volume's editors, Yvonne Chireau, or Allan Dwight Callahan's piece, "Remembering Nehemiah," the formative influence of Judaic writing on African-American culture becomes manifest. In essence, these articles point to the high level of dependence that expressive African-American culture had upon the motifs of the Torah. Other pieces in the book carry this forward in time. Merrill Singer offers an excellent chronology of the development of various African-

American religious communities that have used symbols, icons, words, and images drawn from the Jewish system. Photographs in this piece draw the reader's attention immediately to striking images of fusion, such as that of a group of early twentieth-century African-American men wearing *talesim*, fringed prayer shawls, and *yamulkas*, skull caps, standing under a sign, bearing the words, "Moorish Zionist Temple," in English and transliterated into Hebrew.

Sons and daughters of the African diaspora took upon themselves Jewish images without any "real" practicing Jews present. Elizabeth McAlister made this clear in her complicated essay on the essentially negative images of Jews that predominated in Haiti, a place where few Jews settled and established the normative institutions of their tradition. Here Jewish themes got caught up in the struggle between Voodoo and Catholicism.

The grafting of Jewish idioms on to African-American religious forms emerged as well in Nathaniel Deutsch's essay on the Jewish roots of the Nation of Islam. He offered a close reading of Elijah Muhammad's treatise, *How to Eat to Live* (1967), in which an unmistakable Jewish trope about food, sanctity, and pollution joined together to shape a call for a new African-American consciousness in America.

While the editors' contention in the introduction that "Many individuals and communities in the United States have embraced both identities" is never borne out in the text with any kind of convincing evidence, there are just enough incidents and episodes included in this book to make an important point: the experiences of Jews as mythic figures from the biblical past left their mark on an array of African-American cultural forms. The words, spoken and sung, and the images embraced in material and verbal form, among African Americans as they constructed religious systems had much to do with the Judaism they read about in the Bible.

The book's editors open their introduction with a statement about the need to understand "shared elements" in "black and Jewish sacred life." The essays point in fact to some analytic problems when thinking about themes of "sharing" and the complications of identity. That African Americans since the times of slavery relied on biblical images does not necessarily mean that such images were shared. We do not learn much in these essays about how such images were internalized into African religious traditions in America and how they were changed, coming as they—probably—did through Christianity. That a group of people chose to call themselves "Jews" does not necessarily mean that the word carries the same weight or meaning with them as it does with others who have a longer connection to it.

Did the fact that African Americans, through Christian and sometimes Muslim sacred contexts, used these images amount to "sharing"? How would that phenomenon be measured, and what were its implications? The history of most religions, Judaism included,

is a long process of incorporating and co-opting available motifs of the sacred. The examples of African Americans making use of Jewish tropes to give meaning to their world provide another chapter in a well-developed aspect of the history of religion.

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JEFFREY MELNICK. *A Right to Sing the Blues: African Americans, Jews, and American Popular Song*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1999. Pp. ix, 277. \$27.95.

This book examines "Black-Jewish Relations" in the music world of Broadway and Tin Pan Alley from 1900 to 1930. Exploring prominent song writers and entertainers, Jeffrey Melnick offers a critical look at Jewish blackface performers and composers drawn to African-American music. Melnick leans on other studies of whiteness to argue that these second-generation Jews used black music for their own profit and to establish their identity as white Jewish Americans. Irving Berlin was the most worried about his racial status, given that he was the first appropriator of ragtime, while George Gershwin confidently assumed that his Jewish background made him racially adept to work in African-American music. By the 1920s, "sick white Negroes" like Milton "Mezz" Mezzrow tried to become black.

This argument has some merit, especially when one considers the number of Jewish music businessmen who had access to black music and copyrighted it as their own, thus depriving black performers from achieving their just due in American music. Melnick's use of theory is quite dazzling, and he offers numerous insights into Jewish entertainers, criminals, and masculinity. In his effort to make everyone fit his theory, however, he pushes his argument way beyond his evidence. He maintains that Jews used blackface to assert their superiority over blacks and to claim whiteness, but he analyzes very few actual performances besides Al Jolson's in *The Jazz Singer* (1927). His disinterest in the evolution of this theatrical "tradition" omits a basis for comparison that readers need to explore the nature of "Jewish" blackface style. The author asserts that blackface was part of an inter-Jewish discussion over their place in America, but in the absence of the Yiddish press, it is unclear who the Broadway audience was and what these entertainers meant by average Jews. Because Melnick assumes the answers, he misses the sympathy in the press for African Americans that might have modified his evaluation of Jewish blackface. He also assumes that Jews were a homogenous bunch and hence spends little time with labor unionists or radicals who were perhaps less enamored of success and whiteness.

Rather than investigate what Jews did in popular song, he stresses how their rhetorical strategies enabled them to intervene in black music. He makes much of Gershwin's and Berlin's claims to racial flexibility and melting-pot style as inherently Jewish



but does little analysis of how “black” or “European” their songs were, or the extent of their musical mixture. Moreover, to assert that the affinity between Jewish and black music was only a discursive strategy demeans the performers and songwriters and elevates the omniscient author. Instead of analyzing *Porgy and Bess* (1935), for instance, the book examines Gershwin’s “going native” as he researched black music and folklore in South Carolina. Melnick uses the racially biased account of a white South Carolinian reporter to accuse Gershwin of flaunting his appropriated blackness, while limiting his discussion of the opera and its impact on American culture to one phrase in the song “Summertime.” Melnick also pushes his argument in his limited discussion of the African-American side of the relationship. Optimistic about the role of Jews in black music, James Weldon Johnson is dismissed as naïve for believing in integration through art. When Johnson says that if forced to choose another people he would choose the Jews, Melnick asserts that this was a recognition of the power of Jews in music, which has nothing to do with the quote. Moreover, with black musical voices dampened by the Jewish onslaught, how explain the cultural outpouring of the 1920s and the growing presence of African-American musicals and revues on (Jewish) Broadway?

When Melnick dismisses Jewish claims that common oppression links Jewish and black music as a rhetorical strategy designed to sacralize Jewish interest in secular music and give them a religious cover for theft, he leaves nothing to explain why so many Jews were drawn to African-American music. To fill this hole requires a much more careful study of the cultural and musical history of both peoples prior to their meeting in New York, how each group went through a cultural explosion in New York, and how these musical and entertainment styles evolved in real entertainment and business settings once there. This, however, would require a measure of empathy for one’s subject and a willingness to explore works of art in much greater depth than exhibited here.

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THOMAS DOHERTY. *Pre-Code Hollywood: Sex, Immorality, and Insurrection in American Cinema, 1930–1934*. (Film and Culture.) New York: Columbia University Press. 1999. Pp. xiii, 430. Cloth \$49.95, paper \$19.95.

From mid-1934 until 1968, Hollywood studios operated under a strict system of in-house censorship that limited the subjects the movies could entertain and how they could be treated. The Production Code Administration (PCA), an arm of the Motion Picture Producers and Distributors Association (known as the “Hays Office” when it was headed by Will Hays from 1922 to 1945), vetted every screenplay and every film produced in Hollywood and gave or withheld approval for exhibition. Historical and cultural understanding of

this internal Hollywood censorship apparatus—one of the most significant arbiters of American popular culture—has made great strides since the PCA files were opened for research in 1983. Informed by meticulous archival research and careful readings of films, historians and cultural critics have emphasized that censorship was less a story of creative studios versus blue-nosed censors than it was a process of negotiation among competing value systems, undergirded by economic necessity.

Thomas Doherty represents an earlier approach to the study of movie censorship, both in research and conceptualization. His research base consists primarily of the films as released and the Hollywood trade press. The strength of the book lies in Doherty’s skill as a film analyst. He seductively blends plot summary and visual analysis. He has a generally shrewd eye for the less obvious impulses behind films and usually relates them well to broader cultural trends. He writes in a fluid, often memorably aphoristic style, although his breezy prose sometimes would seem more at home in *Variety*. Doherty brings to light some overlooked topics, such as the rare affirmative portrayal of a black physician in *Arrowsmith* (1931). He is at his best in shrewd analyses of the cultural milieu of gangster films, such as *Little Caesar* (1930), and less familiar subjects, such as nightmare movies and adventure pictures. His treatment of films dealing with women’s sexuality—and these fueled most of the animus against Hollywood before 1934—is less sure-handed. Closer attention to the feminist-based insights of Lea Jacobs (*The Wages of Sin: Censorship and the Fallen Woman Film, 1928–1942* [1991]) and Marybeth Hamilton (“When I’m Bad, I’m Better”: *Mae West, Sex, and American Entertainment* [1995]) would have enriched his account.

Doherty offers an interpretation that has been largely superseded by archivally based studies. He treats the early 1930s as a period of unbridled cinematic license; by comparison with pictures from mid-1934 to 1960, these products appear to be “imported from a parallel universe” (p. 2). Censorship becomes a progressive cause that “evinced concern for the proper nurturing of the young and the protection of women, demanded respect for indigenous ethnics and foreign peoples, and sought to uplift the lower orders and convert the criminal mentality.” The reformers appear to be “on the side of the angels” (p. 6). Even if one accepts the reformers’ rhetoric at face value, Doherty’s generalizations about the results are questionable. The PCA could work against minorities and foreign peoples as readily as protect them. The PCA justified the double standard (women paid much more dearly for their sins than did men), banished homosexuality or relegated it to a stereotypical smirk, and ruled vast areas of political comment off-limits (labor unions and antifascist causes struggled to be represented).

At pains to have the movies track the national political and cultural ethos, Doherty shows the movies moving from the nihilistic despair of the early 1930s to the more hopeful and orderly moral and political



equilibrium of the New Deal. His cultural analysis is often insightful, if at times too steeped in Frederick Lewis Allen. The trouble with appeals to the Zeitgeist as a historical prime mover is that they avoid the hard work of examining all those busy stagehands who worked behind the curtain to move the Zeitgeist along—and thereby advance their own parochial interests. As Gregory D. Black (*Hollywood Censored: Morality Codes, Catholics, and the Movies* [1995]) and Frank Walsh (*Sin and Censorship: The Catholic Church and the Motion Picture Industry* [1996]) have demonstrated, the Roman Catholic hierarchy was chief among censorship's promoters, and they advanced a particular theological outlook that fit uneasily with the progressivism that Doherty discerns.

When the bishops' choice, Joseph I. Breen—whom Doherty describes as "powerful and virile" (p. 327)—took over the PCA in July 1934, movies did appear to change. But this watershed is less the abrupt departure that Doherty describes than the culmination of censorship negotiations that had been going on for several years. In one of the most sophisticated studies of this era, Richard Maltby demonstrates that censorship ratcheted up year by year in the early 1930s (see "The Production Code and the Hays Office," in Tino Balio, ed., *Grand Design: Hollywood as a Modern Business Enterprise* [1993]). But Doherty seems unaware of Maltby's analysis. Some of the landmark films that demarcated new limits in 1934 are either overlooked or the censors' drastic changes are treated cursorily: Mae West's *Belle of the Nineties*, Greta Garbo's *Anna Karenina*, and even the ostensibly anodyne *Barretts of Wimpole Street*. Doherty misses some of the most important films in the PCA's decline in the 1950s: *A Streetcar Named Desire* (1951), *The Moon Is Blue* (1953), and *Suddenly, Last Summer* (1959).

Doherty seems to regret the code's demise. If society benefitted from censorship, so, too, did the movies. The PCA "gave Hollywood the framework to thrive economically and ripen artistically" (p. 5) and produce its "most vivid and compelling motion pictures" (p. 345).

Doherty keenly grasps the paradox at the heart of Hollywood censorship in the studio era, for some of the best American movies were indeed made within the framework of the strictest censorship the industry has known. Yet the paradox requires more critical scrutiny. It is perverse to argue that less rather than more freedom yields better art. It is debatable whether the PCA created the conditions for that achievement or whether these results were attained in spite of the censors. Even some of the great movies would have had more artistic integrity if the PCA had not bowdlerized material and forced corrupted or risible endings on them. We will never know how many potentially great movies could have been made, but were not, because they dealt with topics forbidden by the PCA. Doherty hints that censorship was an economic necessity for the Hollywood studio system in its heyday. As is usually the case with economic necessity, moral and

artistic considerations coexisted uneasily with the bottom line, then and now.

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DESMOND KING. *Making Americans: Immigration, Race, and the Origins of the Diverse Democracy*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2000. Pp. x, 388. \$45.00.

MATTHEW FRYE JACOBSON. *Barbarian Virtues: The United States Encounters Foreign Peoples at Home and Abroad, 1876–1917*. New York: Hill and Wang. 2000. Pp. xii, 324. \$30.00.

Both of these books deal with contacts between the United States and foreign peoples at home and abroad since the late nineteenth century and the implications of such contacts for the formation of national identity. Matthew Frye Jacobson's, the more conceptually ambitious of the two works, contains little in its particulars that will be new to either foreign policy or immigration historians. Rather, it is in the synthesis of immigration and foreign policy concerns in the midst of a dramatic imperialist expansion that the book makes its greatest contribution. After describing an imperialist imperative rooted in both economic needs and ideological ambitions, Jacobson documents the evolving system's "peculiar dependence . . . upon the dollars, the labor, and, not least, the very image" (p. 265) of foreign peoples: immigrants in emerging ethnic enclaves throughout the nation's cities and colonial peoples from the "island treasures" that the republic had accumulated by the turn of the century.

Analyses of the ideas and politics behind the 1924 Johnson-Reed Act and other early twentieth-century efforts to restrict immigration lie at the heart of Desmond King's book, but King argues convincingly that the success of such legislation turned on much broader issues, notably the question of which immigrants could be most easily assimilated. This concern led policy makers and native-born citizens to Hector St. Jean de Crèvecoeur's older question about the essence of the American character. Most framed their answers in terms of a mainstream, white, Anglo-Saxon Americanism from which all people of color were excluded and to which all newcomers were expected to conform. Translated into policy, King argues, the dominant melting pot metaphor dictated not a blending or sharing of cultures but rather a homogenizing process. King draws on a rich collection of published federal documents and manuscript materials in his depiction of early twentieth-century "Americanization" efforts designed by government and corporate bureaucrats to insure such homogenizing. He shares the view of most recent writers who stress the coercive quality of Americanization programs and the role immigrants themselves played in resisting and reshaping the process of acculturation. By the 1920s, King argues, many American citizens had given up, concluding that the particularly diverse "new immigrants"

from Eastern and Southeastern Europe were largely unassimilable. The stage was set for restrictions based on race.

In analyzing how policy makers and others decided which immigrants were desirable and which were not, both King and Jacobson emphasize the pervasiveness of social evolutionary thought and particularly the eugenics movement. Not immediately apparent from either discussion is the fact that this racialized discourse was itself international, shaped by but not peculiar to American imperialism. Nor is this connection new. Both books suggest how much we still owe to John Higham's pioneering study *Strangers in the Land: Patterns of American Nativism, 1860-1925* (1955) in terms of the growth of racist thought, the campaign for coercive Americanization, and the move toward immigration restriction.

Jacobson is at his best tracing perceptions of both immigrants and colonial peoples from "Tarzan" and other "jungle romances," "ghetto sketches," popular journalism and poetry, and soap advertisements into evolutionary ethnographic accounts and natural history exhibits, and back into the popular genre in "an endless and self-sustaining loop of observation and theory" (p. 142). One wonders occasionally whether all of these diverse media were actually drawing on the same set of assumptions and values. In general, however, Jacobson's accomplishment rests on placing this vast range of cultural products in the national conversation about imperialism and mass immigration, the latter very much linked to the former—not in theory and public policy only, but also in the minds of many Americans.

King documents the deep influence of racist thought on both the Dillingham Commission's huge study (1909-1911) and the legislative efforts resulting in the 1924 Reed-Johnson Act. Dr. Harry Laughlin and other eugenics enthusiasts shaped the thinking of House Immigration Committee Chair Albert Johnson and his idea of apportioning quotas on the basis of national origin in such a way as to favor those immigrants from more genetically desirable regions, while largely ending immigration from more "backward" areas.

Despite the focus on foreign peoples, African Americans assume vital roles in both these studies. Drawing on the influential literature on the social construction of whiteness, King argues that immigration itself and the efforts to restrict it on the basis of assimilability and national origin tended to further marginalize blacks. Americanization efforts and immigration laws based on the narrow white Anglo-Saxon conception of Americanism excluded by definition people of color (including all East Asians and even many European immigrants). Eugenists, imperialists, and immigration restrictionists paid remarkably little attention to African Americans—in the midst of widespread legal discrimination, lynching, and the expansion of racial segregation in the federal government itself and in its facilities. (Restrictionists were concerned with black

immigrants whom they sought to exclude largely through national origins formulas.) "The case was so thoroughly closed on the nonwhite races," Jacobson concludes, "that they scarcely warranted discussion when it came to 'breeding' and the biological engineering of society" (p. 155). The lessons of the immigration debates and imperialist wars were not lost on black intellectuals, however, who spoke against a racial basis for immigration laws, or on black soldiers in the Philippines who objected to their own treatment and the racialized character of the campaign against the revolutionaries.

King and Jacobson both acknowledge a long-term, inherent tension in the United States between nativist ideologies and policies and strong tendencies toward inclusion. Scholarly counter-traditions include the sociologist Horace M. Kallen and the anthropologist Franz Boas. The immigrants themselves resisted through their organizations, demanding inclusion, and through their literatures, stressing the possibilities of assimilation and cultural pluralism. Jacobson notes that immigrants' own nationalist aspirations could move them to champion besieged colonial peoples, as was the case with some Irish-American nationalists during the Philippine-American War. King locates the roots of late twentieth-century multiculturalism in the struggles of cultural pluralists like Kallen and Jane Addams against a homogeneous, exclusionary conception of American identity. His final chapters detail the emergence of a more flexible immigration policy with the 1965 Immigration Act and the subsequent debates in the 1980s and 1990s over multicultural theory and school curricula. Jacobson concludes by drawing parallels between the arrogant imperialist discourse of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century and the continuing failure of the United States to match its "worldwide economic, political, and military reach with anything better than a desperately parochial understanding of the world's peoples themselves" (p. 265).

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CHAD BERRY. *Southern Migrants, Northern Exiles*. Champaign: University of Illinois Press. 2000. Pp. xiii, 236. Cloth \$44.95, paper \$21.95.

The scholarly literature about the massive twentieth-century southern exodus is vast yet frustrating. Most of the canon is social-scientific, some of it employing the easy-but-disinforming "census South" that includes Florida, Maryland, Delaware, and the District of Columbia. Neil Fligstein's *Going North: Migration of Blacks and Whites from the South, 1900-1950* (1981) is a rare sociologist's treatment in that it is diachronic and includes whites. James N. Gregory's *American Exodus: The Dust Bowl Migration and Okie Culture in California* (1989) is rarer yet because Gregory is a historian, and his subject is neglected white migrants

and their enduring presence on the West Coast. Chad Berry's excellent new study of upland white southerners' sojourns and settlements in the Middle West is most welcome, then, and with Gregory's work constitutes a model for a still-needed examination of white southerners in the Northeast.

Berry's "upland" South has forgivably vague borders. He includes southern Appalachia but also what is sometimes called the "Mid-South," meaning non-mountain Kentucky and Tennessee, northwestern Georgia, Alabama's Tennessee Valley, and occasionally Mississippi and Arkansas. Most of his migrants hailed from West Virginia, Kentucky, and Tennessee. Their destinations were Ohio, Michigan, Indiana, Illinois, and Wisconsin. Unlike black migrants, who were pushed from the South by more than economic forces, most upland whites left their southern homes with "divided hearts," a theme pursued throughout this volume. Migrants went north for opportunity, often intending to return to families and communities when they had made enough money and/or conditions had improved in the South. Some did just this. Many others, after adult lifetimes in the Middle West, faced wrenching conflict when they retired: to stay among their middle western-born children and grandchildren, or to return at last. The cumulative impact of this great migration, however, was a transformation of the middle western working class by a southern presence that endures today, rather like "Okie" culture in California.

Berry has read censuses and the works of sociologists and geographers with care, but his presentation is dominated by the voices of the migrants themselves. These derive from a few previous publications but principally from oral history archives: Todd Gitlin and Nanci Hollander's trove from Chicago's Uptown; the collections at Alice Lloyd College, Indiana University, and the Urban Appalachian Council in Cincinnati; and especially Berry's extensive interviews in the South and the Middle West, including an important one with his own paternal grandparents, who left Middle Tennessee for Akron during the 1940s. Berry has also made telling use of the Integrated Public Use Microdata Sample (IPUMS) from federal censuses. Together these sources support Berry's variations on the "divided hearts" theme and document his principal arguments. First, contrary to the prevailing stereotype in the Middle West, only a portion of white migrants were "hill-billies" from Appalachia; many, like Berry's grandparents, came from the hills and flat valleys well west of the mountains. Second, like Mexican and Chinese immigrants today, southern whites first worked at agricultural and industrial jobs that locals disdained, then quit for better positions as soon as possible. Berry also disputes migrants' legendary cultural incompatibility with and resistance to labor unions: ex-coal miners were often ex-union men, and ex-farmers and other rural workers, at first ignorant of collective action, usually learned, and some became union leaders. Fourth, Berry acknowledges that single male migrants from the dry South were indeed often

drunken fighters in notorious "hill-billy" bars in Cleveland, Detroit, and elsewhere, but he demonstrates that most migrants soon brought their families to the North, then established northern branches of Southern Baptist, Pentecostal, and other churches, which became in turn seemingly permanent parts of the middle western religious landscape. Finally, Berry acknowledges that, by the 1960s, when the great industrial expansion began to slow, some migrants became trapped in poverty. The great majority of migrants, however, found success in the Middle West: high-paying industrial jobs, home ownership in suburbs, and the companionship of family, friends, and coreligionists.

In addition to southern churches and accents, the white migrants also contributed hugely popular music to the Middle West and nation. Kentucky-born Bill Monroe, who spent his formative musical life in northern Indiana, was one of many "country" and "bluegrass" pickers and singers sojourning in the industrial jungles during the 1930s and after. Monroe bears comparison with Porter Wagoner and Merle Haggard, "Okies" comparably nurtured in the West.

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CHRISTIAN WARREN. *Brush with Death: A Social History of Lead Poisoning*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2000. Pp. xiv, 362. \$45.00.

This is an impressive, outstanding book. It is a fine example of environmental history, broadly (and properly) understood, reaching outside that field's customary preoccupation with the United States' western lands and resources to offer a rich, nuanced discussion of Americans' use of lead and the resulting struggle with the harmful effects of this powerful poison that insidiously permeated American culture and Americans' bodies throughout the twentieth century. Christian Warren draws on a vast array of primary and secondary sources to produce an elegantly written, satisfyingly complete account that represents the most comprehensive treatment to date of an important topic that has long deserved more scholarly attention.

Since lead poisoning usually occurred in urban settings, Warren's book could be narrowly categorized as urban environmental history as well as public health or medical history. However, like much good environmental history, the book also illuminates many other fields. Accounts of the rise and decline of the leaded paint and leaded gasoline industries contribute to business and industrial history. Fascinating descriptions of the work processes and conditions involved in the manufacture and use of lead products, together with workers' and unions' responses to these, contribute to labor history. In discussing the initial exclusion of women from lead-industry workplaces, the later battle over policies to prevent workplace fetal exposure to lead, the reform efforts of the early lead expert Dr. Alice Hamilton, and the horrified reactions and



civic activism of some mothers whose children suffered from lead poisoning, the book also sheds valuable light on women's and gender history, while the extensive discussion of pediatric lead poisoning adds insight into the social history of children. The explanation of how childhood lead poisoning came to be associated chiefly with poor, black, inner-city neighborhoods, and how these communities fought back, adds to postwar African-American and civil rights history. Besides just clarifying a crucial part of the history of medicine and public health, Warren's thorough description of the discovery of the dangers of lead toxicity, gradual improvements in scientific understanding and medical technology, and the lead industry's struggle to control research and information on health impacts also illuminates the general history and politics of science in the twentieth century. Warren capably explores the links between lead poisoning and Progressivism, New Deal-era reform, postwar legislation and social activism, and the post-1970s conservative reaction. As such, his book offers valuable insight to virtually any student of twentieth-century U.S. history, regardless of specialty.

The book has no simple, straightforward thesis. Rather, in tying together various separate strands of a complicated story, Warren produces a "braided narrative" (p. 10) in which these separate strands are traced independently to give a full sense of the topic's complexity while suggesting wider patterns and overlapping themes. Among these strands are the stories of the three main avenues of lead exposure causing poisoning—occupational, pediatric, and general environmental exposure—and the different industries that caused most such exposure, chiefly the leaded paint and leaded gasoline industries (lead mining and lead-based pesticides are not covered). Among the overarching themes that tie these separate topics together are how science gradually revealed ever more serious toxicity problems even as progress was made in reducing lead exposure, how economics and politics joined genuine ignorance and scientific or medical complexities to delay such revelation and reform, and the ongoing struggle among industry, government, and the public over how to apportion liability, regulatory authority, and control of research—themes characteristic of many environmental or regulatory problems for which Warren's thoroughly researched case study of lead offers a wealth of information and insight.

There is little to criticize in this excellent, highly readable book. One possibility is the lack of a bibliography to supplement the extensive, detailed notes (although the publisher deserves praise for impeccable copyediting). Another is that Warren, at times, is perhaps slightly too understanding of the corporate leaders, scientists, and physicians who helped spread lead everywhere and then sought to minimize or deny health effects and control information regarding them. In the last chapter, Warren faults modern environmentalists for not cooperating more with industrialists and concludes that progress on lead poisoning came

through "cooperation, supervision, and moral suasion" (p. 258). Yet Warren demonstrates that confrontation, not voluntary cooperation, brought the most important victory—the banning of leaded gasoline—while confrontational scientists who resisted cooperation with their industry counterparts were crucial in advancing scientific understanding. Nevertheless, the book is generally reasonable, balanced, and fair to both sides of an emotionally charged issue.

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MORTON KELLER and R. SHEP MELNICK, editors. *Taking Stock: American Government in the Twentieth Century*. (Woodrow Wilson Center Series.) New York: Cambridge University Press. Washington, D.C. Woodrow Wilson Center Press. 1999. Pp. x, 330. Cloth \$54.95, paper \$17.95.

Now that the twentieth century is over, scholars can ask themselves what has changed or remained the same in American government over the last one hundred years. The Republican takeover of Congress in 1994 was the initial spark that brought together this group of scholars at the Woodrow Wilson Center to try to discover what they could learn "from a closer comparative look at how government worked in the early and late twentieth century" (p. 3). The resulting volume attempted to pair a historian discussing the early twentieth century with a political scientist covering the late twentieth century. To avoid a sprawling volume, editors Morton Keller and R. Shep Melnick concentrated on the five issues of trade and tariff policy, immigration and aliens, conservation and environmentalism, civil rights, and social welfare. Unlike almost all edited volumes, the editors have rigorously imposed high standards, so that no bad apples mar the quality of the barrel. Each of the contributions serves as a reliable and clearly written introduction to each of the five main issues; taken as a whole, the book provides a careful examination of government throughout the twentieth century.

Space limitations preclude a detailed analysis of each essay, and instead this review will comment on the originality of the essays and on the relationship between history and political science. What is disappointing about the collection is that the essays rarely break new ground. For information, the essays rely principally on the standard scholarly literature; government publications and contemporary periodicals serve to provide some quotations. As for new insights or understanding, the essays largely summarize the existing published accounts, so scholars will find little that is new here. Donald J. Pisani's "Natural Resources and the American State, 1900–1940" does share snippets from the archives, while isolated sparks occasionally provoke questions in the two civil rights essays. In the conclusion, Melnick labors to extract from the essays a new understanding of how govern-



ment has responded to these five public issues, but like the last runner in a relay race, his innovative efforts come too late to modify the essential nature of the collection.

The major exception is Peter Skerry's "The Racialization of Immigration Policy," an essay that not only places a topic of today in historical perspective but also uses field research to challenge many of the unstated assumptions governing immigration policy and research. Its only flaw is the failure to appreciate the subtlety of the pervasive discrimination against Hispanics (pp. 105–106), a discrimination I have repeatedly observed and also personally experienced. Nevertheless, his is still the only consistently thought-provoking essay. Furthermore, immigration policy comes alive in his essay, and the reader feels the passions this policy issue has evoked. In contrast, the obsession of other essays to be scrupulously fair all too often slips into a lifeless compilation of facts and ideas. Because Skerry's essay is the longest, the editors might well have commissioned fewer but more hard-hitting chapters in which outstanding scholars contrasted their primary research with the existing literature on the events of the twentieth century.

Left largely unexplored in this collection is the relationship between history and political science. In the opening chapter, the editors announce their deliberate choice of a historian and a political scientist for each issue but never discussed whether this interdisciplinary approach serves as a fruitful example. The pairing of one historian for the earlier period with one political scientist for the recent period promises a nice balance. Unfortunately, the arrangement breaks down for the last two issues and the political scientists have to fill the gaps. Are historians simply not interested in the recent decades? Is political science just a fancy name for current affairs? Or do historians fear a turf war? Whenever my writings have crossed into recent years, a hostile review or evaluation by a political scientist has invariably materialized, and I know my experience is far from unique. An unwritten truce seems to have separated the fields of the two disciplines. The last few decades are the preserve of the political scientists, and older periods are safe for historians, with a gray area, relentlessly moving forward in time, between the two. I wish the editors had been more discursive about what they feel the two respective disciplines contributed and could do in the future. At least, in this volume the differences between historians and political scientists are more cosmetic than substantive. Collaboration rather than an artificial chronological separation seems the way for future research by the two disciplines and certainly would have produced deeper and more original conclusions than those presented here about the way government has worked during the twentieth century.

The above comments in no way attempt to detract from the solid and fair nature of the essays. Public officials or beginners interested in a brief survey of the

five issues can do no better than turn to any of the essays in this collection.

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JOHN W. MALSBERGER. *From Obstruction to Moderation: The Transformation of Senate Conservatism, 1938–1952*. Cranbury, N.J.: Susquehanna University Press. Associated University Presses, London. 2000. Pp. 320. \$47.50.

Starting during the late 1930s, John W. Malsberger argues, conservatism in the U.S. Senate "became increasingly fragmented into two factions, the Old Guard obstructionists and the more moderate 'new' conservatives" (p. 12). This differentiation continued through the end of the Harry Truman administration in 1952. Good examples of "obstructionists" were Burton Wheeler (D-MT), Bennett Clark (D-MO), Kenneth Wherry (R-NE), and Robert A. Taft (R-OH). Good examples of "new conservatives" were Irving Ives (R-NY), George Aiken (R-VT), Leverett Saltonstall (R-MA), and Clyde Hoey (D-NC). In practice, obstructionists were senators who opposed the domestic and an overall foreign policies of the Franklin D. Roosevelt and Truman administrations root and branch, whereas new conservatives went along with those policies halfway, or went along with some of them.

Malsberger uses both quantitative and narrative evidence to make his case. On the quantitative side, for each Congress from the seventy-fifth (1937–1938) through the eighty-second (1951–1952), he uses a scaling technique to locate all the senators, liberals and conservatives, on a roll-call dimension in each of twelve policy areas, some domestic and some foreign. In practice, each of these dimensions orders the senators from left to right or in the foreign-policy cases, internationalist to isolationist, in a fashion that allows interpretation otherwise as "high support" through "low support" for the policies of the Roosevelt and Truman administrations. Additionally, Malsberger presents an overall "high" to "low" roll-call support score for each senator across all policy areas during each Congress, as well as, more specifically, an overall domestic and foreign policy score. In all cases, he also uses cutpoints to sort the senators into categories of high, medium, and low levels of support. To give some examples of overall support scores, Claude D. Pepper (D-FL) ranked highest and Clark ranked lowest in the seventy-seventh Congress (1941–1942).

Malsberger presents his narrative material in a way that allows for convenient, and continually interesting, cross-checking between the quantitative data and the prose. Which senators did or said what in the actual legislative process, and how did their actions correspond to their roll call scores? Year by year, starting in 1938 and ending in 1952, Malsberger walks the reader through the particularly prominent and contentious encounters of that era on the Senate floor. Included

are the struggles over tax breaks for business in 1938; Works Progress Administration funding in 1939; repeal of the U.S. arms embargo in 1939; the military draft in 1940 and 1941; the Lend Lease Act in 1941; price controls in 1942 and 1946; wartime taxation in 1942 through 1944; the Smith-Connally War Labor Disputes Act of 1943; soldier voting in 1944; postwar economic planning in 1944; Henry A. Wallace's nomination as Secretary of Commerce in 1945; federal aid to education in 1945, 1948, and 1949; the Employment Act in 1946; the United Nations and Bretton Woods Conference in 1944–1945, civil rights in 1946 and 1949; labor-management relations in 1946 (the Case bill) and 1947 (the Taft-Hartley Act); tax reduction and the Truman Doctrine in 1947; the Marshall Plan in 1948; housing policy in 1948, 1949, and 1950; the North Atlantic Treaty Organization pact in 1949; reciprocal trade in 1949; U.S. troops to Europe in 1951; extensions of the Defense Production Act in 1951 and 1952; and Truman's seizure of the steel mills in 1952.

The chief strength of the book is its organization and presentation of particulars. Immense work went into the roll-call scores and the year-by-year narratives. The latter draw from public records, newspaper stories, private papers of sixteen senators, a dozen or so dissertations, and an exhaustive, so far as I can tell, canvass of secondary works. Great care and accuracy prevail throughout. Anyone looking for an account of Senate proceedings or policy making during the relevant Congresses might consult this book with profit. The bibliography alone is worth the effort.

I am less convinced about the "new conservatives" as a distinctive faction. The author's basic instinct about an appearance of senators like Aiken and Ives is certainly correct, and his narratives demonstrate that. But his "new conservatism" resides within arbitrary cutpoints in dimensions, and its personnel are a heterogeneous lot including at various times, for example, the left-wing isolationist William Langer (R-ND), the southern patriarch Walter George (D-GA), and the New England internationalist Henry Cabot Lodge (R-MA). Also, new as they may have been, were the "new conservatives" really newer than the "obstructionists"? In fact, as of 1952, the alleged two factions were about equal in old and young blood. Orthodox conservatism decisively renewed itself in the Senate of the 1940s. That is a story, too.

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STEFANO LUCONI. *La "Diplomazia Parallela": Il regime fascista e la mobilitazione politica degli italo-americani.* (Temi di storia, number 14.) Milan: Franco Angeli. 2000. Pp. 157. L 30,000.

Axis penetration of ethnic communities in the United States during the 1920s and 1930s met with little resistance or apparent concern from most Americans before the onset of World War II. Once the U.S. public became aware of and concerned about foreign inter-

vention in domestic American affairs and Congress and state governments began investigating, the leaders of Italian and German communities hastily reversed course, proclaimed their "Americanism," and largely succeeded in burying the issue in a flurry of wartime patriotism. Efforts by liberals to root out domestic "fascism" fell prey to the Roosevelt administration's need for the Italian and German-American vote. The extent of Axis control of immigrant communities remains unclear.

Stefano Luconi makes an effort to analyze both the objectives of fascist policy makers' costly intervention in the Italian-American community and the effectiveness of the effort. His book is a thoughtful, well-written, and extensively researched investigation of fascist Italy's policy and objectives. Luconi has consulted an impressive array of archives in Italy and the United States. He is fully in control of the essential bibliography in both languages, and of the historiography. As a result, this is a rewarding book that broadens our knowledge of both Italian objectives and American public policy.

In promoting a "parallel," semi-covert involvement of the fascist state in the activities of the Italian-American community, Benito Mussolini's objective was not subverting the loyalty of Italian Americans but creating a U.S. power base to influence American policy makers when they dealt with issues of concern to the Italian state. On a number of occasions, Italian leaders found it prudent to disown more radical pro-fascist groups inside the Italian-American community. Their goal was creating an effective lobby, not overthrowing or modifying the U.S. political system.

Italian Americans actively supported fascist Italy on a number of occasions, in particular over Italian debt questions, on tariff issues, and, most notoriously, pressing for full enforcement of American neutrality legislation during the Ethiopian campaign and subsequent Spanish Civil War. Italian leaders, including Mussolini, his sometime foreign minister, Count Dino Grandi, and successive Italian ambassadors in Washington, played the Italian-American card while strengthening their ties to community leaders. Ironically, Ethiopia, the regime's greatest domestic and foreign success, was the turning point. Italian Americans basked in Italy's colonial triumph and then realized their support of fascist aggression left them outside the mainstream of American public opinion. Their leaders began back-pedaling from their enthusiastic support of the *Duce*. By the time the United States entered World War II, the Italian-American community "displayed their full and unconditioned support for Washington's policies" (p. 133).

In telling this story, Luconi has given us a clear picture of the intent of fascist leaders without being able to resolve the question of how much they influenced U.S. policy. In all the major cases he studies, Rome had critical advantages. The United States was as eager to reach an accord on the war debt as Mussolini. Isolationism reached its apogee in the

mid-1930s and was the primary motivator for the Roosevelt administration's weak reaction to fascist aggression in Ethiopia. Nor was the Italian-American community the sole tool of fascist "parallel" diplomacy. Of equal importance was a well-financed cultural diplomacy directed at U.S. business and intellectual elites. Luconi ignores this vital and complementary element of fascist policy. Throughout the book, he equivocates in judging the weight "parallel diplomacy" had in U.S.-Italian relations. This is less a defect than a recognition of the difficulties of a monographic approach to a complex, twenty-year bilateral diplomatic relationship. Luconi's book offers instead a clear picture of the operations and objectives of Mussolini's second channel for influencing American policy.

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DENNIS A. DESLIPPE, *"Rights, Not Roses": Unions and the Rise of Working-Class Feminism, 1945-80*. (The Working Class in American History.) Champaign: University of Illinois Press. 2000. Pp. x, 259. Cloth \$49.95, paper \$21.95.

How long will it take for the widespread misperception to die that the feminist movement of the 1970s was exclusively a middle-class movement? Dennis A. Deslippe's book adds to the pathbreaking works of Ruth Milkman, Nancy Gabin, and Dorothy Sue Cobble that demonstrate the participation of working-class women in feminist efforts within labor unions and workplaces in the post-World War II years. Deslippe's careful comparison of the implementation of Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act in two unions—the United Packinghouse Workers of America (UPWA) and the International Union of Electrical Workers (IUE)—contributes to the broadening of working-class history and the revision of the history of feminism.

Deslippe argues that working women slowly abandoned "protectionism" (the belief that protective legislation for women was the best way to improve women's position in the workforce). Instead, they embraced efforts to secure "equal rights" in the 1960s and 1970s, largely in response to new opportunities to bring legal action accorded by Title VII, which banned sex discrimination in employment. Women demanded equal pay for jobs of comparable worth, as well as the end of sex-typed job classifications and sex-segregated seniority systems, among other issues. Deslippe compares the response of the UPWA and the IUE to these feminist efforts and finds that the IUE accommodated working women by creating its own rigorous Title VII compliance plan: it joined with women plaintiffs against recalcitrant companies. The UPWA, in contrast, opposed women's attempts to bring equality to their workshops and found itself a codefendant, along with the companies, in numerous Title VII lawsuits. Deslippe attributes these variations in response to the different percentages of women in the unions (women were thirty-five percent of the IUE, but only twenty

percent of the UPWA), to the greater control the IUE had over local unions to enforce its compliance program, and to the divergent institutional cultures and histories of the unions. The IUE had competed for membership in the 1950s with its parent organization, the United Electrical Workers (UE), which drove both unions to pay attention to women's workplace concerns. After anticommunist attacks debilitated the UE, women activists with a background in social justice issues joined the heretofore more conservative IUE.

Title VII is the central axis around which Deslippe's argument revolves. Deslippe's first four chapters discuss the years prior to the passage of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, focusing on women's issues in organized labor after World War II, equal pay legislation culminating in the equal pay act of 1963, and the histories of gender relations in the UPWA and the IUE. His last three chapters assess the impact of Title VII nationally and compare its implementation in the two unions. While working women had long struggled to improve working conditions and their place in the union, Deslippe argues that "Title VII proved to be the catalyst to women's expressing open support for gender equity" (p. 2).

Deslippe promises in his introduction that he will discuss "how a newly formed consciousness took shape in the two decades following WWII" (p. 1). He then traces a transition from protectionism to equal rights as the strategy for change. However, there is very little in this book about "consciousness" or the changing ideas of actual working-class women. The notions of "protectionism" and "equal rights" are legal terms that certainly influenced working women's thinking—they were the two models available for making practical legal challenges to employers and unions—but they did not and could not fully encompass working women's experiences, ideas, or "consciousness." Indeed, working women also pushed for child care and waged an attack on the "second shift" during this period, neither of which fit easily into an "equal rights" framework. Deslippe excels when examining the institutional history of unions' responses to workers' feminist claims and the impact of a changing legal landscape but conveys less about working-class women themselves as three-dimensional actors. Indeed, the primary motivating force in this book is not working women as agents and activists but Title VII. Certainly, much of the history of working-class feminism remains to be written. However, Deslippe has provided a cogent and rigorous case analysis that will serve as an important base for future work.

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DONALD T. CRITCHLOW, *Intended Consequences: Birth Control, Abortion, and the Federal Government in Modern America*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1999. Pp. x, 307. \$30.00.



Donald T. Critchlow makes four distinct contributions to a highly contested field. In the first place, he brings the story of birth control in America up to date by focusing on developments since 1950. Too often, historians concerned with contentious events situate their analysis in the distant past, leaving it for other social scientists to write about the origins of contemporary problems. In the second place, he writes with a wonderful feel for what might be described as the "niceties of elite discourse." He makes optimum use of his special access to the papers of John D. Rockefeller III and the Population Council, a group that Rockefeller founded in 1952. These papers are essential to Critchlow's story, since Rockefeller and a handful of other philanthropists, along with the foundations they supported, launched the modern population control movement. In the third place, the history of the Catholic Church does not daunt Critchlow. He does an excellent job, for example, in explaining Pope Paul VI's encyclical *Humanae Vitae* (1968), which reaffirmed the church's opposition to artificial contraception. Finally, Critchlow recognizes the multifaceted nature of public policy in modern America and, as a consequence, pursues his story in local communities, the White House, the Supreme Court, and Congress.

The book resists easy summary. Stripped to its essence, it concerns the efforts of Rockefeller and Dixie Cup magnate Hugh Moore, assisted by strategically placed officers in the Ford and Rockefeller Foundations, to create programs that would control population growth at home and abroad. Rockefeller and his largely upper-class group of supporters approached this task with a missionary zeal that was characteristic of the postwar era. Although they did not much succeed in influencing government policy in the 1950s, the private foundations themselves started birth-control programs in third world countries. During the Lyndon B. Johnson administration, however, Rockefeller's group convinced a cautious president to bring the population control effort into the public sector. As a result, Johnson allowed the Office of Economic Opportunity to spend money in local communities on birth control. Similarly, the Agency for International Development included birth control programs in the scope of America's foreign aid program. Congress affirmed its support for population control in 1967, when it required states to use some of their public assistance money to fund family planning services.

Congress' action fit a more general pattern that persisted through the first Nixon administration in which politicians played upon the ambiguity of social services to further a political consensus. Liberals regarded birth control as an essential amenity of modern life to which the poor were entitled. Conservatives saw in birth control a way to stop what they perceived to be undesirable phenomena, such as out of wedlock births. President Richard M. Nixon, eager to distinguish his program from those of the Great Soci-

ety, seized on family planning as a constructive alternative to welfare.

In a move that foreshadowed more general societal developments, Nixon reversed his position and courted the Catholic vote in 1972. By this time, the issue of population control had lost its relative invisibility, elite status, and bipartisan character. Beginning at the end of the 1960s, abortion tended to subsume all other aspects of population control. In the resulting culture wars, abortion helped to remake American politics and turn the country decisively toward the right.

Critchlow describes these events with far more nuances than I can impart here. Indeed, the book may be too nuanced. The book suffers from the absence of an overarching theme to move the narrative from one point to another. At times, Critchlow seems determined to cram the text with so many facts, so many acronyms, that only the most knowledgeable or determined readers will feel comfortable. In the end, we reach the relatively unsatisfying conclusion that the modern birth control movement achieved some of its intended consequences, such as promoting the widespread use of contraception. Perhaps a theme more related to change over time, such as the way in which birth control reveals the transition in social policy from the 1960s to the 1970s, would have served the study better. Historians will, I think, apply Critchlow's data to their own particular concerns.

This book, then, has the cardinal virtue of letting primary evidence, rather than ideological presupposition, carry the argument. One might carp, as I have, at the amount of evidence and at the author's reluctance to impose a synthetic theme on this evidence. That said, one can only admire the sheer volume of erudition and the sophisticated view of the policy process contained in this book; it exemplifies the new field of policy history at its very best.

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ALISON J. CLARKE. *Tupperware: The Promise of Plastic in 1950s America*. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution. 1999. Pp. x, 241. \$24.95.

It has long been a truism among American cultural historians that the twentieth century has encompassed a transition from an older producerist culture to a newer consumerist society. More recently, these changes have been analyzed in terms of gender. In this scheme, consumption is a feminized (if not always feminine) set of activities.

The two central characters of Alison J. Clarke's fascinating study of the creation and marketing of tupperware seem, at first encounter, vividly to personify the gendered producerist/consumerist divide. In the early 1940s, an amateur inventor, Earl Tupper, fashioned the prototype for a new kind of flexible, lightweight container out of polyethylene. Like untold numbers of men and boys (and a surprising number of women), Tupper saw invention as the key to a kind of



independence and success embodied in heroic inventor figures such as Thomas A. Edison and Alexander Graham Bell. Moreover, for Tupper, tupperware was not just utilitarian; it was the embodiment of the "moral economy" of nineteenth-century producerist values: Protestant conservatism, social reform, and technological progress.

Initially, tupperware was sold in stores. However, in 1951, Tupper hired Brownie Wise, who introduced the use of the home party system to market his growing product line. Wise's strategy of combining female suburban sociability with shopping helped elevate Tupper's homely containers to iconic status. If Tupper was thrifty, low-key, self-restrained, Brownie was flamboyant, gregarious, extravagant. She rallied her saleswomen with displays of charisma and elaborate "potlatches" in which the chosen few dug for diamonds and fur coats in her garden. Just to drive the contrast (literally) home, Clarke describes the interiors of their homes: Tupper remained in his chilly native New England, surrounded by "traditional New England good taste"; Brownie set herself up in warm Florida in a mansion full of rattan furniture, modern art, and a palate that included pink and more pink.

Clarke is too smart a historian to let a simplistic producer/consumer dichotomy take over her book, however. Tupper and his wife Marie may have furnished their house in colonial revival and resisted the most overt blandishments of 1950s consumer culture, but Tupper showed an acute understanding of consumers and consumption in his business dealings. He recognized that good products did not necessarily sell themselves and unremarkable products could come to stand out in the marketplace through meanings attached to them via advertising and other forms of marketing. After all, Tupper had the good sense to hire Wise. Dismayed by her extravagance, he also fired her only a few years later, but he kept the home party system. By the same token, Wise's sales system may have made use of ideologies of 1950s domesticity, but it also recognized the very real need of many women to earn money within the constraints of family and domestic responsibilities. Wise herself was a career woman and single mother who chose not to remarry. Like Tupper, her success stemmed from bridging the worlds of production and consumption.

This is also a book about an object, written by someone who describes herself as a design historian. Her main goal, Clarke tells us, is to explore "the process by which objects of mass consumption are appropriated as meaningful artifacts of everyday life" (p. 4). She is particularly interested in how objects come to have different meanings for different social groups. These questions seem to have their origin in the fetishization of tupperware by academics who claimed it as the epitome of modernist design: simple, sleek, and made out of plastic. In contrast, the rest of us see tupperware as special because of the social context in which it is sold.

Despite Clarke's best efforts, this line of analysis

seems peripheral. Partly the problem is historiographical. The publication of Jeffrey L. Meikle's *American Plastic: A Cultural History* (1995) has made it much more difficult to say something original about the cultural meanings of the material itself. Sources also present a dilemma. Clarke relies heavily on the personal papers of Tupper and Wise. Therefore, it is not surprising that this turns out to be a story as much about people as about objects. Despite Clarke's use of oral history interviews, the voices of tupperware users are very sparse in this book.

However, a few minor shortcomings should not dissuade readers from this ambitious, wittily written, smart book. Clarke has made an important contribution to a growing body of scholarship that endeavors to connect production and consumption, material culture, and the history of technology, all framed within the cultural history of industrial America.

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MARC STEIN. *City of Sisterly and Brotherly Loves: Lesbian and Gay Philadelphia, 1945-1972*. (The Chicago Series of Sexuality, History, and Society.) Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2000. Pp. xv, 457. \$35.00.

Most studies of lesbian/gay history have focused either on lesbians or on gay men, excluding the other or, when ostensibly including both, assuming that what has been true of gay men has also been true of lesbians. The unique focus of Marc Stein's book is specifically on the relationships between lesbians and gays and the ways in which these men and women diverged as well as converged.

The first part of the book concerns what Stein calls "everyday geographies": the neighborhoods, bars, clubs, and other public spaces used by homosexual communities in Philadelphia. This chapter, which is occasionally overwhelmed by excessive citations from his informants, points out the significant differences between the sexes in their use of public space but also shows the ways in which lesbians and gays learned to share space and to build overlapping cultures. The next section of Stein's book, "Public Cultures," demonstrates that although homosexuality was supposedly a love that dared not speak its name at mid-century, in fact, it was a major theme in local print culture. As Stein points out, however, "the homosexual" of magazines and newspapers was generally male. On the relatively rare occasions when the subject of lesbians appeared in popular print, claims about them were usually derived from negative stereotypes about their male counterparts. Lesbians, often unhappy about the conflation with male homosexuals, had to find ways to assert a separate identity; but at the same time, they found ways to work together with gay men in the emerging movements of the era.

The second half of the book is concerned with those lesbian/gay movements, which began in the 1950s and evolved into the revolutions of gay liberation and

lesbian feminism by the late 1960s. Stein shows that despite conflicts and differences, lesbians and gay men managed to work well together in the early movements. By cooperating with gay men, lesbians could make use of the sociocultural resources that men had greater access to. By cooperating with lesbians, gay men could shed their images as mere "sexually predatory perverts" (p. 223). Both lesbians and gay men could use heterosocial visibility to keep the sexual aspects of their lives less visible, a tactic that was deemed important in mid-century as "homophiles" (the preferred desexualized term) struggled for their basic rights.

Such cooperation between lesbians and gay men was at its height in the Philadelphia movements from 1960 to 1963. Shortly thereafter, it faltered. Stein shows how divisions were reawakened within the lesbian and gay communities and a new division was brought about by the growth of feminist awareness. He illustrates the divergent interests of lesbians and gays by tracing the history of one lesbian/gay political group of the 1960s, Janus, whose the male leadership sponsored *Drum*, a magazine that included important political and cultural articles but whose overwhelming emphasis was on beefcake photography and a celebration of gay men's distinctive sexual cultures. *Drum* had little to say to lesbians.

Despite disharmonies, some lesbians and gay men did attempt to continue to work together, even at the height of lesbian feminism in the early 1970s. Stein ends his book with an examination of the first Philadelphia "gay pride" march, in 1972, which was very much a product of cooperation between lesbians and gay men.

Most gay and lesbian histories to this point have focused on the biggest American cities, especially New York and San Francisco. In addition to his very interesting examination of historical interactions between lesbians and gay men, Stein makes a convincing case for the importance of Philadelphia to gay and lesbian movements. Interwoven throughout his story of how men and women related to each other is the story of how homosexual Philadelphians organized some of the country's first political demonstrations, produced some of the most widely circulated gay and lesbian publications, and were in the forefront of heterosocial homophile activism as well as militancy, African-American lesbian feminism, and gay sexual radicalism. Stein's focus on Philadelphia provides a crucial piece of history that has hitherto been missing from other accounts of lesbian and gay cultures and movements.

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SUZANNE E. SMITH. *Dancing in the Street: Motown and the Cultural Politics of Detroit*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1999. Pp. 319. \$24.95.

As historians finally begin to pay closer attention to the cultural coordinates of the postwar African-American freedom struggle, Suzanne E. Smith has provided a thoughtful study of the Motown recording company and its connection to the evolving politics of black Detroit from the late 1950s to the early 1970s. Smith's major contribution is to locate the rise of Motown within a number of overlapping social, cultural, economic, technological, ideological, and political contexts. If relatively little of this contextual material will be entirely new to students of the freedom struggle, black capitalism, postwar black musical and cultural traditions, or Detroit's urban development, never before has this "background" detail been so skillfully foregrounded in order to explain Motown's commercial success and symbolic resonance in the black community.

Smith argues vigorously that it was not mere happenstance that Motown appeared in Detroit. To be sure, other northern cities had similar raw materials, but Smith's attention to the way in which regional, national, and international currents played out in the specific environment of black Detroit just about clinches her case that Motown could only have emerged in the form it did in the Motor City. For example, she locates Motown within the framework of a powerful local tradition of self-help and entrepreneurial capitalism, intensified by the presence of a powerful Black Muslim chapter. Label owner Berry Gordy's father exemplified this tradition, as did the way in which family money was used to bankroll the young Gordy's first speculative dabbling in the recording industry. This tradition bequeathed to Gordy a legacy of fierce individualism and self-interest, coupled with an equally deep commitment to community uplift. Similarly, the Ford production line, on which Gordy briefly worked, serves its traditional function in Smith's book as the model for some of Motown's organizational and production practices. Curiously, however, despite good sections on Detroit's black entertainment world and on the under-appreciated importance of refugees from an ailing local jazz scene to the creation of the Motown sound, Smith pays little attention to a more obvious line of local influence: earlier black-owned Detroit record labels like Fortune and LuPine.

In one of the most compelling sections of the book, Smith describes Motown's gradual retreat from its neighborhood roots, first to downtown Detroit and then to the West Coast, in relation both to Gordy's burgeoning commercial ambitions and to the circumstances following the 1967 Detroit riots. Particularly useful is her description of the company's 1968 attempts to revitalize black morale in the city by participating in a resolutely upbeat "Detroit Is Happening" campaign. While the power of Motown's music to cement bonds of community and pride remained intact during this period, many local activists felt that this initiative was woefully out of step with the darkening mood of the city in the wake of the riots, Martin

Luther King, Jr.'s assassination, and in the midst of black power insurgency.

This episode marked the culmination of a complex dance of engagement and avoidance between Motown and the formal, organized movement in its many guises. Smith handles this theme very well. Direct overt or covert support for the civil rights movement represented but one possible means whereby a producer of black culture like Motown could contribute to the empowerment of the African-American community. Nevertheless, rather than simply rehashing vague (if undoubtedly true) verities about the psychological importance of soul music to a mobilized black community, she addresses the ways in which Motown and the local movement interacted. Predictably, she finds a mixed record. While offering slightly more evidence of an early engagement with formal black activism than the conventional wisdom suggests, Smith accepts that until the mid-to-late 1960s, Gordy generally tried to protect Motown's hard-won access to the mainstream white market by distancing the company from conspicuous public alignment with the movement. Smith might have said more on the internal debates within Motown on when and how this agenda was hatched, debated, and subsequently modified. Unfortunately, however, like most Motown researchers, she apparently enjoyed little access to the company's jealously guarded files and has to rely—rather too uncritically at times—on interviews with, or autobiographical statements by, the main protagonists to flesh out the internal dynamics of the company.

Ultimately, the real story here is of Gordy's skillful efforts to negotiate the tensions between his—and much of black America's—desire to succeed, with pride, dignity, and cultural integrity intact, in the mainstream, while honoring the constant pull of more nationalistic impulses. Smith never reduces this spectrum of black nationalist-integrationist thought in Detroit—or within Motown—to simplistic either/or options; she appreciates that these were largely coincident impulses, mixing messily in the programs of many activists, and in the minds of many African Americans. The story of Motown's unprecedented crossover success with a music proudly bearing the hallmark of black urban musical culture offers her a glimpse into the complexities of fluid and mutating black consciousnesses during a period of enormous social, economic, and political upheaval. While the nature of her sources means that some of her conclusions here are necessarily more suggestive than definitive, Smith has nevertheless written a sophisticated and valuable study of Motown and the cultural politics of Detroit.

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AMY B. ZEGART. *Flawed by Design: The Evolution of the CIA, JCS, and NSC*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1999. Pp. xvi, 317. \$45.00.

An ambitious effort to supply a unitary framework that could account for the evolution of the National Security Council (NSC), Joint Chiefs of Staff (JCS), and Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), Amy B. Zegart's book is both interesting and rewarding, though at times frustrating. Zegart builds a theory of national security agency formation that she tests with the three institutions that are her subjects. The empirical cases are deemed to confirm the initial model.

This analysis starts by contrasting a "realist" view of agency formation and progress with what the author terms a "new institutionalist" approach. In essence the realist notion here is that agencies evolve in response to the international system while the institutional version is that agency formation and development is driven by interest groups and Congress and reflects the interest group environment: in other words, domestic politics. Fleshing out these general propositions leads to the "new" institutionalist model because Zegart's analysis shows that interest groups and influence peddlers are relatively less powerful in international relations, making Congress less inclined to drive the process and the basic model more suited to regulatory agencies.

There are also factors such as presidential prerogative in foreign policy and the pre-existing interests of other bureaucratic actors to account for. Zegart therefore postulates a new institutionalism that "is actually less a theory than a collection of analytic concepts" and makes agencies both dependent and independent variables (p. 14). In this approach, the executive branch drives the creation of agencies, bureaucratic actors moderate agency evolution, and Congress plays a secondary role in creation and a sporadic one in oversight. The interest group environment is fluid, thin, and weak, with outside influences further attenuated because much of the work is conducted in secret, as opposed to the openness of most activity in the domestic arena. The evolution of an agency is then explained "principally by its initial design, and to a lesser extent by the ongoing interests of relevant political actors and events" (p. 44).

Similarities between this new institutionalism and older bureaucratic politics models are acknowledged, but the author claims major distinctions that are not actually explained. The historical analysis in the case studies also seems less than satisfying. The text is littered with references to everyman/woman, as in any taxi driver, anyone who has stood in line at a government agency, or "any student of U.S. foreign policy" who, Zegart says, would explain that Congress "imposed" the NSC on President Harry S. Truman (p. 54). The origins of the NSC, whatever they are, do little to explain the importance that entity acquired for later presidents. The differential growth of CIA covert action capability versus its analytical function, a response to perceptions of the international system, does not fit so neatly into the new institutional model as claimed. The description of JCS evolution does not differ materially from what would be afforded by

application of a standard bureaucratic politics approach. While these are useful accounts of the origins and evolution of the NSC, JCS, and CIA, it is arguable whether the claim to new theory can be sustained by them. Herein lies this reviewer's frustration with Zegart's book.

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LUCAS A. POWE, JR. *The Warren Court and American Politics*. Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. 2000. Pp. xvi, 566. \$35.00.

In this book, Lucas A. Powe, Jr. revives a tradition of public law largely dormant for several decades. The view he offers is stereoscopic: in one lens, the influence of politics on decisions of the Warren Court; in the other, the Court's contributions to politics. (Powe shuns the recent vogue to minimize the latter.) His orientation is interpretive, explicitly differentiated from both normative analysis of legal doctrine and quantitative analysis of outcomes of cases. Even so, Powe is thoroughly grounded in the relevant lawyers' law and the processes that lead to the Court's decisions. Given his lively writing style, the result is an account that both specialists and nonspecialists can appreciate.

Powe divides the sixteen years of Earl Warren's chief justiceship into three periods; in caricature, call them Advance, Pause, Advance. Politically speaking, the first four years were dominated by *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954–1955) and its sequelae, some national security decisions that eventually challenged some excesses of the McCarthy era, and modest steps toward greater fairness in criminal justice systems. The backlash against *Brown* centered in the South, but congressional Dixiecrats found Republican allies by expressing outrage against the national security decisions. With Congress threatening to limit federal courts' jurisdiction, the Court became "stalemated" for five years. During this time, Powe says, the Court retreated on national security; reaffirmed *Brown* in the 1958 Little Rock case, but did little else but protect the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) against southern legislative efforts to destroy it; and upheld Sunday-closing laws but invalidated state-sponsored prayers in the public schools.

With the 1962 retirement of Justice Felix Frankfurter, who was replaced by Arthur Goldberg, "history's Warren Court" (p. 207) began, continuing until Warren's retirement in 1969. Congress enlisted in the civil rights cause, and the Court imposed the "one person, one vote" constitutional standard on malapportioned legislatures; invoked the First Amendment to protect the civil rights movement, but in opinions establishing broad speech and press freedoms; applied most of the Bill of Rights to state criminal justice systems; gave the Free Exercise Clause and the Estab-

lishment Clause new vigor; and invalidated a law forbidding use of birth control devices.

One common portrayal of the Warren Court pictures liberal justices who sallied forth to protect the downtrodden against overbearing legislative majorities. But, says Powe, what had changed by 1963 was not merely the Court's personnel but majoritarian values. The justices of the late Warren Court were "men with power happily exercising it to promote the values of what were, at least during the 1960s, the dominant national elites" (p. 216). His key word is "national." Emphasizing "the geography of constitutional violation" (p. 489), Powe sees the Warren Court's main accomplishment as imposing national values on a recalcitrant South and on pockets of Catholic political strength elsewhere. Although this perspective is consistent with much of the Court's First Amendment and criminal justice jurisprudence, perhaps the important factor for criminal justice was not geography but race.

Some readers may quibble with Powe's emphasis on the immediate political settings for the Court's decisions. He explains *Jones v. Alfred H. Mayer Co.* (1968), upholding the 1968 Fair Housing Act, by saying the Court wished "to help quell the urban violence" following the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. (p. 299). In a longer-term political perspective, the *Jones* opinion culminated a four-year interaction with Congress by cementing congressional power to forbid private racial discrimination, even in the absence of "state action" or any effect of the regulated conduct on interstate commerce. Similarly accentuating here-and-now politics, Powe suggests that in 1957 Justice William J. Brennan, Jr. ruled obscenity outside the First Amendment's scope to avoid provoking public ire: "Imagine the headlines" if he had not (p. 115). In a longer-range political view, one might imagine that Justice Brennan knew his brethren would uphold some obscenity regulations and defined obscenity outside the First Amendment to prevent those precedents from weakening other freedoms of expression.

Finally, with a larger view of politics, one would not say the Warren Court "did nothing" about sex equality (p. 487). By the 1920s, women knew they must control their own sexuality and maternity in order to enter into the public world, including the world of work. Access to birth control was a women's issue, and *Griswold v. Connecticut* (1965) materially advanced the political movement for women's equality.

Again, these are but quibbles. This book is a brilliant renewal of the public law tradition, and Powe deserves the thanks of legal scholars and political scientists—and, not least, historians of modern America.

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TINSLEY E. YARBROUGH. *The Rehnquist Court and the Constitution*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2000. Pp. xii, 306. \$35.00.



Tinsley E. Yarbrough has taken on the difficult task of assessing the impact of the Rehnquist Court before its tenure is over. Yarbrough's study is a traditional doctrinal analysis. But there are three features that set this book apart from most studies of different periods in Supreme Court history. First, the author examines each of the justices with particular attention to the confirmation process since William Rehnquist was elevated to the center chair. This establishes the composition of the Court as an important factor in doctrinal evolution. Second, Yarbrough examines the institutional context in which the justices operate, devoting a chapter to the formal and informal processes of the Court. The author concentrates on changes in the norms and processes that have occurred since the Rehnquist Court. Third, and perhaps most important, Yarbrough advances the idea that the Rehnquist Court is in the process of reinventing the role of the judicial branch. The author establishes the doctrinal and philosophical principles that have guided judicial decision making for over half a century, the so-called "double standard" by which the Court held civil liberties and civil rights to a higher standard than economic issues. Yarbrough advances the proposition that a majority of the Rehnquist Court has rejected the double standard. In reality, according to the author, the Rehnquist Court seems to be standing the double standard on its head, showing deference to the elected branches of government in civil liberties and civil rights cases and adopting renewed activism for economic issues.

The preponderance of the analysis is dedicated to doctrinal trends in a number of issue areas, most notably civil rights and individual liberties. In each of the substantive areas, Yarbrough establishes the doctrinal context that the Rehnquist Court encountered and how it has modified the law it inherited. Yarbrough chronicles the retreat of the Rehnquist Court in many of these areas as well as attempts to reverse other precedents that have survived judicial siege. In each chapter, Yarbrough examines the policy and legal positions of the competing blocs on the Court. The discussion focuses on the alternative tests and standards that members of the Rehnquist Court have offered to replace the doctrines of the Warren and Burger Courts. Perhaps most notable is the author's discussion of takings clause doctrine, which may portend a renaissance for economic due process, and the pronounced retreat in free exercise of religion jurisprudence. Yarbrough does not hide his views, frequently criticizing the Rehnquist Court or individual justices for their positions on certain issues. He laments the passing of the double standard.

While this is a thorough analysis of trends in the Rehnquist Court and of considerable merit, the book is not without a few problems. One of these problems is endemic to doctrinal studies, and one is specific to this study. Many studies of case law suffer from the desire to include a large number of decisions as well as concurring and dissenting opinions. The cost of this

detail is the loss of the broader picture. The other concern is that the author does not explicitly connect the contextual chapters to the substantive doctrinal analyses. Yarbrough does not expound on the linkages between the context and the substantive outcomes.

Yarbrough presents the picture of a court in flux—a salient political issue since the failed nomination of Robert Bork—but does not develop the historical context that the Rehnquist Court faced. Certainly part of the retreat of the Rehnquist Court is a function of the more conservative nature of the Court, but it was also a result of the more difficult issues before the justices. The Rehnquist Court inherited a series of difficult second-generation issues dealing with civil rights, individual liberties, and unenumerated rights. Cases such as racial gerrymandering and the right to die have raised new, complicated questions while hate speech and time, place, and manner restrictions on expression tested the limits of free speech protection.

In the end, this is important as one of the first systematic academic analyses of the Rehnquist Court. The book advances the portrait of a Court that is drifting. Yarbrough identifies a possible transformation in the institutional role that certain justices would like to see enacted. Yarbrough's examination of footnote four and its impact suggest that the development of a new paradigm will structure the Court's decision making through the middle of the twenty-first century. Ultimately, the ability to achieve that will determine the legacy of the Rehnquist Court.

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#### CARIBBEAN AND LATIN AMERICA

FRANK GRAZIANO. *The Millennial New World*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1999. Pp. x, 366. \$45.00.

In this ambitious, if quirky, book, Frank Graziano surveys a millennium of millennial movements in Latin America. Better put, he surveys millennial attributes such as "symbolic inversion," a "divine alliance," "supernatural advantage," and so forth. "My primary concern is not the historicity of the events," he notes, "but rather how agreeing or competing versions register millennial thought in one culture, in another, or in the dialogical tension between the two" (p. 4). This statement is the key to the book, for Graziano at times writes a fairly straightforward history of particular millenarian movements. At other times, however, his gaze shifts entirely to millennial content—or what he perceives as millennial content—in individual discourse, events, and contexts that clearly are not predominately millenarian in nature.

Each chapter covers a broad characteristic of millennial thought or action, such as "The Messiah" (chapter six) or "The Promise of Paradise" (chapter four). In the earlier chapters, most of the examples are

given in rapid-fire succession, with Graziano dedicating but a few lines to each. In the latter chapters, the examples are more extended, and several discussions of individual millenarian movements are presented. As a whole, the book reads like an encyclopedia on millennial content, especially given that there are neither chapter summaries nor a concluding chapter.

The encyclopedic nature of the book is not necessarily a problem. Those new to the field will see it as a helpful introduction to concepts, terms, and events. Indeed, Graziano provides nicely worded definitions for key concepts and phrases, as well as helpful summaries of millenarian movements ranging from the Taqui Onqoy Rebellion to smaller movements in late twentieth-century Brazil. For specialists, however, most of what is presented here will seem familiar, as the book is based entirely on secondary sources.

The author's focus on millennial content leads him to see it virtually everywhere. For example, in chapter two he considers such millennial attributes as "reduction and polarization" and "the new morality," among others. As examples of millennial attributes he examines the Sendero Luminoso, the Sandinista Revolution, U.S. foreign policy in Latin America during the Cold War, Canudos, Padre Cícero, the Argentine Dirty War, the Muslim slave conspiracy in Bahia in 1835, Liberation Theology, Fidel Castro, and Juan Manuel de Rosas, among others.

There are millennial characteristics in each of the above, but what is the point? Clearly not all of these are millenarian movements or leaders. In chapter five, Graziano examines individuals who asserted either that they were returning messiahs or were "the new version of an idolized hero" (p. 178). For many of the cases given, there is no evidence that anyone believed such claims. So, for example, does it really matter that Carlos Saúl Menem claimed that the spirit of Juan Facundo Quiroga had entered his body, or that Jorge Ubico Castañeda "fanatically identified with Napoleon"?

The focus primarily on characteristics leads Graziano to misread events as predominately millenarian in nature. He ignores the most recent work on the Quetzalcóatl myth and declares that the "messianic expectation of a returning cultural hero thereby predisposed the Aztec empire to conquest by a European empire" (p. 182). As Francis J. Brooks argues, it is not at all clear that any more than a handful of Aztecs actually believed the myth, or interpreted their reality in light of that myth.

Without any focus on what followers thought and did, it is indeed possible to see every event and every person as possessing millennial attributes. Delusional individuals make messianic claims regularly. What is important, it seems to me, is to determine not so much why people make such claims, but why at times large numbers of people believe such claims. The author recognizes this near the end of his book when he writes that in "the final analysis, the messianic community is the source of charismatic power, coauthor of its doc-

trine, and guarantor of its claim to authority" (p. 291). Nevertheless, this is one of the few nods to followers in the book.

At the beginning of the book, Graziano notes that he intends "an exposition more than an argument, pursuing the themes of millennialism across a range of representative cases and drawing conclusions only in passing" (p. 3). This is a shame. I for one would welcome arguments and conclusions as to why it is so important to find millennial themes virtually everywhere and in everything. Perhaps Graziano has discovered a better method for understanding Latin America and Latin American history. By relying only on inference, however, he leaves readers no alternative but to question their prophets for an answer.

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ELIZABETH DORE and MAXINE MOLYNEUX, editors. *Hidden Histories of Gender and the State in Latin America*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2000. Pp. xiii, 381. Cloth \$64.95, paper \$21.95.

Fortunately, scholars of Latin America have begun to give gender the attention it deserves. Historians, social scientists, and literary critics have developed a rich understanding of the myriad ways in which a consideration of gender provides an important and essential lens on the human experience. The volume under review makes a significant contribution to this literature by providing us with a combination of historical and contemporary analyses of how gender has been utilized by political and social leaders to shape nations and define citizens.

This excellent collection of essays is introduced by two highly instructive overviews. Coeditor Elizabeth Dore chronicles change in women's status during the "long" nineteenth century, challenging the notion of linear and inevitable progress for women. In contrast, Dore concludes on the basis of changes in inheritance laws and the role of the Catholic Church in regulating marriage that "state policy had more negative than positive consequences for gender equality" and that "the general direction of change was regressive rather than progressive" (p. 5). Her focus on mandatory partible inheritance—a remnant of Spanish colonial law—and the loss women experienced as a result of changes in those laws is an excellent example of the problematic nature of an assumption of linear progress. In contrast, her discussion of the role of the Catholic Church with respect to gender equity seems less successful and incomplete.

In the second overview essay, coeditor Maxine Molyneux addresses the twentieth century, pointing out the centrality of state efforts to structure, control, and redefine gender relations as a central component of national development projects. She describes women's entrance and exit as citizens and the strategies they have adopted and argues persuasively for the importance of women's organized efforts to expand

their rights, revealing a "hidden history of female activism."

These fine essays are followed by twelve case studies that are not traditional country studies but rather richly textured analyses of state efforts to employ gender relations in the service of the political configuration sought by particular elites. While the case studies are not necessarily parallel, the essays reflect a great deal of cross-fertilization among the authors, and important comparative insights emerge. Moreover, common themes are identified as they emerge in individual essays. This gives the volume a rich comparative content.

A second factor that lends cohesion to the volume is the central focus on the state. All of the contributors explore the state's use of gender to reinforce its authority and enhance its power or that of the groups it serves. The authors and editors insist on a complex understanding of the state, emphasizing the role of those who are ruled in determining the power the state exercises. They make it clear that subaltern groups frequently reformulate and reorganize the state's policies, challenging and modifying the outcome.

"Gender" in this collection refers to the experience of both women and men, and readers will be pleased to find essays that deal with masculinity as well as femininity. Most notably the essay by Donna J. Guy on the changing nature of *patria potestad* in nineteenth-century Argentina emphasizes changing notions of men's roles in the family as well as women's pursuit of greater authority over their children and within the family. Karin Alejandra Rosemblatt provides a fascinating discussion of the changing nature of masculinity and its intersection with social class in Popular Front Chile.

Women's political participation is at the core of these considerations. Rebecca A. Earle's essay makes it clear that Colombian women's political mobilization on behalf of the independence war effort was quickly followed by strenuous efforts at demobilization and the rewriting of women's history of activism. This is a pattern now common to students of women's history in a variety of historical and contemporary contexts.

One of the subthemes that runs through the volume is how efforts at women's mobilization around "maternalist" strategies have fared. Latin America is a particularly interesting arena in which to test the maternalist assumption that the best way for women to find a wider role in politics is through emphasizing their roles as mothers and petitioning to expand those roles into the public realm. As Molyneux argues and as many of the essays demonstrate, "women learned not so much to challenge as to deploy the language of difference in ways that destabilized the traditional binaries that served to disqualify them from full citizenship" (pp. 44–45). The essays on Argentina trace the significance and limits of this strategy from the efforts in the nineteenth and early twentieth century to redefine *patria potestad* (Guy) through the unsuccessful

attempts of Argentine women in the late twentieth century to demand wages for housework (Jo Fisher).

The volume is replete with examples of how populist leaders "modernized" gender relations. For postrevolutionary Mexico, Mary Kay Vaughan describes rural development policy and the rationalization of domesticity it projected. The new policy opened new spaces and behaviors for women and suggested a possible restructuring of socialization at the expense of male authority. Nevertheless, "important foci of traditional patriarchal power . . . survived the revolution" (p. 208). Also in Mexico, Ann Varley describes the use of the judicial system to restrict the power of the extended family and consolidate nuclear male-headed families: women were not the intended beneficiaries of this state policy, but inadvertently younger women experienced greater freedom as the power of older women was restricted.

Similarly in Chile, the Popular Front governments of the 1930s and 1940s sought to redefine men's privileges and responsibilities to both the nation and their families through a new notion of masculinity intimately linked to idealized notions of working-class values. In Rosemblatt's essay and others throughout the volume, the authors demonstrate how gender and class are imbricated in state policies, at times reinforcing a patriarchal pattern, at times revealing fissures and important contradictions. While race and ethnicity emerge in the essay on Bolivia and to a lesser extent the essays on Mexico, it is not systematically pursued, nor does it figure in the theoretical framework of the editors. That will be the task of another volume.

This collection offers new and original material both historical and contemporary. There is a fascinating consideration of the placement of a memorial to the *heroínas* of Bolivian independence. The essays on Brazil (Fiona Macaulay) and Cuba (Dore) are highly instructive discussions of the contemporary women's movement, the former very successful and the latter decidedly less so.

In sum, this is an excellent volume offering insightful interpretations of the impact of gender on public life and its role in nation building. It may well help to chart new territory for research on state policy, political mobilization, and gender politics.

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ANDREW JACKSON O'SHAUGHNESSY, *An Empire Divided: The American Revolution and the British Caribbean*. (Early American Studies.) Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2000. Pp. xvi, 357. Cloth \$55.00, paper \$22.50.

Many American history textbooks rush through the colonial period. The "real" narrative begins in 1776, with the Revolution. The Constitution and the Founding Fathers soon occupy center stage; virtually everything and everyone else is relegated to the role of understudy. That this pattern continues to exist, given



prerevolutionary America's prolific historiography, frustrates many historians of the pre-columbian and colonial periods. When, they wonder, will the richness of their research reshape the dominant historical narrative?

The narrative's shortcomings go still deeper. Most students of early America contemplate only those English-speaking colonies that eventually joined the United States. Little or no attention is paid to Britain's other, vastly more profitable Caribbean colonies. Nor are rival French or Spanish colonial societies, let alone those of the Dutch or Danes, mentioned. The resulting historiography, therefore, remains removed from the context that generated it. Similarly, early North American history continues to be a distant concern to scholars of colonies that did not gain their independence when the United States did. American distinctiveness, even full-blown exceptionalism, remains embedded in many historians' assumptions.

Over the past decade a dedicated, if small, group of scholars has attempted to rectify this sorry state of affairs. In their books and articles, they have illuminated various aspects of an "Atlantic world" that encompassed Europe, the Americas, and Africa. Viewing the Atlantic as a "unit of study," these historians have broadened conceptualizations of early American history by exploring the ways in which people actually understood and interacted with their (political, social, cultural, and physical) environments. Despite glacial progress in challenging *American* history's dominant paradigms, much of these historians' scholarship is now being incorporated into *world* history. Historians of regions that border the Atlantic Ocean, other than the United States, also seem more favorably disposed to the Atlantic approach.

Andrew Jackson O'Shaughnessy's study is especially well placed to inform scholars of every Atlantic region, including the United States. The book speaks most directly to scholars of the American Revolution: military, political, and—less frequently—economic. So too does it address an old and contentious historiographical debate within British West Indian history: when did the region's economy begin its decline? The book directly embraces the Atlanticists' concerns by portraying a world that does not stop at national or geographic frontiers. O'Shaughnessy considers most of the relevant questions; as a result, this book will become the starting point for those interested in Britain's Caribbean colonies during the American War for Independence. Had the author taken a more muscular approach, the book might easily have reshaped our understanding of the American Revolution's Atlantic contributions. It stops short of doing just that.

The work certainly merits wide readership, especially by anyone with an interest in traditional political and military issues. It can equally benefit world historians, particularly with its snapshot of the ways in which the American Revolution played itself out in Britain and its profitable sugar colonies. Readers learn, for example, how the British Navy's pillaging of

St. Eustatius during the war resulted in diplomatic crises on the Continent and political crises at home. Admiral George Rodney's defeat of French Admiral deGrasse at the Battle of the Saintes saved the British Empire from complete humiliation, both at home and abroad, for losing to the mainland colonists (p. 237). Rodney's victory over deGrasse also reprimanded the admiral from punishment for violating metropolitan orders in St. Eustatius. In this way, Britain, France, the Dutch, and the colonists in the Caribbean, as well as those in North America, all appear to readers to be connected in ways overlooked by virtually all of the existing historiography.

The book's central mission is to explain why Britain's Caribbean colonies did not join the mainland uprisings (p. xiv). O'Shaughnessy posits that the answer owes more to "the fundamental differences between the island and mainland colonies" than to threats of military coercion, as some scholars had earlier asserted (p. xvi). The author sees several reasons for the islands' divergence from North America.

The book's first section describes long-term differences and argues for a kind of West Indian distinctiveness: the region's white population largely viewed itself as a sojourning one. Focusing their sights on Britain, white island residents did not create very much in the way of creole institutions and consciousness. The islands' large slave-to-white population ratio led Caribbean governments to welcome sizable military establishments; rebellion with so many troops present presumably would have been difficult. Moreover, the protected sugar economy remained profitable, largely through British trade regulation. Many in the islands hesitated to support a cause against their economic guarantors. As O'Shaughnessy shows us, many island whites openly violated British trading policies and ignored orders from troops whose presence they had requested when it served their interests as consumers. They did not rebel because they had found a way to get most of their aims met under existing policy. Indeed, the book's economic explanation is surely its most compelling.

The second section examines the short-term reasons for the divergence between white society in the Caribbean and its mainland counterpart during the 1760s and 1770s: the period when Britain and the mainland's problems with each other precipitously increased. The author describes in some detail the political maneuverings of various interest groups within a number of the colonies, especially those in Jamaica and the Leeward Islands. Some of these groups became disgruntled with the ways in which London introduced and changed policies, like the Stamp Act, but decided against open hostility with the imperial power. "The plantocracy were primarily interested in their own hegemony and only secondarily interested in the legislatures as vehicles of their own power" (p. 134). The plantocracy got what it wanted from existing governmental policies, or quietly subverted them. Why fight?

The book's third and fourth sections address the war



itself. Chapters describe regional battles, their underlying local and imperial politics, as well as the effects that the war had on the slave and free populations in the Caribbean. Slave starvation in the Leeward Islands proved horrific, despite its prediction and possible prevention before hostilities began (p. 161). Readers will be left with some indelible images of war diminishing an economically powerful region, at least in the short term.

Despite its importance to several historical literatures, this book has a number of significant flaws. Though the author masterfully feeds his readers one delicious anecdote after another, his narrative and interpretive threads sometimes get lost. The book clearly demonstrates extensive archival and historiographical research, but not all of it is obviously relevant. Closer editing might have helped the occasional antiquarian lapses. So, too, are there obvious omissions. The Bahamas is barely mentioned; its location and history during the war merited much deeper comment. After all, both the North Americans and the Spanish captured that colony, in 1776 and in 1782. But perhaps the book's biggest omission is a clear timeline; such a device could have neatly correlated events and changes in the mainland, in Britain (or, even, Europe), and in the Caribbean. In the process, it would have visibly shown scholars from all of these regions the interdependency of their histories and, in the process, made a much bolder Atlantic history statement. Similarly, the book's two maps are insufficient; some of the portraits and photographs could easily have been omitted and replaced by maps that visually demonstrate the Caribbean's place in a shared regional history with North America.

An all-encompassing history of the American Revolution in its Atlantic context has yet to be written. That said, O'Shaughnessy's book goes a long way toward showing us the way forward.

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CÉSAR J. AYALA. *American Sugar Kingdom: The Plantation Economy of the Spanish Caribbean, 1898–1934*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1999. Pp. xii, 321. Cloth \$49.95, paper \$19.95.

This book is both a contribution to the study of the sugar industry in the Caribbean and an examination of the processes of American imperialism in this tropical setting. In the years following the Spanish-American War, the United States assumed a dominant role in the expansion of sugar production in Cuba, Puerto Rico, and the Dominican Republic. The creation of the American sugar kingdom led to a great extension in the area cultivated in sugar cane, to the deforestation of much of eastern Cuba, and to the dependence of these three countries for their prosperity on the price of sugar. Within twenty years—by the end of World War I—one-third of all sugar entering international

trade came from this sugar kingdom. The prime agents of its imperialism were the well-financed American companies that built and operated the large sugar mills that transformed both the industry and the local social structure. César J. Ayala analyzes the founding of these companies, the sources of their capital, the composition of their boards of directors, and their linkages to business in the United States. The historical and geographical circumstances of the three countries differed, as did the nature of their political relationships with the United States; the significance of these differences for the development of the industry in each country provides Ayala with one of the themes for his book.

Three other themes inform Ayala's discussion. One of these is historiographical. At the beginning of his book, Ayala briefly reviews schools of thought in the study of Caribbean plantation economies: dependency theory and world-systems approaches, "productionist" writers who have "emphasized local relations of production" (p. 6), and the plantation school, whose adherents argue for continuity in the characteristics of plantation systems over the centuries and emphasize the importance of coerced labor. Ayala focuses his attention on this last school and offers a challenge to it with his own thesis that American imperialism brought about radical changes in the plantation economy of the Spanish Caribbean, one of which was the emergence of a labor market. He sees his book as a dialogue with proponents of the plantation school (p. 18). The second theme relates the creation of the sugar kingdom to changes in the ways of doing business in the United States. The imperialists-to-be learned an important lesson from the failure during the 1880s of their sugar trust, an organization of east coast sugar refiners, to monopolize refining in the United States. Claus Spreckels, the California-based refiner, was able to hold out because his activities were vertically integrated: he owned his own refinery in California, plantations in Hawai'i, and the ships to link the two. Vertical integration was the model that east coast refiners adopted in the sugar kingdom (p. 36). The emergence of the holding company in the years around 1900 as a capitalist strategy facilitated the business organization of this integration of growing and refining sugar. The third theme is power. Ayala reviews how the U.S. government protected the sugar interests through military power and the use of tariffs.

Ayala carefully builds his argument chapter by chapter and convincingly makes his case against the plantation school. Perhaps inevitably, there are places where he moves his account along a little too quickly. For example, he suddenly introduces the term "North American" (p. 78). Is he here including Canadian capital and Canadian landowners in his discussion, co-opting allies? Canadian banks were active in Cuba and elsewhere in the Caribbean. Would it not have been possible to separate Canadian from U.S. activity? There is one conclusion that perhaps needs some qualifying. Was the protection of U.S. refiners by the U.S. tariff system (p. 120) the only reason that the final

processing of raw sugar—refining—did not move from the United States to the Caribbean? From about 1930, a technical change that substituted vegetable carbons for bone-char in the refining process made refining possible on a smaller, less capital-demanding scale than before. Cuba became an appreciable exporter of refined sugar. Had the traditional reasons for locating refineries in the importing countries, such as the ease of access to markets and the ability to supply different qualities of refined sugar to consumers, by then entirely lost their force? Finally, Ayala pays scant attention to the new, bred varieties of sugar cane that were an innovation of basic importance in the sugar industry during these years, especially in Puerto Rico. These are minor queries that do not detract from an excellent book that deserves a wide readership.

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EILEEN J. SUÁREZ FINDLAY. *Imposing Decency: The Politics of Sexuality and Race in Puerto Rico, 1870–1920*. (American Encounters/Global Interactions.) Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 1999. Pp. xii, 316. Cloth \$54.95, paper \$18.95.

Eileen J. Suárez Findlay's dense examination of the politics of sexuality and race in Puerto Rico during the island's transition from a Spanish colony to a U.S. protectorate is a welcome addition to the emerging field of gender studies in Latin American societies and to the recent studies challenging the presentation of these societies as racial democracies.

Using discourse analysis, Findlay examines marriage and sexual practices as well as conceptions of morality, respectability, and honor to explore the interconnections of race, class, and sexuality in Puerto Rico. Principally focusing on the sugar-producing town of Ponce, which in 1870 comprised a substantial number of slaves and free people of African descent, she uses court cases, contemporary publications, and newspaper articles for her study. Her main finding is that sexual practices and norms and changing racial identities indelibly shaped each other. According to Findlay, "decency" was a key word that established the boundaries between elite and working class, men and women, whites and those of African descent, married and unmarried. Decency, respectability, and honor opposed disreputability, generally embodied in the dark-skinned prostitute.

The book begins with a discussion of the various codes of honor that expressed and preserved the gender, race, and class hierarchies of Spanish Puerto Rico. Most interesting is Findlay's discovery that working-class women challenged elite and male codes of honor privileging virginity and marriage with a code that gave priority to economic stability and flexibility in partner choice.

With the abolition of slavery in 1873, elite concern for racial whitening and lower-class "moralization" increased. In the 1890s, unconventional honor codes

came under the double assault of male liberals and bourgeois feminists. Both groups launched a campaign to regulate prostitution, aimed at cleansing Ponce of its "nondecent" population. The campaign received the backing of some working-class men. Although it did not mention race directly, according to Findlay, it racialized culture and stereotyped some patterns of behavior as black and negative, leading to the racialized sexual stigmatization of working-class women.

The book then turns to U.S. rule and examines its efforts to impose the unified standard of the Western bourgeois family on Puerto Ricans through the legalization of divorce and the facilitation of civil marriage. Puerto Ricans accepted some aspects of these reforms but rejected or manipulated others. Particularly welcome was the option for Puerto Rican women to get rid of abusive or "useless" husbands.

The labor movement intensified, and anarchists and socialists denounced racism and sexism. On the one hand, labor leaders stressed the need to undo racial hierarchies and to unite the working class regardless of race. On the other, some working-class feminists critiqued bourgeois marriage and advocated the practice of free love and solidarity with the prostitutes, seen as the quintessence of capitalist exploitation. However, they did not link the two discourses and did not recognize that race also shaped women's identities and experiences. Also, male activists avoided the issue of working-class men's role in women's subordination.

During World War I, the United States "granted" U.S. citizenship to Puerto Ricans and immediately enlisted men in the army. Simultaneously, in an attempt to consolidate a hegemonic consensus over "national" values, it launched a brutal campaign against prostitutes. Unlike in the 1890s, the targeted women and the unions protested. They presented the crack-down on prostitutes as a betrayal of U.S. democratic promises and an attack against all the working class, regardless of gender, and thus against the Puerto Rican nation. Yet the protest did not stop alleged prostitutes from being jailed and submitted to highly toxic medical treatment and occupational rehabilitation. Moreover, the antiprostitution campaign showed that class and racial identities prevailed over gender: the bourgeois feminists failed to denounce it, and many white middle-class and elite women took an active part in the rehabilitation campaign.

If the book is convincing on the issues of class and gender, it is less so on race. Unfortunately, Findlay does not ground her discourse analysis in an in-depth social and demographic study. She provides little evidence that the lower-class women targeted in the prostitution and moralization campaigns were actually, or identified themselves, as of African descent. Nor does she substantiate her claim that "all 'scandalous' or 'disreputable' women became discursively darkened, regardless of their ancestry" (p. 90). In fact, she seems to essentialize some traits as African or black, while elsewhere in the Western world and Latin America the same traits were stigmatized in lower-class women who

were not of African descent. Although her dialogue with the recent literature on race and gender in Cuba is engaging, it would have benefited from a brief comparison between the Puerto Rican and Cuban societies and their dealings with prostitution. Nevertheless, Findlay has produced a challenging work on the moral values and struggles of working women and men.

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GABRIEL HASLIP-VIERA. *Crime and Punishment in Late Colonial Mexico City: 1692–1810*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. 1999. Pp. xii, 193.

Few problems bedeviled colonial reformers more than the persistence of plebeian disorder. As Gabriel Haslip-Viera points out in his fine monograph, Mexico's leaders feared that their achievements would be drowned in a dark wave of criminality. Drawing on extensive archival materials—most notably, a century of arrest records—Haslip-Viera provides a careful, detailed study of criminal behavior and its prosecution in eighteenth-century Mexico City.

In the first two chapters, the author introduces his protagonists: the urban poor and the criminal justice system. He begins with a sure-handed portrait of eighteenth-century Mexico City, capturing the capital's vitality and variety but emphasizing the profound division between rulers and ruled. Poorly paid, frequently unemployed, ill fed and ill housed, the working class and the even more desperate strata of drifters and mendicants felt "fear, alienation, and resentment . . . in a society characterized by exploitation and extreme economic and social inequality" (p. 35). Elite institutions, however, had little interest in trying to remedy the social causes of crime or, for that matter, in rehabilitating offenders. Judicial activities seemed barely touched by Enlightenment ideas, although Haslip-Viera finds a possible exception in the *casas de recogimiento* for women, which he sees as a harbinger of more modern penitentiary practices. Still, the main response to perceived increases in crime consisted of strengthening and expanding law enforcement agencies and instituting tougher punishments.

Legal philosophies, however, form only a small part of the story. Haslip-Viera makes his most important contribution in chapters three through five, which examine the concrete, day-to-day operation of the criminal justice system. Rather than focusing on the "court rituals" (p. 81) that might seem to guarantee a relatively impartial hearing to the accused, he takes us through the entire judicial procedure. What emerges is an *injustice* system. The procedure itself functioned as a means to cower, discipline, and exploit the poor. Many suspects had been severely punished before they ever faced a judge. The police had considerable latitude in deciding whether to make an arrest or to administer chastisement (often corporal) on the spot.

Guilty or innocent, the accused could spend months in filthy, disease-ridden cells, which Haslip-Viera does not hesitate to term "dungeons." Sentencing often proved arbitrary; it might well depend on the court's desire to sell convict labor. (In fact, this sometimes served as the original motive for arrests.) Corruption and abuse underlay the entire process. Moreover, the judicial system clearly targeted young male plebeians, since they were seen as potentially the most disruptive element in the population. For example, among those prosecuted by the Sala del Crimen between 1800 and 1817, more than five-sixths were men; over eighty-five percent were between sixteen and thirty-nine years of age; and close to seventy percent were artisans from the more economically marginal guilds.

However, "who says tailor says radical" apparently did not apply to eighteenth-century Mexico City. Haslip-Viera insists that urban crime should not be understood as an expression of resistance or protest. Criminals sought private, not collective, solutions to the problems created by poverty. For some, stealing constituted a direct (if temporary) way to improve their economic position. The more desperate could use a combination of theft, begging, and vagrancy to opt out of society, retreating from rather than challenging authority. As Haslip-Viera puts it: "urban discontent was, more often than not, channeled into crimes and other forms of highly individualistic and non-threatening behavior. At the same time, crimes were controlled and maintained at levels that rendered them tolerable to the elite" (pp. 140–41).

This is a valuable book. Concise, informative, and highly readable, it can be assigned with confidence to both graduate and undergraduate students. Although those conversant with the field will find few surprises, no other study has more thoroughly explored the inner workings of the colonial justice systems in all its inefficiency, petty despotism, and casual cruelty. Yet, in the end, the book is not fully persuasive in its analysis of the relationship between crime and punishment, and hence between plebeians and the authorities. Haslip-Viera interprets the criminal justice system as a rather blunt class weapon that lacked any legitimacy among the urban poor, and therefore functioned largely through intimidation. What is missing here—what we have come to expect from studies with a sophisticated understanding of hegemonic power—is a sense of interaction, of mutual influence. To what extent did plebeians and elites share attitudes toward crime? One can imagine the former cheering a thief who "robbed from the rich," but what about violent crimes? Abusive husbands? Vagabond sons or wayward daughters? Perhaps the urban poor, despite their justifiable distrust and resentment of law enforcement, also tried to use the system for their own purposes. Haslip-Viera notes that "eighteenth-century court records reveal a continuous effort by individuals to manipulate judges, prosecutors, and the law" (p. 99), but little of this appears in his account. By deemphasizing trial records, with their revelatory glimpses of



conflicting, competing, or converging worldviews, he also diminishes plebeian agency. In an otherwise compelling portrait of colonial "justice," its chief victims seem rather distant and bloodless.

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MARK CRONLUND ANDERSON. *Pancho Villa's Revolution by Headlines*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 2000. Pp. x, 301. \$34.95.

Mark Cronlund Anderson undertakes several interrelated tasks: to describe Francisco (Pancho) Villa's efforts to create a favorable image of himself in the American press and in Washington; to relate the representation of Villa and other Mexican leaders to American stereotypes about Mexico and its people; and to show how Villa was portrayed in the dispatches of American diplomats. The book's coverage begins in 1913, when Villa emerged as the leading foe of Victoriano Huerta, who had recently installed himself in the Mexican presidency; it ends in late 1915, after Villa's defeat in the "War of the Winners" that followed Huerta's departure in July 1914. As a result of Villa's military reverses, the administration of Woodrow Wilson extended recognition in October 1915 to his chief rival, Venustiano Carranza.

According to Anderson, Villa's foreign policy sought to persuade Americans of his friendly sentiments toward the United States while still maintaining his nationalist credentials. To achieve these ends, he employed publicists in the United States and manipulated journalists, making himself available for interviews and providing them with their own car in his private train. He also sent cables directly to newspapers. Taking advantage of a newer form of communication, he signed a contract with the Mutual Film Corporation that allowed the company to make movies of his battles for exhibition in the United States, Canada, and Mexico.

These efforts proved successful, as Villa received more favorable coverage than either Huerta or Carranza. This was due in large measure to his avowals of friendship for the United States and his self-promotion as a spokesman for the common man, from whose ranks he had sprung. At the same time, representations of Villa, Huerta, and Carranza were colored by traditional American views of Mexicans as backward, racially inferior, and morally weak. "Within these broad themes, Mexicans were cast as cruel, greedy, dishonest, stupid, grasping, and underhanded" (p. 142). Thus, Huerta emerged as a savage and Carranza as a sneak, while the press sometimes nearly allowed Villa "to shed his Mexican skin and become U.S. Americanized" (p. 145). These stereotypes appeared, albeit less blatantly, in the correspondence of American consuls and diplomats, who were above all concerned with Villa's treatment of foreign interests.

Anderson's study is based on State Department files and several American newspapers and magazines as

well as recent works on communications theory. There is no Villa archive, but he has consulted papers in the Ministry of Foreign Relations and other Mexican collections. Especially effective in conveying negative American perceptions of Mexico are twenty-seven editorial cartoons from U.S. newspapers. The book is written in a clear and lively style and in general accomplishes the author's goals in considering another dimension of a much-studied figure. It should be noted, however, that Anderson's assessment of the efficacy of villista propaganda runs counter to that of Friedrich Katz, whose *Life and Times of Pancho Villa* (1998) probably appeared too late for him to consult. Katz asserts that the *carrancistas*, who depicted Villa as a tool of reactionaries, "turned out to be the greatest masters in the art of modern propaganda during the Mexican Revolution" (p. 466).

Several defects diminish the impact of Anderson's book. The selection of the years 1913–1915 can be justified in that they marked the period of Villa's ascendancy and decline as a potential national leader, yet the reader is bound to be curious about his image in the aftermath of the Columbus, New Mexico raid and the Pershing Punitive Expedition (1916–1917). Except for references to the interventionist stance of the *San Francisco Examiner* and *Los Angeles Times*, owned by William Randolph Hearst and Harrison Gray Otis, respectively, we are told little about the newspapers and magazines studied and about the criteria for their selection. Why, for example, the *New York Times* instead of the *New York World*? The latter carried articles by John Reed, who barely rates a mention in Anderson's book. Nor is there any extended analysis of the extent and prominence of the coverage in the periodicals that were consulted. Finally, the author asserts that villista propaganda swayed the U.S. press, which in turn "influenced American diplomatic opinion up to the highest levels of government" (p. 15), but Anderson's evidence for this is slim: he points to references to the media in State Department files and observes that portrayals of Villa in the press and in the diplomatic correspondence were often similar. Despite these flaws, Anderson makes a valuable contribution in exploring an aspect of the Mexican Revolution that deserves further attention.

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GREG GRANDIN. *The Blood of Guatemala: A History of Race and Nation*. (Latin America Otherwise.) Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2000. Pp. xviii, 343. Cloth \$54.95, paper \$18.95.

In dialogue with recent revisionist works on the nation and nationalism in Latin America, Greg Grandin's impressive history of nineteenth and twentieth-century Quetzaltenango questions a series of enduring dichotomies and stereotypes in the history of indigenous peoples. By exploring forms of urban indigenous power



and creativity, he makes clear that the Maya were not simply the targets or resistant victims of state power in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries but also active participants in fashioning and enforcing government policy. And as K'iche' elites took an active part in capital accumulation and state formation, deepening patterns of differentiation intensified the conflict between community and capital within Maya society.

As in many parts of indigenous Latin America, Maya *principales* (notables) in colonial Quetzaltenango had negotiated an alliance with local criollo elites based on brokering access to labor and revenue and ensuring social control. At the same time, *principales* reproduced their cultural legitimacy by protecting community resources and overseeing collective production and distribution. When colonial rule came apart in the second half of the eighteenth century, however, in Quetzaltenango—as was also true in the Andes during the same decade—indigenous commoners experimented with the new language of citizenship to imagine an alliance with non-indigenous plebeians and, in the process, press for greater loyalty to community from their own elites.

The Quetzaltenango riot of 1786 was a harbinger of long-term change. As capital intensified its inroads into the regional economy, elite K'iche's confronted their increasing conflict with ladinos over revenue and their eroding legitimacy among *macehuales* (commoners) by relying more on the state to buttress their power. This, rather than any clear government preference for Maya communities, helps explain K'iche' support for the conservative regime of Rafael Carrera in the mid-nineteenth century. When Justo Rufino Barrios's privatization decrees dramatically increased the economic value of land for both ladinos and elite K'iche's after 1871, wage labor became the main form of interaction between rich and poor and ties based on deference, reciprocity and obligation eroded further within Maya society.

By the turn of the twentieth century, elite K'iche's struggled mightily to reproduce their authority, staking out a position as ethnic brokers with the national state. As they became educated and culturally assimilated, they fashioned a racial definition of Indian-ness based on "blood" or descent that sidestepped the conflation of class and ethnicity, of "indigenous" with "poor" or "backward," that stood at the center of ladino notions of nationhood. They visually marked this new identity through women's enduring use of traditional dress, or *traje*. Blaming ladinos for the exploitation of the peasantry, they constructed themselves as the educated spokesmen for "the indigenous class in general." This strategy, however, entered crisis between 1944 and 1954, when reformist presidents Juan José Arévalo and Jacobo Arbenz attempted to circumvent existing regimes of power through a direct relationship with the poor and underprivileged. Once K'iche' peasants explored an alliance with other rural plebeians in support of the agrarian reform, some elite brokers allied with the counterrevolution.

Perhaps one of the book's greatest strengths is its exploration of the multiple ways in which class, ethnicity, race, and gender interacted historically in the construction of K'iche' identity. A particularly rich source in this regard are the photographs of elite Maya families taken by Tomás Zanotti in the 1920s and 1930s, which Grandin uses to good effect. Grandin also suggests that ethnic authority, both in urban areas and among some indigenous authorities and leaders in surrounding municipalities, rested on forms of gendered patriarchal power that were far from egalitarian. Yet while the book's almost exclusive focus on Quetzaltenango makes such a deep, multilayered analysis possible, it also limits our understanding of Maya class relations in the region more broadly, since we see comparatively so much less of what life was like for Maya peasants outside the city limits.

The book's historical endpoint is the repressive coup of 1954, symbolized at the local level by the death of Maya peasant organizer Valentín Coyoy. When seen in the context of the previous century and a half of class differentiation and the changing relations of power within Maya society, the continuity between these events and those of the 1980s and 1990s stands out in stark relief. As the Maya national movement has taken off in recent years, there has been a tendency to dismiss the class-based movements of the 1970s and 1980s as having marginalized indigenous participants. Some analysts have gone as far as to argue that the indigenous population was simply caught "between two armies"—the military and the guerrillas—and equally victimized by both. Grandin provides an effective counter to these arguments. On one side, the contemporary experiences of some local Maya leaders in class-based and indigenous activism suggests that the line between the two has historically been a great deal more permeable than expected. On the other side, Grandin traces the parallelisms between the recent Maya national movement and the ethnic nationalism of earlier K'iche' elites. Not only do both groups often belong to the same families in Quetzaltenango, but oftentimes they share a hostility to movements that promote cross-ethnic class alliance, whether in the shape of the 1944–1954 revolution or the more recent Committee of Peasant Unity (CUC). As Diane Nelson (*A Finger in the Wound: Body Politics in Quincentennial Guatemala* [1999]) and Kay B. Warren (*Indigenous Movements and Their Critics: Pan-Maya Activism in Guatemala* [1998]) have both recently argued, moreover, present-day Maya activists also promote indigenous culture through the preservation of female *traje*. Understanding these nuances and the subtle continuities between the nationalisms of earlier and more contemporary K'iche' intellectuals, "in important ways no less elitist [than their] Ladino counterpart[s]" (p. 13), we see quite concretely how some elites are excluded from the national conversation, simply because of race.

Grandin also evokes deep paradoxes in the way peasants and workers lived class differently, depending

on race and gender. Coyoy, for example, patriarchally protected women workers while challenging men to participate by calling into question their masculinity. At the same time, the complexities of race and class oppression made alliances across these boundaries regularly seem unattainable. This point stands out most trenchantly in Grandin's nostalgic rendering of the CUC manifesto issued days after the 1980 firebombing of the Spanish embassy by an "unprecedented" coalition of leftist and independent indigenous groups (pp. 224–25). The "wave of terror" following shortly on its heels shattered this potential vision for the future, even as the unprecedented quality of the manifesto itself makes clear that multi-ethnic class politics in twentieth-century Guatemala have foundered on more than repression.

In Latin America, recent failures of class-based models of social transformation have tempted some analysts to dismiss the usefulness of class as a category. Rather than making class irrelevant, however, these events have increased our need for concrete explorations of how race and gender have colored people's experiences of class. If we fold neither race nor class into the other, the immense difficulty—and importance—of addressing both together comes into sharper focus. Grandin's splendid book helps us see how to proceed in this endeavor, and why it continues to matter.

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SANDRA MCGEE DEUTSCH. *Las Derechas: The Extreme Right in Argentina, Brazil, and Chile, 1890–1939*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1999. Pp. xv, 491. \$60.00.

Sandra McGee Deutsch's book is the most important monograph to examine South American right-wing political cultures and practices since Frederick B. Pike's *Hispanismo 1898–1936: Spanish Conservatives and Liberals and the Relations with Spanish America* (1971). It is a most impressive research and writing accomplishment; such multinational archive-based research remains the exception and offers rare insights to the profession. In addition to consulting exhaustively primary source archives, McGee Deutsch has mined an intimidating number of newspapers, journals, and articles. She puts additional shine on her work with a most learned, thorough reinterpretation of secondary sources. The result is the deepest, most nuanced history of the complex tapestry that, superficially, is called the South American right.

McGee Deutsch makes at least five important new major contributions to the existing scholarship. First, she explores her subject within a comparative framework. By comparing the extreme right of Argentina, Chile, and Brazil, she describes a disturbing, gnarly tree whose single, ideological root brings forth a variety of bitter, often anti-Semitic fruit. Second, she

shows how issues of gender and class influence the extreme right. Thus, women of the extreme right receive equal consideration and join their counterparts in European and U.S. history. Finally, women become part of the historical process and escape the cliché of being female auxiliaries. Women were and are powerful actors with their own agendas and battles. Third, this is an indirect history of how South American Catholic Church institutions have influenced and related to the political movement. McGee Deutsch reminds us how much this story is not just an ideological battle but often a misguided, abusive pursuit of the spiritual soul. Her fourth accomplishment is the fleshing out of the gray zones of what is called the South American right. Important differences, tensions, and relations within this political movement are captured. After identifying the pieces that constitute the many "rights," she examines them within their national contexts thoroughly covering the period from 1880 to 1939. The fifth most important contribution is the pursuit of the history of the Latin American right in its own right. McGee Deutsch reemphasizes that Latin Americans are independent political thinkers and actors; never are they just puppets of Europe or the United States.

The book is divided into three parts. Part one deals with the emergence and initial formation of the extreme right between 1890 and World War I. The second part focuses on the 1920s. The era of fascism is covered in the third part. In each part, Brazil, Chile, and Argentina are dealt with in separate chapters. An added bonus of the book is the final chapter. Rather than summarizing her findings, McGee Deutsch maps the parameters for future, in-depth research on right-wing political movements after 1945.

McGee Deutsch has the courage to reveal the extreme right in all its repulsive, terrifying, and anti-democratic splendor. When it comes to antidemocratic threats from the left, however, she seeks shelter under long outdated ideological and conceptual clichés. The use of "worker, class and the poor" in such a way is not analytically helpful. Soviet, Latin American, and Spanish historical communist, socialist, and anarchist archives all are open to offer the ugly, disturbing realities of these other antidemocratic utopias to historians.

This is an ideal book for upper-level undergraduate and graduate courses. Scholars from all language and national backgrounds should use it as the point of departure for future research. Of course, this text is part of world history, and the century-long struggle between left and right-wing political ideologies. Journalists will find it contains the best background reading available to understand the complex up and downs of transition to democracy in South America. This splendid, highly learned book will be the standard text for a decade at least.

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## EUROPE: ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL

JEAN ANDREAU. *Banking and Business in the Roman World*. Translated by JANET LLOYD. (Key Themes in Ancient History.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1999. Pp. xvii, 176. Cloth \$59.95, paper \$22.95.

To find the topic of "private finance in Rome for six centuries starting in 310 B.C." classified as "basic" would in most circles in the twenty-first century, be seen as quite delusional. Cambridge University Press has, however, rightly perceived it as a fundamentally important topic, even today. Jean Andreau's book appeared originally as *Vie financière dans le monde romain: Les métiers de manieurs d'argent* (1987). This translation by Janet Lloyd has for two reasons the feel of an initial appearance. First, the work has been rendered current. The bibliography reaches 1997 and includes important recent work by Paul Veyne, Edward E. Cohen, and Aldo Petrucci. Passages within the text (notably chapter six, a discussion about the interpretation of a set of newly edited Roman creditor records, the tablets of Murecine, from southern Italy) are also updated. Second, there is still no other study in English focused on the range of "money handlers" and their financial operations in a changing Rome from the fourth century B.C. to the third century A.D.

Chapters two through five, devoted to the various categories of Roman financiers, are the core of the book. The usual favorite topics in Roman history—slavery, politics, Cicero's writings, friendship, and agriculture—are woven into the synthesis. With one exception (friendship), all are identified in the index. Public finances, whether republican or principate, are, however, not addressed directly, although public order is strongly represented. Chapters eight, nine, and ten present state authorities in the context of the control, regulation, and monitoring of, if not engagement in, banking, private business, and financial activities in Rome and other Roman urban centers.

The book is clearly designed for students, with its reader-friendly list of abbreviations for referenced publications, glossary of pertinent terms, table of monetary equivalencies, map of the first-century A.D. Roman world and bibliographic essay, as well as the indispensable introduction, footnotes, bibliography, and index. It is, however, the work's succinctness and accessibility, for which the prose of Andreau and Lloyd is laudably responsible, which deserve the highest praise in a pedagogical light. Teachers of classics and ancient history may have a few bones to pick. There are occasional slips in the use of italic and regular fonts; a confusing, dangling allusion or two; unevenness in some of the category lists (e.g., the six possible financial relations of the elite, pp. 26–27); and the fact that the thorny entity of "State," while employed, is not really analyzed within the monograph. Pedagogues will nonetheless find it a very useful work, especially if they are looking for solid information about the social and economic history of ancient Rome, for courses

oriented around themes such as work, legal status, or socio-economic class.

Andreau's main historiographic posture—comparative analysis—is explored explicitly in the last two chapters, but the whole work provides an informed study of Roman banking and business for those in disciplines related to the linguistic and historical study of antiquity, particularly economic historians of medieval and early modern Europe. Within a general theme in Roman history, the economic existence of the republic and the principate, the author examines comparatively one salient aspect: its "Finleyian post-primitive," "Rostovtzeffian pre-industrial" financial manifestations. Today's social situations are the understood point of comparison; modern theoretical analytical conventions, such as "perfect competitive markets" are the assumed backdrop. The relevance of his synthesis is clearly important to Andreau. In highlighting any number of the main historical issues (e.g. the role of coins, constituting in Rome the only organized system of monetary instruments), he shows how the theme of banking and business is significant for our own as well as for ancient culture and society. It remains to be seen whether this book will fulfill the admirable goals of encouraging and stimulating new developments in teaching and research in ancient history. Some of the most fundamental aspects of the author's topic and contribution, such as whether banks and credit even existed in Rome and if so what role they played in the ancient world's economy, do, however, already form a critical part of current research.

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DAVID CHERRY. *Frontier and Society in Roman North Africa*. New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1998. Pp. xii, 291. \$82.00.

The study of Roman frontiers has long been biased in favor of Europe, especially northern Britain and the Rhine, where so-called "*Limesforschung*" has flourished for over a century. In contrast, research on the imperial Roman frontiers in the Near East and North Africa has lagged, chiefly due to the lack of systematic archaeological fieldwork. This is unfortunate, because the sites in these latter regions are often much better preserved than in Europe and thus offer richer sources of information. Although the North African frontier received some attention during the European colonial period, research in the later twentieth century was more sporadic, often due to political circumstances. Some nations, such as Tunisia, have witnessed intensive research and exploration; others, such as Algeria, have seen field research ground to a halt.

This book by David Cherry is an attempt to synthesize archaeological (especially epigraphic) evidence with well-known literary sources (such as Tacitus). Its purpose is "to describe Rome's impact on the culture, society, and economy of what is today Algeria, most especially in the semi-arid, pre-desert frontier-zone



that extended . . . almost to the edge of the Sahara" (p. vii). To what extent was the region "Romanized" between ca. 50 B.C. and ca. A.D. 250? The whole issue of "Measuring Romanization" is fraught with difficulties, which are thoughtfully discussed in chapter three.

The main primary sources for this study are Latin inscriptions, which Cherry claims "are easily our richest source of information about social and cultural developments during the Roman occupation" (p. viii). The emphasis on epigraphic evidence stems largely from the paucity of other written sources and because archaeologists' focus on urban and "Romanized" sites has largely ignored the structures of the indigenous society and economy. Yet Cherry also admits that "We do not have, and are perhaps now never likely to possess, the sort of evidence that would allow us to define exactly either the extent of Romanization in the frontier zone or its effects on the lives of ordinary north Africans" (p. 158). At present, this is undoubtedly true. But Cherry ignores the potential of systematic excavation of rural sites, where most people lived. Such research would likely provide a wealth of material evidence about precisely this issue. The core of the epigraphic evidence consists of several thousand commemorative inscriptions (epitaphs) from the frontier zone. These are used to identify patterns of intermarriage between Romans and non-Romans, "to measure the acculturation of the frontier-zone" (p. ix). One serious limitation of this evidence, as Cherry freely admits, is that most of these inscriptions date to the second and early third centuries, with little evidence for the first half of the period in question. Nevertheless, the inscriptions do suggest that there was little intermarriage between Romans and natives.

In his conclusion, Cherry argues against earlier claims that the region was extensively romanized. Cherry doubts that the Romans "brought about any really significant change in north African society" (p. 158). Instead, he concludes that the social and cultural consequences of the Roman occupation were mainly visible in urban centers and among the indigenous elite. This conclusion, as Cherry notes, marks a return to the minimalist views of T. R. S. Broughton (*The Romanization of Africa Proconsularis* [1929]). Cherry suggests that the Romans' "principal contribution . . . was to open new markets to north African products" (p. 158).

Cherry also argues that the network of Roman forts, roads, and linear barriers along the frontier was never intended to defend the local sedentary population against nomadic incursions. Instead, the network was developed for an "army of occupation" to generate tax revenue levied on the nomadic herds. Cherry thus follows some other recent scholars (Benjamin Isaac, *The Limits of Empire: The Roman Army in the East* [1992]) who view the Roman army on the frontiers as an instrument not to defend the empire from external aggression but to contain internal unrest and to be prepared for further aggressive expansion. In the case of the Algerian frontier, one may accept that Roman

forces exploited local sources of supply by taxing the nomads in kind. Given the high cost of land transport in antiquity, the Romans would be expected to do so. But this does not mean that the army served no other security purpose, such as defending the settled areas north of the frontier from nomadic attack. The fact that considerable Roman forces were based on the desert fringe, where supply would have been so much more difficult and costly than in the agricultural heartlands, could suggest real concern about a threat to security from the desert. And there is some documentary evidence for conflict on this frontier, especially in the late second and third centuries.

Overall, this study is a useful synthesis that is sure to engender further debate about the nature both of Roman frontiers generally and those of other complex societies.

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ORRI VÉSTEINSSON. *The Christianization of Iceland: Priests, Power, and Social Change 1000–1300*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2000. Pp. xv, 318. \$80.00.

Iceland, according to its historical traditions, underwent one of the most remarkable conversions to Christianity of any European region. Because the people were split between pagans and Christians, and this created much tension among them, they agreed to let one man make the decision. When he decided the island should be Christian, the people fell into line accordingly. Whether or not the story is true in its details, it reflects the pragmatic rather than passionate way the Icelanders seem to have approached Christianity.

Orri Vésteinsson is concerned, however, not with this moment of conversion but with the spread of churches and ecclesiastical administration throughout Iceland during the subsequent centuries and the impact of the growth of ecclesiastical power on social structures. Although he suggests that Iceland can function as a case study for church power and state formation, because it developed later and the early stages are therefore documented better than elsewhere in Europe, this is a book about Iceland, not about a general process using Iceland as an example.

As Icelandic history, this book is original and important. Much of the work on medieval Iceland published in English is based on the sagas of Icelanders. These sagas are so straightforward and realistic in style that they sound historically plausible and provide rich and fascinating narratives. However, they were written several hundred years after the events they depict. Orri Vésteinsson is not the first to doubt their value as sources for early legislative and judicial systems or landholding patterns. He relies instead on accounts of the early Icelandic bishops, a genre with its own problems but nevertheless written closer in time to the events described.



From this material, and from his highly critical reading of the sagas and the legal text *Grágás*, Orri Vésteinsson paints a very different picture of medieval Iceland than the standard account. Iceland, he argues, did not experience an era of relative peace and relative social equality in the Saga Age. Iceland in the Saga Age was not a system in which democracy and a system of law held power in balance but rather one in which there was no strong and effective power. The growth of a few magnate families whose feuds disrupted the society represented not a breakdown of a strong, stable system but rather the replacement of weak government with something new. These families used the church in various ways to build and consolidate their power (as, indeed, the church also used them).

The argument is well supported and convincing. The great families managed to transform chieftainships, which depended a great deal on the individuals who held them, into more permanent power bases by linking their fortunes with the church. The imposition of tithes was not a sign of church power over the laity but worked to benefit these families; the burden of supporting churches was now spread more widely. Endowments of churches tied the families' authority to particular places. The involvement of chieftain families with religious responsibilities and territorial functions is, Orri Vésteinsson argues, something new in the eleventh century, connected with Christianity. Certainly he is right that the *goðar* seem in the sagas to play a leadership rather than a governing or priestly role (although older works translate the term as "priests" rather than "chieftains," as recent scholars have chosen to do).

In the twelfth century, a significant number of priests came from the aristocracy. By the thirteenth, he argues, as the greatest families were accumulating chieftaincies and developing "overlordships," families that could not compete strengthened their local power by having their sons become priests who could lead the people spiritually as well as politically. The stories of priests that he retells provide a rich set of examples to support his claims of clergy retaining their secular identity and loyalties. Even as members of the great chieftains' entourages, priests could command the trust of their patrons' enemies, so they also played an important role as mediators.

One issue that the book fails to develop is the role of women. Clerical celibacy, a late arrival in Iceland, is discussed briefly (pp. 232–37), but the role of bishops' and priests' wives before that time in the consolidation of family power gets short shrift. Despite the omission, however, this book is important for anyone who wishes to understand the development of Icelandic society after the Saga Age.

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ELISABETH VAN HOUTS. *Memory and Gender in Medieval Europe, 900–1200*. Buffalo: University of Toronto Press. 1999. Pp. xii, 196. Cloth \$50.00, paper \$19.95.

Medieval historians have become painfully aware that their most important narrative sources were themselves works of construction and interpretation. Much recent research, particularly on the earlier medieval period, has effectively turned this problem to the good: medieval sources are to be first of all decoded as representations of the past shaped by an immediate context. "Memory," used in a metaphorical sense to denote the social processes by which views about the past are transmitted and transmuted, has become a central concept for many medievalists. Yet studying written texts as statements of an aspect of "memory" in these terms begs a wider set of questions, notably about the relationship of these written texts—by their nature exceptional, and often attempts to promote a particular version of the past prompted by crisis or conflict—to their wider social context, in which "memory" functioned without formal written historiography. Addressing these issues, Elisabeth van Houts argues for the centrality of oral traditions, often transmitted by women, in central medieval society; these traditions, she contends, provided much of the information eventually incorporated into written histories.

After a brief introductory survey of recent work on the relationship between literate and oral means of reconstructing and remembering the past, and of the interplay between gender roles and memory, van Houts adopts a tripartite scheme of inquiry. In the first two chapters, she examines the testimony of written texts regarding their sources of information; ultimately, the discussion shows just how opaque were the stereotypical conventions that shaped references to sources, although it does emerge that medieval authors were highly pragmatic in their attitudes toward oral and written sources of information. The marginal presence of women in these references, van Houts contends, must be an underrepresentation of the actual state of affairs, particularly in the case of hagiography treating women saints or produced in nunneries.

The second part of the book shows just how much we can learn about the activities of women in commemoration if we look hard enough. Two chapters quarry an impressive range of evidence to uncover the role of women in family memory, discussing the use of objects as physical pegs for stories about the past and the cultivation of information about ancestors: vivid stories about the role of tapestries, the gendered artefacts par excellence, as records of family history, and the significance of heirlooms as repositories of family identity are among the highlights. In the final section of the book, van Houts draws on her expert knowledge of the Norman conquest of England, discussing changing attitudes toward the events of 1066 through the lively contemporary debate in the written sources.

This book must be welcomed as a source of information and ideas on the construction of the past, the mechanics of oral tradition, and the role of women as commemorators in medieval society. Those interested in teaching the burgeoning field of "medieval memo-

ries" would do well to make use of the huge range of material here assembled, particularly on family memory, and the translations of some key texts offered as appendixes. Inevitably, a work of this kind works more by aggregation of evidence than by the contextualization of individual sources. In the first section, for example, van Houts concentrates on explicit references to oral testimony; fuller contextual investigation of a few cases could get beneath the conventions of reference that van Houts detects in such references. Similarly, van Houts's case for the role of women as rememberers—which is surely correct—essentially rests on the assembly of a critical volume of references to the oral transmission of information by women. In some of the cases discussed at least, it might be possible to offer detailed investigation of the interplay between different trajectories of "memory" and thus get further "behind" the written sources. Liturgical commemoration of the dead, for example, has been seen by some scholars as supplying a basic framework for the transmission of family memories that later found their way into the works of historiographers and supplies a considerable body of data against which the historiographical narratives studied here could be controlled. Similarly, legal memory as the mechanism for property claims is a crucial and well-documented area where family and community memories intersected. It would be interesting to see what further light such material might shed on van Houts's case-study, the memory of 1066 in England: the admirable discussion here of the subsequent written histories of 1066 flags important issues about law (where, thanks to the Domesday Book and the revolutionary impact of the Normans on the tenurial structure of England, material is plentiful), and interestingly discusses the burial of Harald after his death at Hastings. It is to be hoped that Elisabeth van Houts's invaluable discussion of the role of women in remembering the past in the central Middle Ages not only serves as a demonstration for the volume, and potential, of the source material but acts as a spur to future research.

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KATHERINE LUDWIG JANSEN, *The Making of the Magdalen: Preaching and Popular Devotion in the Later Middle Ages*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 2000. Pp. xiii, 389. \$39.50.

In this elegant and learned book, Katherine Ludwig Jansen provides us with a study of how Christians have understood the biblical figure of Mary Magdalen from antiquity to the end of the Middle Ages. This book is interdisciplinary, simultaneously a study of popular devotions, sermon literature, and artistic monuments. Victor Saxer's classic study, *La Culte de Marie Magdeleine en occident* (1959), published over forty years ago, provided historians with a scholarly history of the Magdalen's cult. The 1990s saw an explosion of

Magdalen studies. These included specialized volumes, such as Madeleine Boxler's book on the Magdalen in late medieval German legends and Elisabeth Pinto-Mathieu's book on her appearance in medieval French literature. Attempts at broader visions followed, including those of Lilia Sebastiani, Susan Haskins, and the collection of essays *La Magdaleine (VIII<sup>e</sup>-XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle)* published by the École Française de Rome (1992).

Although this volume should be seen as the latest in this line of new scholarship, it goes beyond its predecessors in several ways. Unlike Haskins and Sebastiani, whose broad-ranging and mostly impressionist surveys covered two millennia, Jansen has produced a disciplined, tightly focused historical monograph. Her volume concentrates on the heartland of devotion to the Magdalen, southern France and Italy, and emphasizes the development of her cult during its classical period, the twelfth to fifteenth centuries. The result is a richly detailed portrait of the Magdalen as she appeared to her medieval admirers, lay and clerical. While drawing on literary sources like Boxler and Pinto-Mathieu, Jansen has opened up for us the mostly untapped resource of unpublished sermons. While not ignoring the popular cult, Jansen also shows us how the saint became an exemplar for the scholastic analysis of penance and a social parable on the status and custody of women. The final result is theologically sophisticated and sociologically interesting.

Jansen's book begins with an account of how, thanks to St. Gregory the Great, three biblical women—Mary of Magdala, Mary of Bethany, and the "woman who was a sinner" in Luke 7—were fused to create the Magdalen of medieval legend. Four extended topical sections then follow. In the first, "The Mendicant Magdalen," we see how thirteenth-century Dominicans and Franciscans recreated the Magdalen as exemplar of both contemplative life and the "Apostle to the Apostles," the one whose contemplation gave rise to action. Her combination of humility, prayer, and preaching recommended her to the early Dominicans, who made her, and not St. Peter, the patron of their preaching mission. Extensive examination how artists portrayed the Magdalen as a preacher enhance this section. This positive image, which might have empowered women, was checked by the homiletic moralizing that Jansen examines next. Here the Magdalen as prostitute becomes a cautionary tale for female vanity and the dangers of uncontrolled and independent women. This narrative allowed preachers to denounce the evil of prostitution and promote the redemption of "fallen women," among whom the Magdalen herself was counted—an odd saint indeed.

Jansen's third section traces the transformation of this cautionary tale into a model for Christian spiritual growth. In the hand of these proponents of her cult, Mary Magdalen becomes the "Blessed Sinner," an exemplar of the four parts of penance: contrition, confession, satisfaction, and absolution. Jansen's final section turns to the "audience" for such images and

narratives, the Magdalen's devotees themselves. She focuses first on how the Magdalen was understood by the laity—in particular, by mystics and holy women like Catherine of Siena and Umiltà of Faenza. This leads to a study of how, in the popular mind, Mary Magdalen the prostitute was assimilated to Mary of Nazareth, the Virgin Mother of Jesus. This book ends with an analysis of the social and cultural implications of the Magdalen's adoption as patroness by Angevin kings of Sicily and the politics involved in their promotion of her cult. The reader who has followed Jansen's story thus far must concur with her conclusion (p. 336) that the gains of historical criticism, which freed the Biblical Mary of Magdala from centuries of confusions and legends, also stripped away much of her symbolic and evocative power.

A study of this type surely suggests an appropriation of feminist insights, and Jansen provides it. For this reader at least, this seems the least successful aspect of the book. With some exceptions, the importation of feminist theory seems incidental and unsystematic, more embellishment than analysis. Other readers may think differently on that, but all will agree, pace Jansen (pp. 11, 334), that the French humanist Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples was not a Dominican. In any case, such cavils pale before the rich erudition of this work. Princeton University Press is to be commended for the seamless incorporation of the illustrations into the body of the text and the placing of the notes at the foot of the page.

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DAVID J. F. CROUCH. *Piety, Fraternity and Power: Religious Gilds in Late Medieval Yorkshire 1389–1547*. York Medieval Press. 2000. Pp. xi, 331. \$75.00.

This book by David J. F. Crouch illuminates the nature and functions of Yorkshire's religious gilds, exploring their relationship with various secular and ecclesiastical authorities, their role as channels of local power, the impact on them of local and national developments, and the reasons for their dissolution.

It considers the location and nature of gilds in 1389, revealing their proliferation in the period 1350–1400 and beyond into the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. An examination of gild distribution before and after 1500 shows their coincidence with centers of population, wealth, political power and commercial opportunity, and places with religious houses or powerful lay patrons. Gilds had, Crouch argues, a supportive rather than opposing relationship with parish organization. Their success is attributed to their orthodox religious piety, which attracted the support of the monarchy, lay political establishment and church, and to economic factors, including (in the East Riding) agricultural prosperity. Light is also cast on gild membership, devotional and welfare functions, dedications, and possession and administration of property, land, and other assets.

Case studies of York's gilds reveal their variety, nature, membership, and the favor shown to them by the commercially and politically ambitious. The largest were closely linked to the city's mercantile elite, craftsmen and government, grew in size and wealth, and became increasingly involved in commerce. This and local and national political, economic, and social circumstances influenced their membership and bequests. Their absorption of, or amalgamation with, other fraternities and the growing influence of craftsmen within or over them are revealed and regarded as promoting the secularization that diminished their popularity, although some flourished until their dissolution. Further studies of York's Corpus Christi Gild and Hull's Gild of St. Mary in Holy Trinity examine their establishment, membership, functions, relationship with city government, and disappearance. It is argued that the Corpus Christi Gild, which is revealed as having widespread connections and influence in the North, had a membership apparently determined by religious, commercial, and political considerations and was a conduit to political power in York, while the Gild of St. Mary is shown to have been involved in overseas commerce.

The decline in gild popularity, and their eventual dissolution, are examined against the background of adverse economic change and the Reformation and shown to have been subject to local variations. In York, the process was influenced partly by politics and demography. More generally, the decline is attributed to the growing size, commercialisation, and secularization of gilds; the resulting response of craft organizations; and the Reformation. The last is seen as undermining gilds' devotional and intercessory roles. The lack of opposition to this, Crouch contends, was due to the limited nature of the earlier governmental interventions, fear and guilt resulting from the failure of the Pilgrimage of Grace and its aftermath, and the self-dissolution practiced by gilds to protect their assets.

There is much of value in the book, although the incomplete and uneven nature of the available evidence, much of which is testamentary material, impose certain limitations. The gilds of York and Hull, for which sources are more abundant, receive far more attention than the gilds in many other places. The discussion of gild proliferation before and after 1500 is, in some ways, rather general, and the identification of 1500 as a watershed date is debatable. More generally, the evidence will not support precise, detailed, or certain answers to some of the author's questions. Some of the book's arguments and conclusions are thus, unavoidably, somewhat general, speculative, or impressionistic, and certain fundamental dynamics of the gilds remain at least partially obscure.

Overall, Crouch has produced an interesting and informative study. It is clearly written, well presented, thoughtful, and thought provoking. It broadens the investigation of gilds and underlines their importance. There is a useful discussion of the surviving evidence, the material is examined critically, and the arguments



and conclusions developed are (even where uncertain) judicious. This is done with an eye to the historiographical context, in a way that occasionally challenges the interpretations of other local studies, and against a local and national political, religious, and economic background. The book contributes significantly to our knowledge and understanding of guilds and the range and complexity of their functions, especially their ceremonial, funereal and intercessory practices, receipt of bequests, importance as land and property owners, involvement in commercial activities and local economies, and relationships with local and national elites and authorities. Both local and national historians will profit from it.

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RICHARD K. MARSHALL. *The Local Merchants of Prato: Small Entrepreneurs in the Late Medieval Economy*. (The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, 117th Series, number 1.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1999. Pp. xvi, 191. \$42.50.

Situated halfway between Florence and Pistoia, Prato was, and remains to this day, a bustling textile manufacturing center, deservedly styled in modern times the "Manchester of Tuscany." Prato is associated with that incomparable merchant-entrepreneur and civic benefactor, Francesco di Marco Datini (ca. 1335–1410). His international mercantile and financial activities are recorded in about six hundred account books, over 150,000 letters, commercial instruments, and insurance contracts, and other materials preserved in the Datini Archive. The archive has been a primary source for economic historians, above all Federigo Melis, whose studies have expanded our knowledge of the multifarious technical innovations in accounting, insurance, credit, manufacturing, and banking that arose in the late Middle Ages. For Melis, such innovations pioneered by Italian entrepreneurs were best understood as harbingers of modern capitalism. In the last decade, Melis's presentism has been criticized, now by the author of the book under review. Richard K. Marshall also criticizes Melis for concentrating exclusively on large firms and international merchants, like Datini, while woefully ignoring the "local merchants of Prato." The very title of his book is meant to refute the impression that Datini was "The Merchant of Prato," the title of Iris Origo's admired portrait published in 1957.

Marshall's study is focused on seventeen small-scale Pratese shopkeepers and artisans, including druggists, cheese mongers, butchers, paper manufacturers, and cloth sellers, a broker, and a family of innkeepers, among others. Happily, many of the daily operations of the Pratese merchants are recorded in a unique collection of forty-five unpublished account books, covering the period from 1337 to 1410, almost all found in the Archivio di Stato of Prato. Marshall is the first

scholar to study these records, and he uses this opportunity to address a wide range of issues. He argues that the use of olive oil was not as restrictive as scholars have concluded, that expenditures for food consumed less than half of the annual income of the middling tradesmen, and that the retail prices for bread, wine, and meat recorded by local shopkeepers offer better data than the wholesale prices recorded by large institutions, such as hospitals, for calculating annual food budgets. He suggests that the inheritance and the dowries received by the shopkeepers enabled them to acquire urban and rural properties and to make loans for surprisingly large sums. The ever-practical Pratese shopkeepers, in contravention of communal and guild statutes, kept their shop open on "Sundays, religious holidays, and even Christmas Day," and, fearing prosecution, they prudently omitted any reference to the interest they charged for both ordinary loans and sales on credit. If the account books record instances of barter and use of cash, they also reveal the extensive use of credit based on trust (*fiducia*), leading Marshall to remark that shopkeepers were "more integrated into the world of the wealthy industrialist and merchant banker than previously imagined" (p. 88).

I agree with Marshall's principal findings that shopkeepers and artisans helped to satisfy the hunger for credit of ordinary Pratese consumers and that they functioned as an integral part of a fully developed market economy. I also feel that his study, which originated as a dissertation that appears not to have undergone significant subsequent development, fails to do full justice both to the issues it addresses and to previous scholarship. Marshall ignores work such as Carmello Trasselli's 1957 study of the cloth seller Matteo da Vico of Palermo, which discussed in terms similar to his own the activities of local tradesmen on feast days. Nor are Marshall's findings as original as he believes; they complement Philippe Wolff's research on Toulouse (published in 1953–1956) and Kathryn L. Ryerson's on Montpellier (1985), both of whom, relying mainly on notarial instruments in the absence of account books, illuminated the density of retail trade and credit operations in southern French local markets. Marshall's treatment of the fragmentary data on female occupations and on women as consumers, borrowers, and lenders is underimagined, and it neglects Isabelle Chabot's quantitative study of women's work in late medieval Florence (1990).

Marshall reveres private account books (as opposed to official tax surveys, guild statutes, and ecclesiastical records) which, he believes, are windows through which we can observe the actual operations of medieval businessmen. Yet his reverence is misplaced in view of the account books' gaps and inconsistencies that prevent him from calculating "actual" profits and losses. Given the unique value he attributes to the Pratese account books, it is a pity that Marshall did not provide his readers with extended transcribed extracts of these texts, or at least copious quotes from them, so



that they might have more directly illustrated what remains to me the elusive world of the Pratese shopkeepers.

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#### EUROPE: EARLY MODERN AND MODERN

PHILIPPE BOUTRY, PIERRE-ANTOINE FABRE, and DOMINIQUE JULIA, editors. *Rendre ses vœux: Les identités pèlerines dans l'Europe moderne (XVI<sup>e</sup>-XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle)*. Paris: École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales. 2000. Pp. 586. 350fr.

The editors of this collection are among the most distinguished French scholars of religion and culture in the early modern period, all of them associated with the great Parisian centers for research in the social sciences that have contributed so much to our understanding of religious culture and popular mentalities. Most of the essays emerged from the research seminar of the Center for Religious Anthropology at the École des Hautes Études between 1994 and 1996. It is surprising and disappointing, therefore, that the book is as uneven as it is.

Part of the problem may be that the essays are part of a continuing project on the part of editors Philippe Boutry, Pierre-Antoine Fabre, and Dominique Julia and their students and colleagues on the phenomenon of pilgrimage. Throughout the book, earlier essays presented at a conference in Rome in 1993 (and published in *Pèlerins et pèlerinages dans l'Europe moderne* [2000]) are cited, but the reader has no sense of how the present collection builds upon the earlier one. In addition, the geographical distribution of the essays is rather odd. Of those with a clear geographical focus, one each concerns Germany, the Netherlands, and Bohemia. Two concern Portugal, four Italy, and six France. Among the authors, one is at a German university, one at a Dutch, and two at Portuguese institutions. The rest are at Italian and French research centers or universities. Virtually no English-speaking scholars are cited; the exceptions are William Christian's work on Spanish popular religion and the seminal studies by the anthropologist Victor Turner. Many of the essays would have benefitted from the comparative and interpretive insights these authors could have provided.

The collection's title also causes problems. While a number of the essays address questions arising from the notion of pilgrim identity—Did pilgrims belong predominantly to certain social or occupational groups? How did they see themselves? How did others see them?—the answers, necessarily limited by the narrow focus of the individual essays and the scarce information in the sources, are too tentative and diffuse to be very useful.

For French scholars, modern history still ends and contemporary history begins with what the editors call the "rupture décisive" (p. 5) of the revolutionary era.

But as the important survey of the religious history of "contemporary" France by Gerard Cholvy and Yves-Marie Hilaire (1985) showed, pilgrimages resumed, essentially unchanged and if anything more pervasive than before, in the nineteenth century. A handful of essays in this collection acknowledge, if only in passing, the persistence of pilgrimage after the French Revolution, but most do not.

The essays are organized in four sections. The first, "Pilgrim Crowds," is the most cohesive. All seven authors address specific problems; the first three, for example, utilize the records of the hospices or hospitals that provided accommodation and care along the routes of pilgrimage in order to assess, insofar as these rather sketchy records allow, the character, motivations, and destination of those who made their way along them. The authors also ask the question that civil authorities increasingly asked: were these indeed pilgrims, or were they instead vagabonds or people driven from their homes by war and economic hardship? Can we (or the authorities) in fact distinguish between the two?

Two essays in the first section stand out. Marie-Elizabeth Ducreux discusses the evolution of Stara Boleslav, a pilgrimage site near Prague. Thanks to the persistent propaganda of Jesuits and imperial agents, it became in the course of the seventeenth century a center for Marian pilgrimage, associated more and more strongly with the Habsburg monarchy. In Ducreux's apt phrase, Stara Boleslav became a symbol of "*une permanence fictive*" (p. 88) of Catholicism in a nation whose allegiance to neither the Roman Church nor the Habsburg dynasty had been secure at the beginning of the century.

An essay by Marc Wingens of the Amsterdam Free University is especially persuasive. The Calvinist Estates of Holland had forbidden pilgrimages in an ordinance in 1587, but nevertheless they remained an important manifestation of piety for the Catholic minority into the nineteenth century. Wingens utilizes a very useful comparative approach, incorporating the perspectives of Christian and Alphonse Dupront on popular religion, of Mircea Eliade on sacred space, and above all of Turner on the special "liminal" world engendered by a ritual process such as pilgrimage.

The second section has the unhelpful title of "Experiences." The first essay discusses the influence that Ignatius Loyola's pilgrimage to the Holy Land had on Jesuit doctrine. The next three summarize three pilgrims' accounts of their adventures. The protagonists are a sixteenth-century French monk, an eighteenth-century Ukrainian adventurer, and an eighteenth-century Italian. The last of these essays, one of two contributions by Julia, the senior editor, goes on for seventy-five pages, almost entirely summarizing the recently published edition of a manuscript. Here is an instance of an editor who seriously needed editing.

The final essay in the section is also a summary, but of a very different kind. Marina Caffiero of the University of Rome has published extensively on the

curious career of Benoît Labre, whose gaunt and filthy person and dedication to a life of silence, penitence, and pilgrimage was in every respect in conflict with the values of the late eighteenth century. Yet he attracted enormous interest, publicity, and sainthood, laying the foundations, Caffiero argues, for the "*redéfinition religieuse profonde*" (p. 335) that would characterize the piety of the next century.

The third section's title is "Pilgrim Identities," but its principal focus is in fact government policy toward pilgrims, primarily in prerevolutionary France. The best essay, by Sandro Landi, ranges widely across the Italian peninsula from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries as authorities attempted to fit pilgrims into new rational administrative categories.

The final section's three essays have even less in common, but the work by Philippe Martin is outstanding. Like Landi's study, Martin is interested in the way in which authorities coped with pilgrimage, but his focus is on the reforming clergy of eighteenth-century Lorraine. He ultimately concentrates on a single parish, demonstrating the process by which priests and people worked out a reasonable compromise, in which the church's authority was affirmed while at the same time popular notions of pilgrimage were allowed to continue.

The work of Martin, Caffiero, Wingens, Ducreux, and a few others makes the collection worth the attention of all students of popular religion in the early modern period. There is an extensive bibliography.

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MICHEL LAGRÉE. *La bénédiction de Prométhée: Religion et technologie XIX<sup>e</sup>-XX<sup>e</sup> siècle*. Foreword by JEAN DELUMEAU. Paris: Fayard. 1999. Pp. 438. 155fr.

In his lively and deeply informative book, Michel Lagrée leads the reader through the history of both religion and technology in the modern Western European Roman Catholic world. His research and analysis concentrates on France, but, because of the centrality of the papacy to all aspects of modern Roman Catholic history, numerous comments appear on Italy as well. This book constitutes a major attempt—and a largely successful one—to analyze the interaction of modern religion with modern material culture. Such studies are not uncommon in American religious history, but they are a genuine rarity in modern European history, where too little attention remains paid to religion.

Combining cultural, intellectual, and technological history, Lagrée opens this richly textured volume with an overview of French religious commentary on the advance of modern technology from the early nineteenth century through the third quarter of the twentieth. One of Lagrée's important arguments is that there was never a single French Roman Catholic outlook. To be sure, across the decades conservative writers attacked technology as embodying human pride and materialism as well as being associated with

political values antithetical to Roman Catholic efforts to direct French culture. There were also Roman Catholics who appealed to Christian moral theology to question what they regarded as the too extensive application of technology to the workplace as "Taylorism" advanced in France. But some Roman Catholics were eager to foster technological progress. Such Roman Catholics saw in technology the working of the will of God in the world. Moreover, these Roman Catholic proponents of the modern recognized that improving transportation and communication could aid the cause of the church and the papacy. Lagrée portrays considerable inconsistency on the part of the popes, but overall, despite moral warnings about the dangers of too much confidence in human reason and material culture, the popes embraced technology, and Pope Pius XII in particular saw the emergence of technology as a gift of God.

To most readers, the most novel aspect of Lagrée's study will be his systematic survey of the manner in which material inventions touched religious life and were in turn resisted or accommodated by clerics and the wider church. He explores familiar topics, such as how the French Roman Catholic church used railways to organize large-scale pilgrimages to sites such as Lourdes. But he spends much more time on topics such as the use of manmade fabrics in liturgical garments, the decision to employ steel and concrete in building churches, and the formulation of liturgies to bless new railway stations. Lagrée also suggests that ultramontanism as an ideology of papal authority became genuinely possible only through the advance of rail and then air transportation and electronic communication. The former made Rome accessible to both bishops and the other faithful; the latter allowed the voice of Rome to penetrate the airspace of the whole globe.

To this reviewer, the most interesting section is Lagrée's consideration of electricity. It was the technology that gave new life to the forces of Catholic St. Simonianism. Electricity could be used to power church clocks calling the faithful to prayer and worship. Powering Hammond organs, it could expand the musical life of small, relatively poor churches but not before there was considerable debate over the appropriateness of incorporating this music into worship. Electricity in radio, television, and, finally, the internet opened the entire world to the ministry of the preached and written word. As applied in science labs, electricity and kindred sciences could be used to examine the history of sacred documents and purportedly sacred objects, such as the shroud of Turin. Finally, electricity especially in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries nurtured metaphysical speculation about spirit and matter and hence faith and reason.

The book does, on occasion, have the appearance of having been organized around the author's notecards. But the whole is greater than the sum of its parts. The author has presented a powerful overview of the

interaction of religion understood as social organization with technology in its impact on society. One could wish that he would turn his attention now to the material culture of French Roman Catholic religious life. Scholars working in other areas of modern European religious history should look to this book as a model for their own research and analysis.

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RAB BENNETT. *Under the Shadow of the Swastika: The Moral Dilemmas of Resistance and Collaboration in Hitler's Europe*. New York: New York University Press. 1999. Pp. ix, 318.

Violent resistance against Nazi rule in occupied Europe was not just ineffectual, argues the author of this earnest yet thoughtful book; it was often immoral, costing more lives than it saved and shedding the blood of others, the victims of ferocious German reprisals. Rab Bennett is not the first to raise his voice against the hallowed warriors of the shadows. Leaders in exile did so at the time: Charles De Gaulle thought armies should do the fighting. Subject populations did so: at moments, partisans and *maquisards* appeared more menacing than the Germans themselves. Military historians did so: Basil Liddell Hart and, more recently, John Keegan have deemed their government's wartime support for sabotage or assassination pointless and amoral. Communist and noncommunist resisters from Poland, Greece, France, and elsewhere for long excoriated each other's methods, and now allegations about the French resister Jean Moulin and the Italian antifascist Ignazio Silone provoke new polemics even as they puncture old taboos. Resistance rests uneasily on her pedestal.

Bennett's concern is ethical, his method anecdotal. The immemorial question of just and unjust war emerges through grim, redoubled vignettes of assassination repaid by mass murder, sabotage by mass destruction, resentment by fury. Armed resistance, he argues, entailed the deliberate exposure of innocent victims to Nazi reprisals, of random civilians to assured extinction even as the perpetrators took to the hills and the cellars. Worse, resisters sometimes sought cynically to polarize matters this way, to turn population against oppressor in a now-classic resort to "terrorist" logic; often they aped their oppressors, torturing and murdering German prisoners, suspected collaborators, and innocent countrymen.

During the course of his polemic, Bennett takes up the question of collaboration. He rightly emphasizes its complexity. And he rightly exhumes Hannah Arendt's breathtaking insensitivity to the agonizing circumstances of the leaders of the Jewish Councils in Eastern Europe. Indeed, Arendt's aversion to evidence and fondness for arrogant generalizations made her a grand political philosopher and an awful historian. But I cannot help wondering about the mote in my brother's eye. Does Bennett's indictment of the resisters not

dimly recall Arendt's indictment of the Jews? Does it not recall judgments pronounced and contexts ignored?

No; the author's intellectual honesty repeatedly reins in his own arguments. He allows that violent resistance by Jews, once they grasped the imminence of extinction, made some sense. He accepts the sabotage of installations thought to be vital, like the Vemork heavy water plant in Norway or the Gorgopotamos viaduct in Greece, especially if the saboteurs took steps to minimize the risk of reprisals to local civilians. "Where the good achieved decisively outweighed the harm," he writes, "the risk of civilian casualties was licit" (p. 243). He pulls back from suggesting that resisters should have yielded unconditionally to the menace of German reprisals and allowed the occupiers' violence to prevail over their own. "Each case had to be judged on its merits" (p. 243); but how were potential resisters to reach that judgment? And how does Bennett reach his?

I wonder about expecting the opponents of an overtly genocidal foe to deliberate for long on the justice of their own methods. Once or twice, I am caught up short by the author's distribution of blame. "The prevailing German view," he writes "was that wars should be fought between legitimate, uniformed, trained national armies" (p. 168). This is, of course, untenable. So, too, is the implication that the Wehrmacht departed from the laws of war only when provoked by local guerillas. Murder and terror, especially in Eastern Europe and the Balkans, became its sacred mission, its reason for being. Even Erwin Rommel, whom the author describes as "an example of humanity and decency" (p. 283), appears in the Germans' own official history as a war criminal in North Africa, where resistance was negligible.

The author reexamines his own view and redeems the apparent infelicity, only a few pages later. "The primary responsibility rests with the Nazi regime . . . for removing all restrictions on battle on the eastern front. But the greater crime does not excuse the lesser. Partisans conducted the war with great inhumanity" (p. 172). Then, a hundred pages later, Bennett concedes that "resisters in eastern Europe were facing one of the most ruthless police states in history" (p. 267).

These are complex moral questions, debatable until the end of time. Second thoughts and tactical tergiversations can enrich an analysis even as they weaken an argument. This book gains by them; subtle ethical doubts surround its stark empirical core. It is a discussion piece, highly suitable for students in a seminar or classroom as they encounter the newly fashionable question, "was the resistance worth it?"

The book has no bibliography and too many mistaken proper nouns: "J. Paxton" (p. 45), "Sudetanland" (p. 264), "Annency" (p. 170), "André Tullard" (p. 48). But New York University Press has produced this book nicely, with a readable typeface and mercifully few words to a page.

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PAT THANE. *Old Age in English History: Past Experiences, Present Issues*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2000. Pp. x, 536. \$42.00.

This is a very welcome book. The history of old age kicked off grandly over a decade ago, as part of the surge of social history combined with the realization of the ageing of modern society. But it has fallen into a bit of a slump. This ambitious synthesis, by a major scholar, reminds us of the richness and importance of the field. Pat Thane drives the point home by using historical perspective to comment intelligently on the present and future prospects of old age and the elderly. After a half century in which, she contends, the elderly gained ground significantly, and well beyond expectations possible in 1950, she wonders whether the prospects for the next fifty years are comparably benign.

The book traces developments in the history of old age in England from the Middle Ages forward. There is indeed a brief comment on classical ideas of old age, although this is only loosely integrated with the main materials. The book divides at several key points. Some change is discussed from the medieval to the early modern periods, around the possible impact of the Renaissance. Thane also notes, if largely implicitly, the important tensions in the eighteenth century between Enlightenment musings on enhanced longevity and the fact of a growing number of impoverished elderly. Thane sees a major divide soon after 1800, with the New Poor Law and attendant debates, extending into the early twentieth century, on appropriate treatment for elderly poor. This opening for old age in the modern world then merges with new pension schemes and the focus on the elderly in Britain's first big welfare surge from 1911 onward. A final divide is formed by the emergence of the full-blown welfare state after World War II.

Various aspects of old age are treated. Women receive due attention at various points. There is recurrent discussion of demographic patterns, and even more attention to family roles and support. Preferences touch on the interesting issues about emotional position in the family but yield no major insight. Discussion of residential patterns is a bit fuller, but inconsistent. And the roles of the elderly as grandparents are oddly neglected. Work patterns receive attention, particularly of course with the advent of industrialization, and there is a good assessment of retirement (which Thane interprets as frequently reluctant and disconcerting), although new patterns of leisure are not detailed. While the elderly are not usually seen as agents, with voices of their own, a section on the turn of the twentieth century and then one on the past fifty years offer significant access to varied impressions from the elderly themselves. Finally, albeit with a bit of a gap for the early modern period and the nineteenth century, medical views and the modern rise of geriatrics gain intelligent coverage.

The book, in sum, offers impressive if slightly checkered topical range.

This is a synthesis based largely on existing work, and there are no huge surprises. Thane is eager to convey the mixture of change and continuity that has generated the present setting for the elderly. Her judgments are sure-handed, her reading extensive. There is little comparison, which might have enlivened the analysis, but what there is proves revealing (particularly with the United States). The book represents a first-rate introduction to the field for nonspecialists, including adepts in other facets of British history interested in linking with the history of old age, and a fruitful compendium for anyone interested in the elderly past or present.

There are a few cautions. The book is topically organized within periods, which means that there is a certain chronological back and forth and also a lack of full connection among facets. In the modern periods, further, primacy of cause goes to government programs (whether because of deficiencies or gains). Thus the nineteenth century ushers in a new setting because of the changes in the poor law; work and demography, Thane says, held constant. But in fact, a later section on work suggests that this was not entirely so, that work demands became more arduous. In the twentieth century, when old age is "reinvented," it is the welfare state that is responsible; but the later section on geriatrics and health makes one wonder if improved vitality might be as least equally involved. Always, given the primary policy focus, the elderly are mainly acted upon, not actors, and this, too, merits explicit discussion. The point is not to dispute Thane's causation, but to suggest that it is not fully assessed because of the book's conceptualization. In part, of course, the book's flaws are the mirror image of its strength, which rests on conveying a great deal of valuable information and providing exciting stimulus for further analysis.

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RALPH HOULBROOKE. *Death, Religion, and the Family in England, 1480-1750*. (Oxford Studies in Social History.) New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1998. Pp. xiii, 435. \$99.00.

It could perhaps be said that in death we are not divided. Nothing unites the global world of English speakers more than their attitude to death and their practices in relation to it. Burial grounds in Christchurch, New Zealand, on Vancouver Island, in Massachusetts or Virginia, even on Malta all look like English churchyards, though seldom attached to an Anglican church. There are grand sculpted sarcophagi for the rich; would-be upright stones starting out of the ground for most of the departed; wooden crosses for the modestly off; and unmarked hummocks for the really poor. Here and there, of course, can be found a weather-mauled bunch of fresh flowers, and everywhere, on all still-available surfaces for inscription, are



tributes to the deceased from family members. All these things are very Anglo-Saxon, and seeing them makes the English traveler feel at home.

It is true that the growth of cremation and scattering the ashes in favored places, seldom churchyards, have broken tradition to some extent. But when Thomas Gray published his "Elegy written in a country churchyard" in 1751, he did so for all of us as we still are. By such means as these, the speakers of English remain aware of their common culture and recognize that they share it with persons whose lifetimes have stretched back over half a millennium and more. The date of Gray's poem, 1751, comes neatly at the end of the interlude during which, Ralph Houlbrooke tells us, the Anglo-Saxon mode of dying was being fashioned and just before the global English-speaking world took shape. Houlbrooke insists that death was primarily a *familial affair, a sadly recurrent crisis at which the private relationships of the table and the fireside had to be thrown open to the public gaze and a public drama acted out* (as is still the case). In this sense, the present study is a continuation of his well-known edited collection, *English Family Life, 1576-1718: A Collection of Diaries* (1988).

Houlbrooke is authoritative and illuminating, especially on personal, domestic, and general social life. He enlightens his readers on the manner in which the Reformation and the rise of nonconformity transformed English death—for example, by abandoning the doctrine of Purgatory—and emphasizes the concept of a good death, especially in relation to deathbed repentance. But there are things that he misses in this wholly English book. Perhaps the most important gap concerns the decision to make Westminster Abbey the English, the British, or the British Commonwealth mausoleum of ultimate posthumous honor, like the Pantheon in Paris, for French speakers. Here the interplay with the familial theme in relation to death is played out in a highly conspicuous way.

By taking a single step, you can stand successively on Charles Darwin's tomb and Isaac Newton's in the Abbey. But you cannot venture on that of Winston Churchill or even see it there. He, the greatest of all the speakers of the English tongue, as many would claim, lies buried among his kinsfolk in an obscure little Oxfordshire churchyard, family connection winning out over public glory.

I can see this book in the hands of many a reflective tourist threading his way through the low-level labyrinths of town and country churchyards but also resting on the shelves of historians of population and social structure. For there are analytic ventures in the text of some general scholarly significance. One such is the attempt to estimate the effect within the family itself of any particular death, both the effect on the domestic group and the network of kin. Did son and heir, or the relict, take over the authority? Did earlier departed children move back in? How far were these things ruled by custom and how far by strength of personality, especially that of widows? These issues are the very

warp and woof of social and personal life, and Houlbrooke tackles them with enterprise and clarity.

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PETER CLARK. *British Clubs and Societies 1580-1800: The Origins of an Associational World*. (Oxford Studies in Social History). New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 2000. Pp. xii, 516. \$98.00.

In an age when greater emphasis is placed on social and sociological phenomena in studies of community development a major examination of clubs and societies in Britain in the early modern period is a welcome addition to the historiography. So much is now known about new and progressive social and economic dimensions of British history in that era that it is refreshing to be able to examine the formation, structure, and activity of clubs and societies as well as their assumption of social responsibility and display of organized charitable functions. Apart from the conviviality and leisure associated with such clubs and societies, in this context social institutions and charity organizations became vital components in the understanding and appreciation of a new cultural genre which was to have an impact on concepts of order, discipline, and communal relations in an age of increasing material prosperity.

This book by Peter Clark is divided into several evenly balanced sections that cover the theme broadly from the early seventeenth century to 1688. It then proceeds to examine the growth of clubs in an age of commercial expansion between 1688 and 1800. The 1780s saw a significant development in the history of clubs and societies, for it was at this time that they became institutionalized, adopted a bureaucratic framework, and established an officialdom. A network of organizations arose that were chiefly concerned with the need to impose discipline, to practice philanthropy, and to initiate moral reform. Secular as well as religious societies sprang up, and this enables Clark to extend his study further by examining the membership and organization of clubs and societies and identifying regional diversities and variations in them. Emphasis is placed on freemasonry and benefit clubs, together with a consideration of the role of a network of these organizations at home and overseas.

This handsome volume exhaustively examines significant themes and opens up an exciting range of social considerations. It deals primarily with a novel social phenomenon that, down to the last two decades of the nineteenth century, was largely concerned with the exercise of philanthropy from a position of privilege and material prosperity. Such organizations necessarily drew their membership from among the upper or middling orders in urban society, and from the early Victorian era onward developments in clubs and societies extended to include county antiquarian, cooper-

ative, and scientific societies, freemasonry, mechanics institutes, and formative changes in the world of sport.

Social development and demography accounted for much of this plethora of organizations, the growth of which even the Great War did not impede. It would be superfluous to list all the clubs and societies here, but it is a remarkable fact to remember that, despite the advent after 1945 of the welfare state, specialist associations still functioned to provide social welfare. The urban-based connections of such associations were amended in the first half of the twentieth century when urbanization extended its geographical boundaries and expanded urban residence. The major features of British voluntary associations were their variety, vitality, and increasing specialization. Doubtless they were "engines of civil society," although questions need to be asked as to their contribution to political education and their role at a time of decline in state grants to maintain social welfare. The extent of the contribution of clubs and societies to economic progress and to the moral rehabilitation of the nation is also questionable.

This is a volume written with scholars, primarily historians and sociologists, in mind. It is readable and planned in a manner that allows the author to examine the pros and cons of this aspect of social activity. The book contributes richly to an evaluation of the social fabric of British society in a period of transformation in standards of living, morality, and human attitudes. It is well-researched and amply referenced. Indeed, it is a book that surpasses its boundaries, since it offers a valuable contribution to the sociology of life in Britain in the early modern period and the extent to which economic growth fostered and was fostered by philanthropy. It contains a shrewd analysis of the structure and impact of associations that were to have worldwide ramifications, and they contributed to developing social relationships initially in the context of social conscience. The links that emerged from these factors, in conjunction with the state, the locality, and the individual citizen, form the very essence of the civility of urban culture. From this angle, it is an indispensable volume, an extremely valuable addition to the historian's library.

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CATHERINE F. PATTERSON. *Urban Patronage in Early Modern England: Corporate Boroughs, the Landed Elite, and the Crown, 1580-1640*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1999. Pp. viii, 337. \$60.00.

This book examines relations between civic corporations and their gentry and noble patrons in an effort to illuminate processes of state-building. It adds to the existing historiography on provincial towns, while complementing studies of patronage among the gentry. Catherine F. Patterson rejects the views of earlier historians who have described an "invasion" of provincial boroughs by predatory landowners seeking parliamentary seats and local power. The ties forged be-

tween towns and great landowners invariably brought reciprocal benefits and were, in fact, typical of the sort of patronage that existed throughout society, providing essential unifying bonds that held the polity together.

Broadly speaking, townsmen wanted help in obtaining favors and legal grants from the crown and other kinds of practical assistance. To understand urban patronage in detail, however, requires attention to the matrix of cultural values and conventions through which it worked. Patterson's development of this argument is spread over several chapters and might have been more tightly organized, but she conclusively demonstrates that towns cultivated their patrons through practices very similar to those uncovered in recent studies of social relations among the gentry. Like gentlemen, town corporations sought to maintain the goodwill of benefactors by gifts, on which they typically spent as much as three to four percent of their budgets. They entertained patrons through rituals of hospitality reminiscent of those Felicity Heal has examined in gentry and noble households, while addressing them in a highly ritualized language of deference resembling that used by gentlemen seeking favors from great courtiers. The patrons, in turn, were motivated not simply by a crude desire for influence and power but by the desire to display "noble" virtues like liberality through acts like the building of hospitals, the endowment of lectureships, or the provision of relief for the poor.

The highest honor a borough might bestow on a benefactor was to appoint him its high steward. By accepting this post an individual assumed a moral obligation to continue acting as the town's friend and protector. In addition to ceremonial precedence, high stewards wielded substantial influence over the selection of lesser officials, such as the town recorder or its representatives to Parliament. Patterson argues, however, that the importance of parliamentary patronage has been exaggerated by previous historians. The election of a patron's nominee was normally regarded as a favor rather than an obligation, and refusals rarely damaged the patronage relationship, unless they were perceived as part of a larger pattern of neglect. The goal of the patron was not to control a particular seat but to demonstrate his influence within the urban community, since doing so enhanced his honor and reputation in surrounding districts and at the royal court.

Many of the forms of influence exercised by patrons reflected traditional ideals of good lordship. For example, it is not surprising to find patrons being asked to arbitrate quarrels within towns, since mediating quarrels among neighbors and dependents was a traditional duty of any local magnate. Patrons also acted as intermediaries between boroughs and the crown, conveying royal demands to borough authorities while seeing that urban grievances received attention at Westminster and Whitehall. Some towns selected local patrons. The majority, however, increasingly sought high stewards with strong influence at court, so that

men like Burghley, Leicester, Christopher Hatton and Salisbury ended up collecting as many as a dozen high stewardships. This made sense from the boroughs' perspective, since court patrons were more effective in obtaining royal favors, especially chartered privileges. The result, Patterson argues, was to tie provincial towns more closely into the framework of a national state.

Occasionally the relationship between a town and its patron became strained if the latter became too demanding or failed to obtain sufficient benefits. The heightened demands of Charles I's government also generated tensions, since patrons were sometimes unable or unwilling to obtain relief from higher tax assessments or other grievances. Patterson illustrates these difficulties through a detailed discussion of the evolving relationship between Leicester and successive Hastings earls of Huntingdon who served as its high stewards. But for the most part, she concludes, patronage relationships worked reasonably well in meeting the needs of the patrons themselves, town corporations and the national state. This is a persuasive and useful study.

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JON PARKIN. *Science, Religion and Politics in Restoration England. Richard Cumberland's De Legibus Naturae*. (Royal Historical Society Studies in History, New Series.) Rochester, N.Y.: Boydell. 1999. Pp. xi, 251. \$75.00.

In the quest for the origins of the Enlightenment, historians continue to follow the lead of Paul Hazard in examining closely the late seventeenth century for some understanding of the way in which Europe passed from the age of the religious wars to the more secular modes of thought that characterized the eighteenth century. In taking as his subject Bishop Richard Cumberland, or, more exactly, his great work, *De legibus naturae disquisitio philosophica* (1672), Jon Parkin provides a clearly focused and incisive account of some of the chief intellectual movements of this watershed period.

The merit of Parkin's work is that it leaves the reader with a better grasp not only of Cumberland's work but also of the character of late seventeenth-century English intellectual history more generally. The analysis of *De legibus* is firmly grounded in an account of the key influences that shaped Cumberland's worldview: the character of the Restoration settlement in church and state, the Royal Society, and the theological tenor of Cambridge University. Out of these materials, Cumberland wove his response to the rise of the mechanical philosophy and, more particularly, the uses to which it was put by that arch-opponent of latitudinarian-inclined theologians, Thomas Hobbes.

Where for Hobbes the mechanical philosophy re-

vealed a purposeless universe that required the firm hand of authority to give it meaning and direction, for Cumberland, by contrast, the methods of modern science could be employed to discern the will of the creator in creation. The divine signature could be unearthed through the study of natural law, the significance and existence of which formed the substance of *De legibus*. Drawing on Grotius, Cumberland sought to Christianize mechanical philosophy, rescuing it from the clutches of Hobbes and his allies. But, in certain respects, Cumberland came to resemble his opponent. Like that of Hobbes, Cumberland's work was based on a rigorous analysis of the mechanical philosophy and on the belief that moral and natural philosophy were closely integrated. The consequence was that Cumberland's work, although written from an avowedly Christian standpoint, also embraced some secularizing features in its attempt to arrive at a system of morality that could be largely constructed from the study of nature. The rewards and punishments of the next life loomed less large in Cumberland's account than the ethical outcomes dictated by the laws of nature.

As Parkin points out, Cumberland's approach colored that of the established church in the eighteenth century, helping to accommodate the impulses of the Enlightenment to the established order in England more generally. Ironically, Hobbes's work helped to educate his clerical opponents (and, in particular, Cumberland), making them more inclined to view positively the currents of thought associated with the Scientific Revolution. It also led to attempts to illustrate not only the consonance of Christian theology with reason but also that of Christian ethics. Such an ethical stance underlay the work of Samuel Clarke, Newton's devoted clerical spokesman, and that of his many eighteenth-century followers.

Indeed, if one were inclined to ask more of a book that economically and authoritatively encompasses its subject, it would be for some concluding account of Cumberland's continuing influence. Such an account would enable one better to answer the question: how far can it be said that Cumberland shaped the clerical character of the English Enlightenment directly by his own work? Was it more indicative of a mode of thinking that found other and perhaps more influential spokesmen after his death? Whatever the response, Parkin's work provides the reader with a clear map through the often convoluted *De legibus* and enhances our understanding of the period that Hazard termed "the crisis of the European conscience."

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ELIGA H. GOULD. *The Persistence of Empire: British Political Culture in the Age of the American Revolution*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, for the Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture, Williamsburg, Va. 2000. Pp. xxiv, 262. Cloth \$49.95, paper \$18.95.

The purpose of Eliga H. Gould's welcome and scholarly study is to address "the public support that helped make the Revolutionary war the longest colonial conflict in modern British history" and to answer the question of why so many people (in Britain) accepted the government's ill-fated policies during the American War of Independence (p. xvi). Indeed, this attempt to investigate British support for ministerial policy in the 1760s and 1770s is both timely and intelligently undertaken. Gould's decision to locate the origin of these tendencies in the era of the Wars of the Austrian Succession and the Seven Years War is undoubtedly correct. If anything, he understates the extent to which Britons resented involvement in European affairs and the extent to which the Seven Years War whetted their appetite for empire.

Yet, well-crafted and well executed as the book is, it would be unwise to claim too much for it. It does not amount to a comprehensive analysis of British political culture, and I doubt that Gould would claim as much. His research, moreover, is directed only toward one of his stated objectives: namely, to examine "the public rationale that, despite its eventual repudiation, made the North American policies of George III and his ministers appear both necessary and justifiable" (p. xvii). As he says, "this is primarily a study of political consciousness," the product of Gould's reading of "nearly a thousand political pamphlets, most of which were published somewhere in Britain between the early 1740s and the end of the Revolution" (p. xix). The book provides a narratively structured analysis of the pamphlet and periodical literature of over four decades and an innovative and insightful commentary on events unfolding on either side of the Seven Years War. Gould writes well, the volume is helpfully referenced, and it contains considerable quantities of original material.

Such an inquiry, inevitably, has its limitations. First, Gould offers only a one-page discussion of the methodology adopted in this book. An analysis of "political consciousness" requires more extensive discussion of the likely circulation, audience, reception, and method of reading of the pamphlets on which his study is based. It is not, I think, enough, to assert that Britain was an "imagined community" and then to proceed to assume that the pamphlet literature was part of an "imaginative reconstruction" of both citizenship and national identity. For one thing, Britain was a plurality of communities. For another, language may generate its own reality and thus to an extent its own autonomy, but it is not a sufficient answer to a complex historical problem to leave it there and to ignore the political and social context within which this occurs.

Second, some of the author's judgments and assertions are less than self-evident. On the very first page of the introduction, we are told that "Britain's eighteenth century rulers were notorious for regarding the common people with disdain" (p. xv). Students of the period will likewise be interested to be told that the rationale that made the government policies appear

both necessary and justifiable was chiefly the result of "a burgeoning desire for imperial self-sufficiency" (p. xvii). This was the case to some extent, of course, but surely there was far more to it than that. Later we are informed that, during the Jacobite rebellion of 1745–1746, "the general public demonstrated a pronounced willingness to leave responsibility for its suppression in the hands of the regular army and the legally commissioned officers of the crown," thus neglecting the Loyalist response of those years (pp. 24–25). There are, in addition, some curious omissions. For example, Lord Bute only receives four mentions in the entire book. The first of these (p. 102) is an error. He did not replace William Pitt as prime minister at the end of 1761 but, if he may be said to have done so at all, in May 1762. Two of the others are little more than passing references (pp. 103, 141). Moreover, nothing at all is said about Frederick the Great's curious role in British politics and society in the late 1750s as an extremely popular, iconic, patriot figure.

Consequently, although this valuable analysis of some of the public literature of the time advances our understanding of British perceptions of the American Revolution, it does not amount to a sustained and complete answer to the questions proposed either at the outset or throughout the book on such topics as continuing support for the war and the argued effect of the war in sustaining and strengthening the regime in the long term. In this context, it is timely to mention Stephen Conway's excellent *The British Isles and the War of American Independence* (2000), which investigates the mobilization of the armed forces, discusses the economic effects of the war, analyzes the religious underpinnings of public opinion, and surveys the impact of the American issue in the localities. In some ways, indeed, Conway's book provides significant answers to many of the questions that Gould raises.

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RICHARD DRAYTON. *Nature's Government: Science, Imperial Britain, and the 'Improvement' of the World*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 2000. Pp. xxi, 346. \$40.00.

In this sweeping, imaginative, skillfully crafted, well written, and beautifully illustrated book, Richard Drayton connects the histories of botany, gardens, Great Britain, and the British Empire. He traces the idea of "improvement" in its many guises, from the Garden of Eden to the development creed that is with us still. In the beginning, as John Locke put it in the *Second Treatise on Government*, God gave the world to mankind in common as a sacred trust, not to be left as wasteland but to be mixed with labor, turning nature into "property," which it was the sacred duty of government to protect. Nothing, Drayton argues, is more central to the Western, Christian, capitalist, British, and imperial traditions than this ideology of improvement.



In this, of course, Drayton echoes such classic works as Max Weber's *Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (1904), R. H. Tawney's *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism* (1926), C. B. Macpherson's *Political Theory of Possessive Individualism* (1962), and, more recently, David Hancock's *Citizens of the World: London Merchants and the Integration of the British Atlantic Community, 1735–1785* (1995). What makes his book distinctive and original is its grounding in the richly symbolic and metaphorical soil of gardens. For early modern Europeans, which emphatically included the English, gardening became a favorite sport of nobility and royalty, a means of displaying their wealth and clout. It was in the eighteenth century, however, that such figures as Charles "Turnip" Townshend, Thomas William Coke of Norfolk, and Arthur Young elevated the new scientific agriculture to the level of gospel. For them, the empire was the British nation's "useful garden," to be tilled, planted, manured, and above all improved.

The ideology of improvement found its greatest promoter and patron in Sir Joseph Banks, many of whose papers have recently been made available in their original holograph form on the World Wide Web (<http://www.sinsw.gov.au.Banks/>). And it is with Banks that Drayton's hitherto sweeping survey settles down to more detailed analysis. Banks's role in promoting imperial gardening—the transformation of the Kew Gardens from Royal to national treasure and responsibility; the patronage of the well-known exploration voyages of Captains Cook and Bligh; the development of a network of imperial gardens where valuable botanic discoveries could be cultivated, grafted, and transplanted—was truly prodigious. Although less spectacular than the founder, his successors followed up and institutionalized his example. Not only Bligh's infamous breadfruit but quinine, rubber, cocoa, and many other crops were brought to Kew and then transmitted to Calcutta, Sydney, Kingston, Singapore, Accra, and elsewhere through the far-flung network of imperial botanical laboratories.

The economic value of all these botanical products has of course been incalculable. Yet Drayton argues persuasively that for Banks and his fellow imperial botanists, the economic argument of empire was a means of justifying what for them was mainly a professional objective. The British were gardeners not so much because it was profitable as because they were British. Like cricket or fly-fishing, it was their hobby. Nor, since many of the products were food crops, without which it is hard to see how the world's expanding population could have been fed, was this phase of expansion all that reprehensible.

Although this is preeminently an eighteenth and nineteenth-century book, Drayton continues it on into the twentieth, when Joseph Chamberlain's doctrine of "undeveloped estates," the several versions of "backwardness" and "underdevelopment," the World Bank, and UNESCO were all manifestations of the idea of improvement. Drayton's book is one of the most

successful so-called New Empire histories I have encountered. It is a pleasure to read. He has succeeded in breaking down the Chinese walls that have separated British domestic and imperial history, the history of science, and the history of gardening. All who are interested in any of these fields will need to read this book. Moreover, since I for one would like to use it in the classroom, I hope that Yale University Press will soon bring out a paperback edition.

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PAULA BARTLEY. *Prostitution: Prevention and Reform in England, 1860–1914*. (Women's and Gender History.) New York: Routledge. 2000. Pp. xi, 229. Cloth \$85.00, paper \$25.99.

Paula Bartley carves out new territory in a much-examined field in her study of Victorian and Edwardian prostitution. She does not attempt to offer fresh insights into the causes of prostitution or the campaigns for regulation or deregulation, areas analyzed so perceptively by such historians as Judith Walkowitz in her now-classic *Prostitution and Victorian Society* (1980). Instead, Bartley focuses on the efforts of reformers to eradicate prostitution by eliminating prostitutes, at first through rehabilitation institutions, then through preventive measures, and finally through suppression.

Bartley argues that the first attempts to eliminate prostitution were led by optimistic religious reformers who believed that with successful intervention, prostitutes could be rehabilitated and reintegrated into society as moral beings. Groups sponsored by the Church of England and other religious denominations established penitentiary institutions where prostitutes were confined and inculcated in middle-class morality, even as they were trained in practical domestic skills that would allow them to find employment other than sex work. When these institutions for rehabilitation proved unsuccessful, reformers turned to attempts to prevent women from becoming prostitutes in the first place. Such organizations as the "Ladies Associations for the Care of Friendless Girls," with its many branches throughout England, established training schools for poor working-class girls. They also founded homes for unwed mothers, in hopes that presumably one moral failure would not turn into a life of prostitution.

In the late nineteenth century, according to Bartley, there was a shift away from environmental to biological explanations for prostitution. With the new concern about racial strength, eugenicists postulated a connection between feeble-mindedness and sexual promiscuity and argued that women of defective mental capabilities were most susceptible to prostitution. These prostitutes were seen as especially dangerous to the race because of the many defective children they would presumably have as a result of their sex work. Institutions were therefore established to provide for

feeble-minded women the care and support that would keep them off the streets.

Failing to prevent prostitution, Victorians turned to suppression, in the form of moral purity crusades and vigilance societies. These groups aimed at strengthening the laws against brothels and solicitation and sought to enlist the police in the enforcement of these laws. Like the earlier reforms, these efforts also failed. By the early twentieth century, however, prostitution was in decline, which Bartley attributes to better education and employment opportunities for working-class women, as well as better welfare provisions, which allowed desperate women to survive without resorting to sex work.

This volume in the Routledge series "Women's and Gender History," edited by June Purvis, is based on extensive research in the papers of the various reform societies, including their correspondence and journals. It also draws on the records of the Home Office and the Metropolitan Police. The book contains much intriguing material, particularly on the institutions of penitentiary reform. The weaknesses of the book, however, diminish its use as a work of serious scholarship. The writing style is awkward, with constant run-on sentences that are sometimes hard to follow, and too-frequent use of the passive voice, which makes for unreferenced subjects and therefore fuzzy meaning. Key people are referred to without any biographical information. For example, Bartley refers throughout the text to Ellice Hopkins, of whom she says sweepingly that "when the prevention of prostitution is mentioned, historians are unanimous that Ellice Hopkins was a crucial figure" (p. 14), but Hopkins is presented as a disembodied name, with no explanation of her life or affiliations.

More serious than the weaknesses of style are the inconsistencies in the text. Bartley, for example, argues that reformers tried to establish alternatives for poor women other than workhouses, in that workhouses sent women out into domestic service, "the occupation most susceptible to prostitution" (p. 8). However, most of her discussion of the reform penitentiaries on the training of former prostitutes is devoted to the primary goal of training "rescued" women to be domestic servants. One does not expect consistency among the reforming societies, but the inconsistencies should be explained or at least acknowledged. The failure to do so relates to probably the greatest weakness of this book, the lack of sufficient analysis of the rich material. Bartley probably attempts to cover too much material. For example, the last section on moral purity crusades summarizes a very broad subject that includes much more than concern to eliminate prostitution, and coverage of this broad topic in limited space necessarily lacks depth.

This wonderfully researched study offers valuable material that furthers our knowledge of the various campaigns against prostitution in late Victorian and Edwardian England, but its poor writing style and its

lack of sufficient analysis make it more a mine of great source material than a polished work of scholarship.

NANCY FIX ANDERSON

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JAMES K. HOPKINS. *Into the Heart of the Fire: The British in the Spanish Civil War*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1998. Pp. xxii, 474. \$60.00.

The drama that was the Spanish Civil War is laden with popular mythology, and this mythology remains a resilient force on Britain's radical left to this day. Written from a British Communist Party perspective, the mythology has been sustained by "official" accounts of the 2,000 or so British volunteers who journeyed to Spain and rallied to the defense of the Spanish Republic. Praising the role of the Communist Party, these narratives sustain the legend that the British volunteers were a united front in action, coming together for what has been depicted—in simple, black and white terms—as a courageous struggle for democracy and freedom against the evil of fascism. But a far more complicated picture emerges from James K. Hopkins's work. Rather than simply a case of "good versus evil," democrats versus fascists, Spain became "a battleground of totalitarianism—of the left and as well as the right" (p. 289).

What Hopkins reveals is an uncomfortable truth: the Communist Party subjected the volunteer British Battalion—which included many noncommunists—to strict partisan control. As a volunteer army, the International Brigades prided themselves on freedom of discussion, but the reality was a Communist Party that suppressed democratic pluralism. To his credit, Hopkins is the first to draw on material from newly opened archives in Moscow to recount the experiences of those "dissident volunteers" at odds with the Stalinization of the British Battalion. Amounting to as many as 400 men, these "political unrelies" experienced character assassination, surveillance, and incarceration; there is also the suspicion that some were intentionally sent on perilous missions that they might be well and truly silenced.

But this book amounts to more than exposing the truth buried beneath the Communist Party's glorification of the British Battalion. The ambitious task Hopkins has set himself is to write a history of the British in the Spanish Civil War from a broad perspective that takes account of both middle-class and working-class volunteers (their respective histories have typically been written separately). Yet his chief concern lies specifically with radical middle-class and proletarian intellectuals for whom Spain represented a real opportunity not only to defeat the menace of fascism but also to live the ideological vision of equality between classes. Consequently, Hopkins devotes considerable space to the attitudes of the radical intelligentsia in 1930s Britain. Much effort is directed toward locating left-wing intellectuals in their true political and cultural context.

In the first two parts of the book, our attention is drawn to a *bourgeois intelligentsia anxious to look beyond the Ivory Tower and engage with workers in a purposeful way*. We then encounter a proletarian intelligentsia, comprised of autodidacts empowered with the self-confidence to cast off traditional class deference. At this point, in the third part of the book, we move into the Spanish arena. What particularly interests Hopkins here is the way in which the intellectual vision of equality between classes was played out on a terrain in which "the worker, not his middle-class counterpart, occupied the high ground" (p. ix). Recounting the experiences of various volunteers, Hopkins concludes that, in Spain, traditional class hierarchies embedded in British society were thoroughly challenged. For a moment, an extraordinary egalitarianism emerged as collective idealism allowed worker and middle-class volunteers to variously "connect" with one another. With time, however, the British Battalion turned almost entirely working class; a development that middle-class volunteers found difficult to negotiate. Thus, for Hopkins, the unprecedented egalitarianism that did exist was "imperfect," carried out "on the terms of the workers and not the middle-class volunteers" (p. 360).

Without doubt, Hopkins's book is highly commendable. It is meticulously researched; the author has clearly worked hard to reveal the essential complexity of the British involvement in Spain. Hopkins has demonstrated a profound intimacy with his subject. This is an outstanding work, rich in depth and detail, and it deserves to be recognized as a major contribution to the field. The only disappointing aspect of the book relates to its exclusive focus on the left. Hopkins fails to discuss the British response to the Spanish Civil War in the wider sense. Indeed, pro-Franco reaction is relegated to a mere footnote.

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DAVID FRENCH. *Raising Churchill's Army: The British Army and the War against Germany 1919-1945*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2000. Pp. xii, 319. \$60.00.

By any standard, the performance of the British Army against Germany in World War II was mixed. During the first half of the war, its record was undeniably poor; during the second half, it achieved considerable success but, say critics, only by overwhelming its opponents with brute force. Historians have presented various explanations for these failures, but usually as part of larger studies and not with the intent of assessing the army's combat effectiveness directly. In this book, David French pursues the latter course with a comprehensive, well-researched, and thoughtful study.

The army's weaknesses have been catalogued numerous times. It had difficulty coordinating the action of infantry, armor, and artillery in support of each

other in combat (the so-called combined arms principle); its soldiers were reluctant to come to grips with the enemy at close quarters; and it often failed to exploit success. French admits these criticisms have considerable validity, but he asserts that they are incomplete and their causes are misunderstood. The army had, for example, stressed the importance of combined arms in conjunction with mechanization since the mid-1920s. Unfortunately, it continued to adhere to a "system of inflexible, autocratic command and control" (p. 19) that precluded it from executing the new doctrines effectively. The unwillingness of British soldiers to engage in close combat was not due to a lack of morale, as is commonly maintained, but to the fact that small infantry units lacked the firepower of their German counterparts and had to rely on outside artillery support. The failure of the army to exploit success was likewise partly due to the rigid command system but also to the fact that British generals were aware the country's manpower reserves were extremely limited and they had to keep casualties to a minimum. Underlying all these problems, he concludes, was the fact that senior commanders could interpret and apply tactical doctrines as they wished, making it impossible to impose uniform procedures throughout the army or insure all units could coordinate their actions. In all these criticisms, French recognizes that forces beyond the army's control often impeded its progress, but he emphasizes that the most serious problems the army faced were self-inflicted.

Much of this was evident during the first half of World War II, when the army repeatedly performed poorly. Only when Bernard Montgomery took command of the Eighth Army in the fall of 1942 did the situation begin to change. French rejects the assertion that Montgomery merely copied Douglas Haig's brute force tactics of 1918 to win his battles. He concedes that Montgomery avoided operational maneuvers in favor of set piece battles and emphasized massive artillery preparations like Haig, but he asserts that Montgomery introduced important innovations to increase the mobility and flexibility of his forces and relied to a far greater extent on intelligence and surprise. The key to his success was that he understood that the army could only operate with an autocrat at the top. If this slowed the pace of advance at times, it also assured the army of its best chance of success within the confines of its capabilities.

Many of French's specific arguments have been made by other historians, including this reviewer. None, however, has examined so completely the different aspects of combat effectiveness or explained so thoroughly how they interact with each other. There is one minor caveat. From my own study of British armor doctrine during the interwar years, I do not believe that the army was nearly as close to anticipating the scale or speed of mobile operations in World War II as French suggests. As a result, where French sees a significant contradiction between the army's doctrines



and its autocratic command and control system, I see much less.

French makes one final contribution to our understanding of the war, although it may well not have been intentional. When American troops first entered combat against the Germans in late 1942, the British insisted that the newcomers should follow their lead as the more experienced ally. The Americans strongly resented this attitude. That the American had much to learn is undoubtedly true; that the British were yet sufficiently skilled to teach them is, by French's account, much less certain.

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MARTIN H. FOLLY. *Churchill, Whitehall and the Soviet Union, 1940-45*. (Cold War History Series.) New York: St. Martin's. 2000. Pp. xi, 237. \$65.00.

Martin Gilbert completed the final segment of his nine-volume biography of Winston S. Churchill in 1988. Still, it was hardly the last word. In fact, since Gilbert wrote this exhaustive biography, the Churchill industry has, if anything, speeded up. Subsequently, several one-volume biographies have appeared, with any number of monographs on particular aspects of Churchill's very long career. In some form or other, all of their authors have been influenced by the sweep, insight, and erudition of Gilbert's magnum opus. Current innovative interpretation and revision are most useful to illuminate specific aspects of Churchill's public life. One such area of research focuses on the subject of Churchill and the USSR. David Carlton tackled the question in his *Churchill and the Soviet Union* (2000). Another topic is Churchill's role prior to the outbreak of World War II, which R. A. C. Parker targeted in *Churchill and Appeasement* (2000).

This book by Martin H. Folly in a sense combines both the Carlton and Parker perspectives, within a narrower time frame but from a very complex perspective. Folly signals that his will not be a study of wartime cooperation among the Allies as contributing to an understanding of the Cold War. Nor is he interested in the arguments between neorevisionists, subversion theorists, and pragmatists concerning what *really* motivated British policy toward the USSR. (Was it ideology, appeasement, or self-interest?) Rather he explores what he posits as the wartime belief at Whitehall in "a cooperative USSR" (p. 1), which determined wartime and postwar British policy toward that country. Folly arrived at this focus because of the realization that there had been little research on what British decision makers knew, or purported to know, about the USSR's internal affairs. His aim, therefore, was to explore "thought-processes," or how British foreign policymakers "encountered and conceptualized" (p. ix) the USSR during World War II.

The methodology required to pursue an analysis that targets opinion is formidable. Folly's route is to unearth the assumptions made in Whitehall about the

USSR, the evidence on which this was based, and the real makers of policy. What is then explored are the institutional avenues of influence: the formal bureaucracy, such as the Foreign Office, Military Intelligence, the Moscow embassy, and the informal network of unofficial advisors, cabinet ministers, and expert hangers-on of one kind or another. The impact of public opinion is excluded, for reasons that are debatable but understandable, given the fact that this has already been examined. Finally, Folly posits what might be the most controversial but helpful part of his analysis. He argues in favor of returning the person to policy; that is, he takes it for granted that the structures and environment within which international affairs evolve affect the decision-making process. However, policy and strategy are made by actors who are in a dynamic relationship with their environment.

Folly then embarks on his analysis of Anglo-Soviet relations within a thematic and chronological framework. From 1940 to 1941, the operative Whitehall phrase was "Let us expect nothing good from the Soviet" (p. 13), but it was not without dissenters who argued that the USSR would be needed to defeat Germany. The emergence of the thesis of a cooperative Soviet Union, according to Folly, is rooted in his argument that Britain knew far more about internal developments in Russia during 1941 to 1944 than has been previously assumed by historians such as Martin Kitchen and Victor Rothwell. Many of these internal liberalizing developments, such as attitudes toward religion and the dissolution of the Comintern, pointed toward the Soviet need for economic assistance, and hence the prolongation of wartime cooperation after the end of hostilities. In a similar manner and in the same period, British perceptions of Soviet external behavior tended to fluctuate between hostile, isolationist, or self-interested interpretations. By ignoring the usual search for Cold War origins and the complexities of narrow bilateral relations, Folly argues that a "qualified optimism" (p. 76) genuinely prevailed among British policy makers by war's end.

By 1945, the scenario of cooperation with the USSR and expectations that this would extend into the postwar period reached their fullest development. It was, however, acknowledged in Whitehall that there emanated precious little information on this score from Soviet decision-makers, and so the optimism was tempered with some uncertainty. It is Folly's very well-argued and thoroughly documented argument that history without the benefit of hindsight inevitably produces his "thesis of cooperation with the USSR." Equally to be welcomed is the fact that he is among a growing number of historians of international affairs who regard the actor in history as being as important as the stage.

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ANGELA BOURKE. *The Burning of Bridget Cleary: A True Story*. New York: Viking. 2000. Pp. xv, 279.



JOAN HOFF and MARIAN YEATES. *The Cooper's Wife is Missing: The Trials of Bridget Cleary*. New York: Basic Books. 2000. Pp. 458. \$26.00.

Here are two books recounting a strange event that occurred in County Tipperary, Ireland, in 1895. A young woman was burned to death by her husband, father, and a number of other relatives in her own kitchen. In the subsequent trial, these people claimed that they were under the conviction that she was no longer Bridget Cleary. Instead, they asserted, she was a changeling. Changelings were not unknown in Irish rural culture and there are many documented instances where others, also, claimed they were convinced that their loved ones had either been taken by, or had voluntarily left with, the fairies. Remaining was the body everyone knew, but it was occupied by a fairy spirit. When such a plight befell one's relatives or friends, certain "unorthodox" solutions were resorted to, especially when the orthodox practices of the priest and the medical doctor proved powerless. Fairy cures advised or administered by individuals known as "fairy" or "herb" doctors involved rituals, herbs, and some distasteful practices. In extreme situations, attempts were made to frighten fairy spirits away with fire. The fire, in the Cleary case, proved fatal.

The fate of Bridget Cleary has always been fairly well known in the environs where it happened. The story has survived in local folklore and has been distorted and embellished as it has been passed down from generation to generation. Some of its essence has been preserved in the children's jingle "Are you a witch? Are you a fairy? Are you the wife of Michael Cleary?" In the two books under review, what happened to Bridget Cleary is examined in great detail—perhaps, some would argue, more detail than it deserves. *The Burning of Bridget Cleary* is compellingly told by Irish linguist and folklorist Angela Bourke. *The Cooper's Wife is Missing* is authored by American historians Joan Hoff and Marian Yeates. It could be argued that it is unfair to compare these works; however, it is almost impossible not to do so. The books were published within a year of each other; they tell almost exactly the same story; they are set against the same political, cultural and colonial backdrop; and, apart from a few previous articles and paper presentations (mostly authored by Bourke), there are no previous monographs on the subject. While the three authors have a fascinating subject to relate, Bourke's rendition is the superior one.

Bourke is trained in, and has considerable experience of, the Irish language and Irish folklore, and this is very evident in her interpretation of events. Though not a historian, she is clearly familiar with the historical method. She is meticulous, she documents throughout, and her footnotes are both precise and detailed. Bourke's book is a sound piece of scholarship, not a quaint narrative on the Irish. Her cultural background is informed by an instinctive knowledge for the Irish language sources. She is not just familiar

with the native language and sources in that medium; she also tenaciously traces the evolution of words and phrases and makes suggestions of how certain meanings came about. Thus, aspects of the language and culture, which may be missed by the untrained or outsiders, are focused on by Bourke and are elaborated upon clearly and deftly.

Bourke's book is reminiscent of Natalie Zemon Davis's *The Return of Martin Guerre* (1983) and is microhistory at its best. It takes a particular event at one point in time and places it against the social, cultural, political, and economic backdrop. That backdrop includes the fight for Home Rule and the British imperial context. How Cleary's murder was interpreted and portrayed by Irish, English, Protestant, Catholic, Unionist, and Nationalist observers is woven into the story very smoothly. The description of the Oscar Wilde trial, which was occurring in London at the same time as events in County Tipperary and equally dominated newspaper space, further familiarizes the reader with the *mentalité* of the period. Where Bourke can be criticized is that she documents the movements of Cleary and her family minute by minute in the days before her death. This can, at times, be tedious, but it is no doubt a result of her thoroughness and attention to detail.

It is unfortunate that Hoff and Yeates's book suffers by comparison. One gets the impression that the authors believed they were on to a good story and are telling it because of its sensational nature, not because this is a subject they have come across in their specialized research. Hoff and Yeates attempt to write a microhistory also, but their efforts seem contrived. The particular does not flow as naturally into the general as it does in Bourke's book. For example, they attempt on several occasions to provide large surveys of Irish history, going on for several pages, in the middle of trying to narrate the story. Too often they leave their story to give a history of the land system before the Famine, agrarian revolts between 1750 and 1840, St. Patrick's Day in Boston in 1895, a history of the "Peelers" (the Royal Irish Constabulary), and countless other vignettes. Many of these topics would have been more appropriately dealt with in footnotes. It appears that the authors are attempting to prove themselves, as if they are not secure in their knowledge of Irish history. So, they provide reams of it. Additionally, being unfamiliar with the Irish language and the fine nuances of the culture, they are at a distinct disadvantage when compared to Bourke.

These works may well have had different readers in mind. Bourke's book was first published in Britain (and Ireland in 1999) by Pimlico and assumes its audience is well informed and familiar with the events and personalities of late nineteenth-century Britain and Ireland. Its U.S. edition was published by Viking but has not changed its format. It seems relatively safe to assume that Bourke was writing for a specialized audience (folklore, Irish language, Irish history, and women's history). This does not seem to be the case

with *The Cooper's Wife is Missing*. The fact that the authors insert great chunks of Irish history suggests that they assumed some of their readers would be unfamiliar with the field. Such an assumption is not a crime, but perhaps they should have stuck more narrowly to telling their story. The unwieldy nature of their book is reflected in their footnotes. While the authors certainly provide ample documentation, they do so in a confusing way. At times, one is left wondering which footnote applies to which statement.

Certainly, with both books, readers must be prepared to hear much more than the story of Bridget Cleary. The history of nineteenth-century Ireland and aspects of British imperial history are there for the taking. Either book (but especially Bourke's) would be of value in an undergraduate Irish history class, introducing the students to the wider context through a particular story. Readers expecting the authors of either of these books just to stick to the story of Bridget Cleary will be disappointed. Those hoping to learn more about the complexities of nineteenth-century colonial Ireland, and about fairy folklore, will be rewarded.

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PATRICE GUENIFFEY. *La politique de la Terreur: Essai sur la violence révolutionnaire 1789–1794*. Paris: Fayard. 2000. Pp. 376. 165fr.

One of the great assets of the discussion of the significance of the French Revolution over the last decade has been the desire to return to first principles. Patrice Gueniffey is one of those in the forefront of this endeavor. His new book aims to resolve one of the most important dilemmas about the revolution: whether its radicalization was caused by a pre-existing ideology or by circumstances. Every specialist in the field knows that the commanding narrative depends upon the notions that the revolutionaries improvised their reaction to events and that ideology counted for very little. Gueniffey wants to challenge this master plot.

He does so as an intellectual historian, a scholar adept at analyzing casts of mind, finding intellectual forebearers, and taking ideas seriously for their own sake rather than as strategies in the management of power. One of the best essays in this volume is on Maximilien Robespierre and the law of 22 Prairial Year II (June 10, 1794), because it takes Robespierre's ideas seriously and at the same time makes the entirely convincing point that Robespierre's increasingly strident assertions of virtue and vice were tools to marginalize his enemies and to prolong the bloodletting. Moreover, Gueniffey is entirely persuasive in saying that this infamous law was not a product of immediate circumstances, as Georges Lefebvre argued, but that it was part of a wider project to introduce an administrative system of punishments and to subvert the

independence of the judiciary. This was a process that was certainly underway by the time of the passage of the *ventôse* laws of February, which obliterated the line between preventive arrest and arrest for actual counterrevolutionary activity.

Gueniffey does not have much patience with the "thesis of circumstances," that is the argument that the revolutionaries themselves used to justify the Terror: a drastic response to a national emergency. Gueniffey's associate, the late François Furet, insisted that the Terror was implicit in the principles of 1789, and while Gueniffey knows this is debatable, he tends to agree with it. The period 1789–1794 is a unity, he says, dominated by a utopian project with its implicit savagery, that ended with the death of Robespierre. Indeed, by July 1794, the revolution was over and politics in a modern sense could begin.

This book certainly shows both the strengths and the limitations of a top-down intellectual history. Analyzing the debates in the various legislatures, and mapping the intellectual inspiration of many of the deputies makes a genuine contribution. But it does not make a lot of sense to claim, as Gueniffey does, that the Terror was a product of ever competing extremist discourses. To take just one example, it is impossible to attach Jean-Paul Marat to any of the major pieces of terrorist legislation, and, indeed, he called for moderation in the application of the law that subjected rebels to military tribunals. Like Furet, Gueniffey minimizes the seriousness and the scale of opposition to the revolution. Although one would never know it from this book, the Vendéans were traitors by the revolutionaries' standards since they sought out English aid—which was the purpose, of course, of the march to Granville in Normandy in October 1793—and their leaders were out and out counterrevolutionaries. Moreover, to claim that the march of General Turreau's "infernal columns" had no strategic purpose is simply false. No less a "moderate" than Lazare Carnot, the leading military strategist on the Committee of Public Safety, endorsed a massive repression of the Vendée because he reckoned France could not endure much more warfare both at home or abroad. Violence of the most brutal sort, therefore, was not a product of discourse but of circumstances.

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GLENN J. LAMAR. *Jérôme Bonaparte: The War Years, 1800–1815*. (Contributions in Military Studies, number 189.) Westport, Conn.: Greenwood. 2000. Pp. xii, 136. \$55.00.

Glenn J. Lamar has given us an excellent account of the military life of Jérôme Bonaparte, Napoleon's youngest brother and sometime king of Westphalia. (Incidentally, he is the ancestor of the present, not-serious Bonaparte pretender to the French throne.) Jérôme began his military service in Napoleon's navy, from which, early on, he took "French leave" in the

United States and married Elizabeth Patterson, the "Belle of Baltimore." Napoleon forced him to renounce her and their son, Jérôme Napoléon, later *pater familias* of the prominent American Bonapartes.

In 1806, preparing Jérôme to become a king, Napoleon gave him command of Bavarian and Württemberg troops in the campaign against Prussia and Russia. Although most of his assignments took place on the periphery of the battle zone (e.g. conducting sieges), he performed well. Nevertheless, Napoleon assailed him with a litany of adverse criticism; this was his normal approach to disciplining his officers—with later praise and wealth for the better ones. But in Jérôme's case, his brother's cutting remarks were the foundation of a lifelong poor military reputation.

In 1807, Jérôme was married to Catherine of Württemberg and made king of Westphalia, a state created by Napoleon from territories taken from Prussia and its allies, for example, Brunswick (Braunschweig).

Jérôme showed his mettle in 1809, during Napoleon's campaign against Austria. Threatened with a revolt by his German officers, he boldly assembled them and demanded that they swear loyalty or depart. They took the oath, and the opposition collapsed. He subsequently repulsed invasions of Westphalia by the Prussian patriot, Major Ferdinand von Schill, and then by the young duke of Brunswick. Again, Napoleon expressed displeasure.

During 1810–1811, Westphalia suffered from levies to support French troops and was deprived of Hanoverian territory to tighten the Continental System. The kingdom seemed doomed, but Russia challenged, and in 1812, Napoleon appointed Jérôme commander of the right wing of the *grande armée*, operating from Poland.

Piotr Bagration (facing Jérôme) put his army in retreat toward Mikhail Barclay de Tolly's, facing Napoleon. The emperor ordered Jérôme to pursue and prevent a juncture of the Russian armies, and he complied, with reasonable success. But Napoleon thought he moved too slowly and sent Marshal Nicolas Davout to take over; Jérôme, affronted, departed for Westphalia. Napoleon let him go and blamed him for Bagration's "escape."

Lamar divides the blame between Davout and Jérôme—but places ultimate responsibility on Napoleon. I fully agree. The emperor was not kept informed by Davout, but that is no excuse. Jérôme's reputation as a soldier again suffered.

In 1813, Westphalia was swept away, along with Napoleon's other German creations. Jérôme had no part in the campaign of 1814, which ended in Napoleon's abdication. In 1815, however, on Napoleon's return from Elba, Jérôme asked to serve him and was given a division in General Honoré Reille's corps. He fought at Quatre Bras, and at Waterloo his division assailed the Château of Hougomont all day. At the end, Jérôme found himself in the same square of Imperial Guards as Napoleon, who left for Paris. Jerome had wanted him to die fighting. "Never will he

find more glorious grave" (p. 132). Lamar thinks that Jérôme's performance proved he was qualified for no more than a division command. One could argue that he showed the capacity for higher command—or surely that he was a born warrior.

Lamar's book is grounded in materials in the archives of Paris and Vincennes (Archives Nationales, de La Guerre, etc.) and Germany (the Staatsarchiv Kassel) and printed in primary sources, starting with the *Correspondance de Napoléon Ier* and Jérôme's *Mémoires et Correspondance*. Curiously, I find it flawed by minor mistakes, which can be cured by wider reading (the first on Napoleon's siblings in 1815, p. xi). And the author has "military history tunnel vision," which demands military reasons for all military decisions. The best example is his rationale for Napoleon's sending Jérôme to Poland. Lamar speculates that because of Jérôme's poor military reputation, Napoleon expected the Russians to attack his flank. If they did, Napoleon would envelop them from the north with the main force (wheeling 100 miles south with 250,000 men). It is more likely that Jérôme's role was political. As the emperor's brother, his presence did honor to the Poles; to them, he was also a candidate for the throne of Poland.

Nonetheless, Lamar has written a fine military biography without becoming identified with his subject—a rare feat. His book is a worthy contribution to our knowledge of Jérôme and Napoleonic warfare.

OWEN CONNELLY

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LAWRENCE C. JENNINGS. *French Anti-Slavery: The Movement for the Abolition of Slavery in France, 1802–1848*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2000. Pp. x, 320. \$54.95.

France had the distinction of abolishing its transatlantic colonial slave system twice. The first emancipation of 1794, a byproduct of history's greatest and most successful slave revolution, has been the subject of an abundant historiography. Lawrence C. Jennings has the distinction of having produced the first fully researched study of France's "second slave emancipation." This monograph is the culmination of a stream of his publications on the subject extending over three decades. Based on an exhaustive reading of archival sources, newspapers, and printed works, the book details the intricate twists and turns of French abolitionism and its opponents between the Napoleonic restoration of slavery in 1802 and 1848.

The major outlines of Jennings's interpretation are not unfamiliar to students of the subject. French antislavery sentiment was confined to a very small elite. They were socially and ideologically embedded in a political system favoring a narrow circle of men of property. The association of the first emancipation with bloody violence in France and the colonies made both the state and elite abolitionists wary of all forms of popular mobilization. Slave unrest played almost no

role in the second emancipation process, although the French working class opened a small popular breach in 1844 by launching the first large-scale French antislavery petition.

Jennings is at his best in detailing the ebb and flow of the long process. A large state-funded indemnity was consensually assumed to be prerequisite to emancipation. The abolitionists were always divided by their own inhibitions about property rights and labor continuity. The planters were united in their resistance to any diminution of their capital. Governments uniformly resisted any expenditure of scarce public funds otherwise intended for the fortification of Paris against dangerous workers, or securing the conquest of Algeria against rebellious natives.

Given its limited appeal within France, steps toward emancipation usually came in the wake of external events. Jennings contextualizes the narrative as an Anglo-French process. British abolitionists, with their more popular and powerful movement, stimulated, subsidized and scolded their cross-channel counterparts with ideas, money, emissaries, and advice. British events dominated the French process during the entire generation after Waterloo. The high tide of elite-led antislavery activism came in the wake of final British slave emancipation in 1838. The regression of the early 1840s was likewise triggered by an Anglo-French war scare and the "Right of Search" controversy. The economic crises in the British sugar colonies further stiffened colonial and governmental resistance.

Jennings finally describes the beginnings of a popular and more radical and British-style abolitionism toward the end of the July Monarchy. His account gives due acknowledgment to Cyrille Bissette, one of the few black abolitionists in France and a key figure in the radicalization and popularization of French abolitionism. Jennings remains dubious, however, as to whether the belatedly expanded movement could have made much headway against planter resistance and the dogged inertia of the monarchy. Only the February Revolution of 1848, and the unanticipated accession of Victor Schoelcher to the government, determined the choice for immediate emancipation. So uncertain was Schoelcher about his nation's continued willingness to enact liberation without prior indemnification that the emancipation decree was published before the convening of the National Constituent Assembly of 1848. Abolition was again the work of a small—this time a revolutionary—elite.

The great lacuna in Jennings's story is its abrupt termination with the action of the Second Republic. Having displayed abolitionism's excruciating difficulty in reforming French colonial policy during the first half of the nineteenth century, we are left to wonder whether and how antislavery fared in shaping French imperial policy during the more expansive second half of the century. Perhaps the author will pick up the challenge implicit in his own narrative.

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MARIE-CLAUDE BLANC-CHALÉARD. *Les italiens dans l'est parisien: Une histoire d'intégration (1880–1960)*. (Collection de l'École française de Rome, number 264.) Rome: École française de Rome. 2000. Pp. xv, 803.

This study of Italians in Paris responds to the elementary need for a history of Italians in France—this most numerous group of foreigners, whose longstanding historical importance assigns them a key role in today's contested understanding of immigration. The historian's response to the xenophobic politics of contemporary Europe must be studies of past migrations and immigrations, particularly of those groups that were labeled over-numerous or unassimilable, as were the Italians in France (and as are many of today's foreigners in Europe, such as Turks and African Muslims). Marie-Claude Blanc-Chaléard's book rests on detailed and painstaking research. She takes on eastern Paris—specifically, its most Italian neighborhoods: the *quartiers* of Sainte-Marguerite (XI<sup>e</sup> arrondissement) and Charonne (XX<sup>e</sup> arrondissement) and the near-suburbs of Nogent-sur-Marge and Montreuil—on an axis east from the Gare de Lyon, where Italians disembarked upon arrival in the capital. Blanc-Chaléard studies the Italian milieu in eastern Paris, the areas from which these Italians came, and eastern Paris as a site of welcome. The documentation is massive, including nominal census lists for Paris and the suburb of Nogent, marriage records, other minor sources such as a primary school registers, naturalization documents, Italian police immigration documents, and French police blotters, plus a reading of minor local studies and theses and forty extensive interviews with Italians and migrants' children. The entire study is seated in the sociology and history of immigration, identity, and assimilation in France.

A careful and nuanced history emerges of eighty years in the society, politics, and culture of the east side of Paris. It is a story told with a steady eye on the concepts of integration and assimilation and illustrated with appropriate tables, charts, maps, and thirty-six photos. Part one (1880s to World War I) focuses on the first very poor immigrants, their lodgings, and the chain migration that created an Italian-Parisian space. Part two traces the time of the great influx (the interwar period, when the number of Italians in greater Paris peaked at about 100,000), accounting for both the official welcome and the less-warm workers' responses, the workings of migration, and the politics of the immigrant milieu as Italy became increasingly fascist. The integration that followed this great influx, the turbulent politics of the left and the right as absorbed by the Italians, and the problematic choices of wartime make up part three. Finally, the postwar territory of "francitalians" is the subject of part four that analyzes the Italians as part of the movement north within what would eventually become the European Union, the second generation of Parisian Italians, and the "end of Italians" with a distinct commu-



nal and working life. In 1970, over 65,000 Italians lived in greater Paris.

Blanc-Chaléard's sources permit her to create a extraordinarily refined view of the varieties of immigrant experience. This is particularly apparent in her treatment of the 1930s, when the number of immigrants reached its peak, the French economy faltered, xenophobia blossomed, Benito Mussolini called emigrants home, an increasingly united left in France attracted Italians, and, in the end, both France and Italy identified Italians in Paris as the enemy. We read testimonies of some Italians naturalizing and others leaving France in the 1930s; then some joining communist organizations and others joining fascist leagues; finally, some returning to Italy for the duration of the war, others joining the French army, and still others living in German-occupied Paris from 1940 to 1945. A complex and arresting portrait emerges of immigrants struggling with the extremes of twentieth-century politics.

Using space as a mirror of integration, Blanc-Chaléard traces a long history of migration that was most visible in wandering musicians during the July Monarchy and that early on took root in Paris. It was neither massive nor exclusively in one area (with the exception of Nogent). Noting the resemblance between the processes of migration and integration for Italians and French provincials like the Auvergnats, Blanc-Chaléard enumerates the many ways that Italians inserted themselves into Parisian society, first by specializing in a number of *metiers* at the turn of the century (as cabinetmakers, stone workers, construction entrepreneurs, shopkeepers, and accordion players). Between the wars, less urbanized immigrants arrived who took to the suburbs, lived in groups of two or three families, and, in many cases, turned their backs on Italy as fascism took hold. The postwar period saw a new, and larger, wave of immigrants who were more than ever part of the construction industries. The author's use of space and a *longue durée* perspective enable her to see variations in the ways that immigrants gathered in the context of a larger space and to observe the emergence—and attenuation—of identifiable immigrant neighborhoods. Italians could move from traditional artisanal and service specialties to new lines of work in Paris, whose labor force offered employment to women as well as men and was able to support considerable social mobility, especially for French-born children. The diverse structure of work in Paris also meant that small artisanal and commercial enterprises survived into the 1960s, offering a secure base from which children could climb.

Always operating among a majority of native Parisians, the dominant model was that of becoming Parisian (as it was for provincials) even when hostility to Italians was at its peak in the mid 1930s. This is partly because collective traditions and solidarities were so important in Parisian life, Blanc-Chaléard argues; neighborhood life was like village life, functioning around courtyards and cafes, on the streets,

and along the lines of work and family life. Thanks to the neglect of housing into the 1950s, newcomers could find a place to settle, albeit to the detriment of quality and comfort. Moreover, Italian sociability was not of a very different kind than Parisian, so lay and religious organizations, vacation camps, sports teams, and communist sociability were all keys to Italian integration, to say nothing of the role of cafes and grocery stores.

Three traits were especially useful to Italians: their tradition of migration, flexibility in life ways, and capacity to perceive France as their adopted country. Their tradition of independent and clandestine migration meant that Italians built vital networks. This served them in times of easy adaption (1910–1914, 1920–1927, 1955–1960) and in more difficult times as well. Of particular import for Italians in Paris (as opposed to elsewhere) was the fact that Italian women were a key part of this migration and were quick to adapt to the Parisian labor force and life ways. Indeed the most efficacious source of solidarity was the family: siblings, cousins, offspring. Thus family migration and solidarities cushioned the Italian culture of mobility. Sharing eastern Paris with the distinct and successful Auvergnats from central France, and much like Auvergnats in their occupational history, Italians had a distinct role to play in Parisian worker culture early on; they were street accordionists, essential to proletarian leisure. Finally, their involvement in the great political movements of the century served to integrate them into Parisian life. This was a hard-won integration, however, because Italians suffered acutely the effects of crises (fascism in Italy, the Great Depression, the deterioration of Franco-Italian relations, World War II) just as the greatest numbers of them were in France; “the territory of integration is often that of conflict,” observes the author (p. 751). The successful integration of Italians originates in two historical phenomena, concludes Blanc-Chaléard: the relatively slow and positive evolution of sociological factors that facilitated integration and the rapid opening of French society to foreign labor in the 1960s, at a time when Italians could easily come to France, building on the decisive interwar years that had speeded integration.

Blanc-Chaléard has written an extraordinary contribution to the history of migration that attends not only to the economic and social workings of several immigrant communities but also to the impact of the great political crises of the twentieth century. This study would be of use to a wide range of scholars who do not read French and thus should be translated into English: if not every one of the 752 pages of text, then at least the primary materials and arguments.

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PIERRE BIRNBAUM. *Jewish Destinies: Citizenship, State, and Community in Modern France*. Translated by ARTHUR GOLDHAMMER. New York: Hill and Wang. 2000. Pp. xi, 324. \$35.00.

A collection of previously published and original essays, Pierre Birnbaum's most recent book analyzes the complicated relationship between French Jewry and the French state since 1789. The work is divided into three parts. The first section examines the heritage of emancipation through the eyes of its supporters and opponents in the French Revolution and discusses the impact of the granting of citizenship upon its beneficiaries within the Jewish community in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Of special note were the "fanatics of the state," i.e. individual Jews who rose to positions of significance in the state apparatus after 1870 and who played a crucial role in the dissemination of republican ideals, whom Birnbaum heralded in a previous study. The second section deals with opponents of Jewish emancipation and includes chapters on the thought of Edouard Drumont, the foundation of anti-Semitic leagues, and the attitudes of military officials toward Jewish soldiers during the Dreyfus Affair. The final section, which examines the phenomenon of what Birnbaum (or, more exactly, his translator) awkwardly calls the "communitarization" of French Jewry, contains the most interesting and provocative material in the book.

These essays are primarily addressed to an American audience and emphasize what Birnbaum believes are significant differences between American and French Jewish historical development. Whereas, in the United States and Britain, Jewish emancipation did not necessitate renunciation of communal identity and the state played a less pervasive role, in France, the granting of civil rights to Jews required total assimilation and the abolition of mediating structures between the state and its citizens. Birnbaum also notes that, in France, emancipation must be seen against the background of the struggle between church and state. With the separation of the two institutions in 1905, the French Republic insisted on a fundamental secularism that rejected any role for organized religion in either government or the public schools. Borrowing from the theories of Hannah Arendt, Birnbaum argues that France's distinctive notion of citizenship has been a mixed blessing for Jews. Because of its insistence on the absolute equality of all citizens, the French state created opportunities for individual Jews to rise to positions of prestige and prominence. Yet the growing visibility of Jews and their association with the modern state led to the rise of some of the most virulent forms of anti-Semitism, which continue to manifest themselves today. The result, according to Birnbaum, is that "France was the country that achieved the most radical emancipation of the Jews and, in the late nineteenth century, the most vehement opposition to that emancipation" (p. viii).

The book is a clarion call against the "Americanization" of French Jewish life. The most important manifestation of this development is the growing emphasis of French Jewry upon community. As Birnbaum describes it, like "disappointed lovers," French Jews after the betrayal of Vichy "abandoned the state they had

once adored" and chose instead to create self-defense and philanthropic organizations modeled after those created in the United States (p. 217). With the arrival of North African Jews in the 1950s and 1960s, the idea of French Jewry as a distinctive ethnic entity began to take shape. Birnbaum is quick to add that Jews were not the only minority group in France that sought to redefine its relationship to the state. He also notes that the movement toward multiculturalism in France took place at the very moment that the French state was retreating from a universalist conception of citizenship rooted in the public sphere. Nevertheless, it is clear that for the author the transformation of French Jewry from an "imaginary" community to a "real" one is fundamentally at odds with both its own history and the history of the French Republic.

Although Birnbaum's argument will strike many English-speaking readers as despairing in tone and somewhat hyperbolic, it deserves to be taken seriously. As the author himself points out, the issue of the boundaries of French national identity has been at the core of recent debates over the role of religion in public schools. It also emerged in the torrent of controversy within and outside the French Jewish community after the desecration of the Carpentras cemetery in May 1990. In the end, Birnbaum's thesis may have limited relevance as a guide to shaping French Jewish life in the twenty-first century. Nevertheless, in its juxtaposition of assimilation and "particularism" as strategies of Jewish political behavior in the post-emancipation era, it illuminates the complex history of the relationship between the French state and its Jewish citizens.

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CAROLYN J. DEAN. *The Frail Social Body: Pornography, Homosexuality, and Other Fantasies in Interwar France*. (Studies on the History of Society and Culture, number 36.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2000. Pp. xii, 263.

In this sophisticated, if occasionally bizarre work, Carolyn J. Dean explores the varying perceptions, explanations, and definitions of pornography and homosexuality in France from the late nineteenth century through the interwar years. If, as she reminds us, bodily integrity or the inviolable body is a foundation of human rights thinking since the Enlightenment, then constructions, or what she labels fantasies, of body defilement have equally rendered the body a site of distinction in determining citizenship rights. She argues in particular that shifting identifications of pornography and homosexuality emerged from interwar desires to restore physical and metaphorical integrity to the violated French body. Recasting the destructiveness of war as sexual fantasy, critical observers of pornography and homosexuality effected their own triage of saved and damned.

Dean is very good at historicizing ways of writing

about her two subjects. Pornography both expanded and contracted in meanings after the war. It was conflated with the perception of the war as obscenity, yet it was also reduced to targeted cases of perversity and non-normative sexuality. Critics could deploy the language of pornography to demonstrate distinctions between transcendence and baseness. They also argued for an end to the repression of pornography in order to liberate virile impulses conveniently redefined as non-obscene. Fantasies of homosexuality also assumed new shapes in the interwar years. Critics identified homosexuality with the perversity of violence wrought by the war. They presumed it to be more protean than in the past, omnipresent yet nearly impossible to detect because doctors no longer agreed that feminine appearance gave homosexuality away. Anyone might be homosexual, a danger indicative of how speculations on national virility and decline translated into fantasies of deviance.

Dean succeeds no less in linking these developments by pointing to a persistent reconfiguration of social menace in gendered terms with femininity as the marker in all perverse cases. True pornography was redefined by its feminine sensuality in contrast to the newly discovered moral power of tumescent masculinity. The sadomasochism of war was seen as the work of feminine impulses. If no longer necessarily effeminate in appearance, proliferating homosexuals constituted the effeminacy of French postwar culture. Particularly noteworthy throughout this account is Dean's acute disentangling of the contradictions packed into nearly all of these fantasies.

Dean is less successful, however, when she seeks to inform us of interwar history. This is a strange history of the 1920s and 1930s. The index carries no reference to Versailles, the Popular Front, the Spanish Civil War, or any major political figure (save perhaps Georges Valois), although Jesse Helms does earn an entry. Dean's discussion of pornography is especially questionable. The historicization works nicely, but we arrive at the destination of greater mutability and pervasiveness as if we were beamed there oblivious to the distance we have travelled and the markers along the way. Dean has examined the critical literature but seems unaware of the vast quasi-pornography of pulp fiction or the mass press in these years. The extent to which titillation, exploitation of sensational sexuality, and the commercial and political purposes attached to either fit with her narrative is left to the knowledgeable reader. Rather than citing Maurice Dekobra as a critic of commercial pornography, she would have done well to have read some of his novels. To account for the changes she has described, Dean resorts to gender coding and sexual displacement of violence. Yet certainly far more complex developments than the writings of cultural critics would explain the range of sexualized literature or the reconsideration of obscenity that she has observed. How immigration and responses to it in the 1930s affected discussions of

pornography or bodily contamination are surprisingly absent from her presentation.

The principal problem appears to be one of methodology. Dean acknowledges several times the tenuousness of her approach. She "speculates," or insists that rhetorical constructions shaped legal and political history, a proposition that can be sustained, but only if she shows how. She writes of pervasiveness, yet her examples repeatedly reduce to the same warhorses throughout her chapters. The representativeness of her limited number of critics is questionable. Men who select to write on pornography, homosexuality, and lesbianism will, not surprisingly, discover cultural contamination. But that is to say that reading the literature of the Christian Right today represents the prevailing mentality of all America. If Dean had read widely in many varieties of interwar literature and then identified how sexuality, virility, pornography, and homosexuality were *consistently* rhetorically constructed in texts that had not set out to make statements about these, her findings would be more persuasive and more revealing of interwar culture. Despite the valuable and frequently insightful conclusions she draws here, that other book remains to be written.

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SARAH FISHMAN *et al.*, editors. *France at War: Vichy and the Historians*. Translated by DAVID LAKE. New York: Berg. 2000. Pp. ix, 336. \$65.00.

This is a collection of papers presented at a symposium held at Columbia in 1997 to mark the twenty-fifth anniversary of the appearance of Robert O. Paxton's major work, *Vichy France: Old Guard, New Order, 1940-1944* (1972), and the occasion of the author's retirement. The event was certainly worth commemorating. Paxton's work, which acted as a real ice-breaker, completely changed the accepted view of those four dark years that French historiography had tried to treat as a mere parenthesis. It was more than a quarter of a century after World War II before the idea, universally accepted by the French academic establishment, that the collaboration had been imposed and prescribed by the Germans could be eradicated. Paxton demonstrated not only that the collaboration had been desired by the French but that the Vichy regime constantly attempted to go further than the Germans wanted. In this respect, it is right to speak, like the coauthors of the book of a "Paxtonian revolution."

However, if *Vichy France* was undoubtedly an event, the same cannot be said about this volume. Not only does it suffer from all the faults of its kind—the endless superlatives, adorned with every conceivable embellishment, give the reader a feeling of uneasiness—but it would seem that the authors have lost their critical sense together with their sense of proportion.



One can say that if symposiums are to be anything more than commemorations or friendly encounters, the participants must go beyond what is already known, sometimes owing to their own previous research. They have to deal with questions that have remained open to debate. Thus, one could ask about the place of the National Revolution in twentieth-century French history. Two major questions arise here. The first is, *why* did the Vichy regime come into being? Obviously, as everyone knows, it was due to the military disaster that the National Revolution was able to appear, but one readily forgets that the defeat did not in itself make it necessary to set up a dictatorship often harsher than Benito Mussolini's. If the Germans had no hand in it, one has to ask why the French political elite decided to take this path.

The second question concerns the nature of the new regime. The dominant idea in the volume as a whole is "Vichy, a pluralistic dictatorship." But, if the regime set up in Italy between 1922 and 1929 was fascist, it is hard to see how the Vichy regime was more open and less totalitarian than the Italian one. It was not the monopolistic status of the Italian Fascist Party that gave the regime its dictatorial character but the suppression in the name of the state and the fatherland of all public liberties, and the desire to create a "new man" and a society from which the germs of destruction—individualism, humanism, universalism, materialism—would be banished. Fascism means placing all the authority, all the power of the state, concentrated in the hands of the leader, at the service of new values. Fascism is a revolt against the principles of the Enlightenment or, more specifically, against democracy and liberalism. Vichy was nothing else than this. If Henri Philippe Pétain did not have a single party, it is because he did not need one. Mussolini needed the National Fascist Party in order to gain power, but not in order to govern. Once in power, he did whatever he could to minimize the role of the party, which was a constant source of anxiety and even political danger to him. Mussolini, like Pétain, did not rely on the party cadres in order to govern but on the already existing elites, the administration, the legal system, the police, and the army. Moreover, in its system of concentration camps, its racial policies, and its barbaric round-ups of Jews, the Vichy regime was harsher than the Italian and closer to the Nazi model. Needless to say, Francisco Franco and Antonio Salazar never went as far.

It should also be said that the Pétain regime was not an expedient, it was not the result of mere opportunism, and it did not emerge from an ideological vacuum. The National Revolution was the culmination of a long evolution, for France not only produced a rationalist, universalist, and humanist political tradition but also its antithesis. In fact, the intellectual history of France since 1789 could easily be presented as a continual confrontation of these two conceptions of the political ideal, these two philosophies of history. The National Revolution of 1940 was the moment when, thanks to the defeat, the organicistic and particularistic tradition

gained the upper hand. This is an essential part of the answer, although not the whole answer, to the question of why the new regime was able to establish itself so easily and naturally, why it was able to sweep away a century and a half of national history in six months, and why, for the first two years of its existence at least, it enjoyed the support of almost all the elites and the favor of most of the population.

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LYNNE TAYLOR. *Between Resistance and Collaboration: Popular Protest in Northern France, 1940–45*. (Studies in Modern History.) New York: St. Martin's. 2000. Pp. v, 195. \$65.00.

Lynne Taylor's book focuses on popular action against the harsh conditions in the French departments of Nord and Pas-de-Calais, occupied by the German army during World War II. Unlike most of the remainder of occupied France, these two departments, the so-called "forbidden zone," were attached to the German command in Brussels rather than Paris. Researching local archives, Taylor amasses convincing evidence to show the "startling amount of room" (p. 1) available to the local people to agitate for amelioration of their rations and/or wages, whether through strikes, food riots, pillaging, or the black market.

Wartime scarcity, compounded by German plunder, created inflationary pressures that exacerbated life for many and that German and French authorities attempted to manage through a highly controlled economy. By the end of the occupation, according to Taylor, two-thirds of the local population could no longer afford to purchase basic rations. Charged with collecting ration stamps and turning them over to local authorities, merchants became part of the administrative system but in the process gained opportunities for independent and illegal action. Because the Germans wished to exploit the local economy for their continuing war effort, miners, for example, gained effective bargaining power with them and the French administrators who sometimes acted as their surrogates.

Taylor's book follows Jean-Pierre Azéma's and François Bédarida's call for historians to turn away from resistance/collaboration dualisms and focus more on the life of the French "under" Vichy. She differentiates between modes of popular protest, such as the October 1943 miners' strike and food riots, the latter invariably led by women, which were directed "against the occupation regime and its inability or unwillingness to meet the needs of the local population," and overt political resistance, "intended to force the Germans out" (pp. 62, 143–44). Many of Taylor's examples of popular protest did, however, impede the German war effort and need eventually to be examined in a morphology of the range of behaviors extending from collaboration to resistance, bearing in mind that "collaboration" and "resistance" are both rhetorical terms whose usage changes over time.



Taylor's study leans heavily on models of earlier periods by Roger Price and Charles Tilly. She compares vertical relationships between rulers and the ruled and horizontal relationships among social strata of the population, following John Bohstedt's analysis of protocols of protest in the riots and community politics of late eighteenth and early nineteenth-century England and Wales. When the vertical chain of command was uncertain, as in the immediate aftermath of the German invasion before the role of the Wehrmacht authorities became clear, Taylor argues that the local people experimented with forms of protest until they learned which modes offered the greatest potential return with the least risk. Brief work stoppages proved less risky than prolonged strikes because they were as effective in highlighting German vulnerability but ended before large-scale intervention could occur. Horizontal networks were affected less by the occupation. Groups of striking workers or women protesting food scarcity tended to maintain their social cohesion from interwar days.

This book is a valuable addition to our knowledge of the ways in which many of the French tried to cope with the rigors of wartime life under German rule. It raises by implication the issue of wartime German decision making, in which the policy of attacking and then trying to control France may have been ill-conceived from the German perspective. Taylor shows repeated problems encountered by the Germans and the limits on their power even in northern France, geographically closer and easier to control than other French regions. She notes that the Germans themselves were unclear about what to do with the French immediately after the 1940 armistice.

According to Taylor, the Germans took only two percent of the regional consumption of wheat in the north (p. 49). One wonders what their plunder ratios were in coal, metallurgy, and other areas of higher priority to them. Despite the plunder of occupied France by the Germans, we still await an accounting of whether these gains outweighed their real costs in occupying France. A generous peace offered to the French by the victorious Germans in 1940 might have more effectively opened the economy of France and its entire empire to German interests and forced the British to rethink continuing the war in the West. Under such a scenario, the German war against the Soviet Union could have ended with very different results.

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GISÈLE SAPIRO. *La guerre des écrivains 1940-1953*. Paris: Fayard; in association with the Centre national du livre. 1999. Pp. 807. 220fr.

This is a rich, diverse, and voluminous study, 807 closely printed pages with a small type font (although the text is well edited and perfectly legible). It is based on Gisèle Sapiro's 1994 doctoral thesis, written under

the direction of Pierre Bourdieu. Sapiro acknowledges her debt to Bourdieu and draws extensively but not slavishly on his sociology. The work is superbly documented, and Sapiro has an extraordinary mastery of the vast literature on her subject. The problem for the reviewer is that linkages between the three principal topics are somewhat loose. It would have been possible, without significant modifications, to have published this work as separate monographs, using as titles the headings for the book's principal sections: "Logiques littéraires de l'engagement"; "Institutions littéraires et crise nationale"; and "La justice littéraire."

Even in a long review article, it would be difficult to do justice to Sapiro's often brilliant, always interesting, sometimes provocative treatment of these three topics. What I can do here is discuss a few key themes and encourage the Francophone reader, whether historian, sociologist, or critical literary theorist, to sample the riches of this monumental work of scholarship. I must counsel patience; Sapiro moves at a leisurely pace, going back often to the turn of the twentieth century, sometimes much earlier, in order to set the context for the thirteen-year period she is microscopically examining. Would even a literary specialist recall the former symbolist turned Maurrassian classicist Jean Carrère, who published *Les Mauvais maîtres* (1921), a bitter attack on his forbears, ranging from Jean-Jacques Rousseau to George Sand to Emile Zola, blaming them for the "condition of intellectual unease" (p. 123) felt by the rising literary generation? Sapiro is able to show that the behavior of a significant percentage of France's intellectual elite between 1940 and 1944 was not so surprising, not an anomaly, but had deep historical and sociological roots.

One of Sapiro's key thematic distinctions is between "autonomy" (basically intellectual and literary freedom), and "heteronomy" (growing state control of intellectuals and their production). By "state" she means both the Vichy regime and the German occupation authorities, and she makes good use of German-language sources. In what I would term her first "volume," Sapiro looks at a wide range of intellectuals, those who refused to collaborate and those who did. She draws upon a large sample of 185 writers, which she analyzes quantitatively. It is true that neither her field analysis nor her generational approach can ultimately explain why one intellectual chose fascist radicalism and another joined the Resistance, although she can show tendencies (more poets were in the Resistance, more novelists collaborated) and probabilities (those who had a scholarly failure in their past were more apt to collaborate).

As a historian, I find Sapiro's case studies, her elegant mini-biographies of Henri de Montherlant, for example, more interesting and useful than her graphs with their fifty-eight variables. She shows how Montherlant waffled on the issue of collaboration and his postwar efforts to cover his tracks. Another exam-

ple of Sapiro's moving from the group to the individual is her fascinating and detailed comparison between François Mauriac and Henry Bordeaux. They were both members of the Académie française, both devout Catholics, and came from similar social backgrounds. Bordeaux, who was a supporter of Marshal Pétain and hence the Vichy regime, is almost totally forgotten today, although his works outsold Mauriac's by ten to one. Mauriac, a writer of world stature who won the Nobel Prize in 1952, played an important role in the intellectual Resistance. Bordeaux's response to the historical trauma of his time was more to be expected; Mauriac's rupture with the establishment was "socially improbable" (p. 241); and for Sapiro it is Mauriac's desire for literary autonomy that explains his political choices.

Part two deals with four major intellectual institutions in a moment of national crisis. These were the French and Goncourt Academies, the famous literary magazine *NRF* (*Nouvelle Revue Française*), and the CNE (National Committee of Writers), created in 1942 as the principal organ of intellectual resistance to the Nazi occupation. Each of these organizations is examined in great detail and with much subtlety. During the occupation, responding to external pressures and an almost instinctual need for their institutional preservation, the two academies and the literary journal steadily lost autonomy. The resultant internal conflicts tended to expel certain refractory writers, who then moved to small dissident reviews or joined the CNE. Thus the debates within these formerly dominant institutions, struggling to continue their very existence in a moment of historical crisis, favored the splitting off of a rebellious group and its "engagement in the combat for the reconquest of autonomy" (p. 247).

The third section deals with the literary purges after the Liberation and the recomposition of the Parisian intellectual field beginning in the fall of 1944. Again Sapiro's analysis is enormously detailed and provocative. For a brief period after the war, the principal organization was the formerly clandestine CNE, closely linked to the journal *Les lettres françaises*. The euphoria of the Liberation and the resultant intellectual unity, the desire to purify France's intellectual life, imploded quickly because of ideological and generational struggles. The traditional academies survived and prospered by enlisting Resistance writers into their ranks. Sapiro is really describing a kind of Weberian routinization, although as a disciple of Bourdieu she does not refer to Weber. By 1953, all of France's traditional intellectual organizations were fully operational, and Gallimard, the leading publishing house, began to publish collaborationist writers. It is a dispiriting and melancholy story. Sapiro's explanation of why that story unfolded as it did is profoundly historical, deeply rooted in France's past. It is astute, imaginative, insightful, and sometimes disturbing, be-

cause of her resolute refusal to consider ideological or moral factors.

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ALICE KAPLAN. *The Collaborator: The Trial and Execution of Robert Brasillach*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2000. Pp. xvi, 308. \$25.00.

MEGAN KOREMAN. *The Expectation of Justice: France, 1944-1946*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 1999. Pp. xv, 340. Cloth \$54.95, paper \$18.95.

French joy at liberation from Nazi occupation in late 1944 was soon sobered by the harsh realities of an impoverished and bitterly divided country. These two excellent books explore in different ways how the French experienced their first postliberation months.

One central preoccupation was how to treat those who had collaborated with the Nazi occupiers. The provisional government headed by General Charles De Gaulle could not ignore this issue, for vigilante justice was spiraling out of control. During the second half of 1944, between D-Day and the final German withdrawal, at least 9,000 people were assassinated (anti-Gaullist commentators have claimed figures exceeding 100,000), ranging from notorious pro-Nazi policemen, propagandists, or officials to mere personal rivals.

The regular courts were too slow and too tainted by their service to the Vichy regime to satisfy the public thirst for judgment of the collaborators; only one magistrate had refused to swear an oath of allegiance to Marshal Pétain. In an effort to channel and limit popular vengeance, the provisional government quickly established special purge courts in which hand-picked magistrates, chosen from among the less compromised, presented cases to juries composed of resistance veterans. The Haute Cour de Justice (for cabinet ministers) and the Cours de Justice (for everyone else) dealt with hundreds of thousands of accused collaborators. Some 1,500 of these were executed, and tens of thousands of others went to prison before the purging ardor cooled and amnesties were declared in 1951 and 1954. These books treat the purging ardor at its hottest.

Alice Kaplan evokes vividly one of the most notorious trials, that of Robert Brasillach. Brasillach was the most celebrated intellectual executed in the purge, a literary critic, novelist, and poet of only thirty-five. His work as editor-in-chief of the ardently pro-Nazi and anti-Semitic weekly *Je Suis Partout*, until he withdrew in 1943, left conspicuous evidence of political support for Nazism along with denunciations by name of underground resisters and hidden Jews.

When Brasillach came to trial in January 1945, after the liberation of Paris but before fighting had ended on French soil, passions were at their highest. After a single afternoon in court, the four jurors, ordinary suburbanites with modest resistance credentials, voted

death. Eighteen days later, after De Gaulle had rejected a plea for pardon supported by nearly sixty major intellectuals from a wide range of political positions, Brasillach was shot by a firing squad in Montluc prison. Those shots have never stopped reverberating in French public consciousness.

Kaplan reconstructs Brasillach's trial with great dramatic flair and sets straight many legends with admirably thorough archival research. She is the first scholar to have seen Brasillach's pardon dossier. Kaplan is primarily interested in the evolving meanings attached to Brasillach's writings, his trial, and his death. She portrays the trial as theater, in which prosecution and defense vie to establish Brasillach's image, one as intellectual traitor whose words were tantamount to acts of murder, the other as an irreplaceable talent whose words were a patrimonial treasure. She reconstructs and analyzes brilliantly the joust of strategies and rhetorics between two courtroom giants, prosecutor Marcel Reboul and defense attorney Jacques Isorni, friends in personal life. In the climate of January 1945, Reboul's accusation that Brasillach had reveled in Nazi dominance (the homosexual implication was unmistakable) was heard more clearly by the four citizen-jurors than Isorni's defense on grounds of literary eminence. The flamboyant Isorni seems to have preferred to magnify his client's intellectual grandeur rather than retreat to the safer strategy of playing down his influence. Kaplan makes admirably clear how the French judicial system worked. She has even ferreted out the identity of the obscure jurors (only one of whom, contrary to popular perception, was a Communist militant).

Kaplan believes that Brasillach was guilty as charged but that his execution was an error. The far right today indeed makes effective use of this mythologized martyr for its own anticommunist and anti-Gaullist mythology.

Megan Koreman evokes the postliberation French quest for justice in much broader terms. She portrays French public opinion in 1945 as driven by a thirst for three kinds of justice: legal, social, and honorary. Legal justice was the disposition of accused collaborators, as discussed above. Social justice aimed at a fairer distribution of goods within a community facing desperate shortages (food and energy were even scarcer in winter 1944–1945 than during the occupation winters). Koreman convincingly extracts honorary justice, a novel category for most readers, from postliberation ceremonies, rituals, and memorials. It sought to accord appropriate civic honor to those who had fought the Nazi occupation, independently of traditional social status and often contrary to it.

The challenge faced by De Gaulle's provisional government, Koreman argues persuasively, was to provide all three forms of justice more quickly and convincingly than the new local authorities drawn from the resistance could do at the grassroots. In no other way could it establish order and its own justice in the

chaos of the first postliberation months, and thus its own legitimacy.

A major strength of Koreman's monograph is its insistence on the multiplicity of local experiences and the vivacity of local identity, with which the provisional government's uniform solutions often clashed. Three local studies of medium-sized towns represent the variety of French liberation experience. Saint-Flour (Cantal) had a relatively uneventful liberation, in which traditional politics and central authority reasserted themselves with comparative ease; Moutiers (Savoie) "suffered all the terror and loss, and harvested all the bitterness, of a fratricidal guerrilla war" (p. 23); Rambervilliers (Vosges), directly within a German-Allied battle zone, endured massive physical destruction, foreign military presence, and refugee pressure.

Uniform directives from Paris could never address such a range of local experiences, and Koreman reveals massive dissatisfaction caused by pardons of notorious collaborators, persisting shortages of food and energy, and offenses against local sentiment about who should be honored. The French state's grip on a monopoly of violence was tenuous for a time, as local forces, accustomed to direct action during the resistance, punished suspected hoarders and traitors their own way. Not every reader will follow Koreman all the way to her conclusion that the Fourth Republic never recovered from an initial failure to establish legitimacy; other failures brought it down in 1958. Thanks to her work, however, we can never again perceive the French liberation experience in a simple unitary way.

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KARINA SONNENBERG-STERN. *Emancipation and Poverty: The Ashkenazi Jews of Amsterdam, 1796–1850*. (St. Antony's Series.) New York: St. Martin's. 2000. Pp. xvi, 236. \$65.00.

Karina Sonnenberg-Stern's study addresses a distinctive feature of Amsterdam Jewry in the wake of emancipation: the persistence of poverty. While most Western Jews improved their economic status in the nineteenth century and many moved into the ranks of the middle class, Amsterdam's Jews remained overwhelmingly poor. Sonnenberg-Stern attributes this to the incompleteness of Dutch emancipation in the first half of the century. The provisions of the emancipation decree of 1796 were never fully implemented, she argues, leaving in place important obstacles to Jewish occupational integration. "While in countries such as Germany, France, and Britain emancipation helped the Jews to move to urban centres where they were able to enter new professions, unfasten the bonds of Jewish solidarity, and seize the opportunities of upward social mobility, the poor Jews of Amsterdam continued to live segregated from non-Jewish society" (p. 24). In particular, Sonnenberg-Stern notes the impact of three discriminatory practices: the reluc-



tance of Christian masters to accept Jewish apprentices, the unwillingness of state and local officials to appoint Jews to other than unskilled menial positions, and the refusal of the municipality to adequately fund Jewish schools and charities.

The problem with this analysis is that it rests on shaky reasoning. First, nowhere in the West was entry into the crafts or government service the path to material security for newly emancipated Jews. The usual path was trade. The occupational origins of the Western Jewish bourgeoisie were in street trading, shopkeeping, and small-scale brokerage. In Amsterdam, there were no social or legal barriers to Jewish activity in these sectors of the economy. Second, in the German states, the legal status of Jews, while not uniform, was everywhere worse than in the Netherlands, as was social and cultural hostility. Yet, however incomplete and partial their emancipation, Germany's Jews were able to move relatively rapidly into the middle class, building on success in trade rather than in the crafts, the liberal professions, or the civil service. In the German states, in fact, *embourgeoisement* was well under way before 1871, when the constitution of the new empire finally granted full legal equality to German Jews. (Even then, imperial and state bureaucrats continued to discriminate against them.) Third, Sonnenberg-Stern assumes that the demographic concentration of Dutch Jews in Amsterdam was an obstacle to their mobility, that their failure to disperse reinforced their inability to escape poverty. However, this contradicts her claim, noted above, that it was emancipation that promoted Jewish urbanization (and ultimately Jewish *embourgeoisement*) in France, Germany, and Britain. While it is correct that emancipation promoted urbanization in Germany and France, there was no linkage between the two processes in Britain. British Jewry was as concentrated in London as Dutch Jewry was in Amsterdam, a fact that in no way impeded its rise from poverty.

One possible cause of the persistence of poverty among Amsterdam's Jews receives short shrift in Sonnenberg-Stern's account. In the introduction to her book, she dismisses summarily any connection between the economic decline of the Netherlands and the absence of economic mobility among Amsterdam's Jews. Yet what is striking about those Jewish communities in which poverty began to recede, in comparison to Amsterdam, is that in every case the cities themselves were expanding demographically and economically. The dynamic growth that marked London and Paris at this time was absent in Amsterdam. In fact, as Sonnenberg-Stern notes, its population barely grew in the first half of the nineteenth century—which is to say that consumer demand remained weak. Is it any surprise that Jewish traders failed to prosper?

It is not only at the level of analysis that this book is weak. It is riddled with errors of fact, some of them howlers, like the claim that the Talmud forbids Jews to trade with non-Jews and the assertion that the Spanish Inquisition expelled the Jews to Portugal in 1492. She

even writes that the separatist religious congregation of Zvi Hirsch Lehrens, a pillar of strict orthodoxy, constituted "an incipient erosion of Jewish tradition" (p. 157). (It would seem that she is unaware of who Lehrens was.) Her knowledge of previous scholarship on European Jewry in the age of emancipation is also unsure. She misrepresents the work of other scholars, relies on Simon Dubnov's decades-old survey of Jewish history for Jewish emancipation in Britain, and ignores Hebrew-language articles and books on Dutch Jewry. She also cites Yosef Yerushalmi's well-known assessment of the modernity of the Western Sephardim without indicating that she is quoting him word for word. The question that inspired this book deserves better treatment.

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JOHN ROBERT CHRISTIANSON. *On Tycho's Island: Tycho Brahe and his Assistants, 1570–1601*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2000. Pp. xii, 451. \$34.95.

Tycho Brahe was the foremost observational astronomer of the last generation before the invention of the telescope. On the island of Hven, in the strait between Denmark and Sweden, he founded a "temple of the muses"—part astronomical observatory, part alchemical laboratory—where for twenty years he and a group of coworkers made observations that were unprecedented in completeness and accuracy. When Brahe lost the support of the Danish crown, he found a new patron in Habsburg Emperor Rudolf II and moved his establishment to Prague. Johannes Kepler used Brahe's superlatively accurate observations to establish the laws of planetary motion. The Jesuits adopted his cosmic plan and spread his ideas as far as China. Today his astronomical innovations are overshadowed by later developments, but Brahe's career remains a famous story of success; he became the greatest scientific courtier of the age of Galileo Galilei and Kepler. His twenty year residence on Hven is the main concern of John Robert Christianson's new book.

This is actually two books in one. The first two hundred and fifty pages give a contextual, social history of Brahe's work in Denmark, especially the development and operation of his island observatory. The second part of the book is a biographical directory of his circle, emphasizing assistants, students, and associates. This second part contains information that is impossible to obtain from standard reference sources in English and will be invaluable to anyone studying the northern European Renaissance. However, the first part alone is a major contribution to understanding early modern science in its historical setting.

While this book may be read on its own, it assumes special importance as the continuation of a new appraisal of Brahe conducted over the last three decades by Christianson in collaboration with the late Victor Thoren. The first major publication based on this research was Thoren's *Lord of Uraniborg: A Biography*



of Tycho Brahe (1990), which acknowledged Christianson's contributions: Christianson provided the basis for five of the thirteen chapters, and translated the letters that conclude the book, giving a brief history of Brahe's family after his death. Thoren's main focus was technical astronomy, especially Brahe's instruments and his theories of the sun and moon. Although some attempt was made to balance technical discussions with biographical material, the book was published in its present form shortly before Thoren's death. The appearance of Christianson's own book balances and complements the earlier book.

As presented by Christianson, Brahe was an anomaly from early childhood. Raised away from his birth family, he rebelled against the social norms and career path expected of a Danish noble. Christianson depicts the household his subject created as an instance of the Renaissance ideal of *amicitia*, with precepts of personal achievement and enlightenment drawn from humanistic Neoplatonism. At the same time, he gives a detailed picture of Brahe's successful manipulation of the patronage network at the Danish court—this despite his potentially damagingmorganatic marriage. He also shows how Brahe's innovative management techniques made use of existing feudal patterns of obligation to supply the manpower and raw materials for his observatory. The work of the observatory and its many staff changes are treated in detail. A brief conclusion takes the story to Prague and Brahe's untimely death. Readers who want to know what happened next are encouraged to read the entries for C. S. Longomontanus, Kepler, and Sophie Brahe in part two.

Where Thoren's book provided new technical information on Brahe's astronomical work, Christianson has given a wealth of detail for Brahe's Danish social, political, and legal milieu, assembling information on both the central figures and a huge supporting cast. If these books have a weakness, it is that their focus is still too narrow. The broad European movement addressing the same issues treated by Brahe, including figures like the peripatetic theorist Paul Wittich and observers like the Landgrave Wilhelm IV of Hesse, has yet to be adequately assessed. While the pervasive influence of Philippism is acknowledged, these studies have not benefitted from recent advances in understanding the role of Lutheranism in early modern science by Sachiko Kusukawa and Charlotte Methuen.

Christianson's book, when read in conjunction with Thoren's, now constitutes the best available account of the life and work of Tycho Brahe. Its second part will be an indispensable reference for scholars of the northern European Renaissance. Beginning their work at a time when technical details were taken as the main content of science's history and "Great Man" narratives were an unquestioned norm, Christianson and Thoren have taken an unquestionably great man and put him back into his historical setting. If this process is not yet complete, their work cannot be faulted for

setting the direction and providing a new foundation for all future work in the area.

PETER BARKER

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ARNE JARRICK. *Hamlets fråga: En svensk självmordshistoria*. (Hamlet's Question: A Swedish History of Suicide.) Stockholm: Norstedts Forlag. 2000. Pp. 239.

Historians writing for a small language community need to attract a readership that extends beyond their fellow academics. Arne Jarrick is especially good at this. He writes in conversational Swedish and reveals plainly the process of his own thinking, including his strong convictions or doubts. His writing is also highly self-referential. His book on suicide in Swedish history, for example, begins with a chapter on his own struggles with suicidal thoughts, followed by a second chapter on how his personal questions about suicide differ from the questions scholars have posed about the subject.

Among Jarrick's primary objectives is a desire to understand the motives of suicides. Reviewing court cases from early modern times, he expresses frustration over their silence on the question of motivation. Suicides did not leave the kind of affecting farewell letters that we know from literary portrayals of the Romantic era and that explained the reasons for self-destruction. Even so, authorities had to interpret the meaning of a suicide's behavior because motive was of utmost importance in decisions about disposal of the body. Was the deceased to be allowed to lie in sacred ground, or be buried deep in the woods, or did mitigating circumstances permit an in-between status such as burial under the wall of the graveyard or on its margin? Much depended on whether the act arose from melancholy, feeble-mindedness, or despair. Suicide motivated by despair was regarded as the most serious crime, since it betokened a loss of trust in God's mercy and in God's chosen earthly authorities.

Jarrick skillfully traces the twists and turns of judgments in Swedish courts on these matters. He describes well the efforts of the authorities to determine motive and the conflicts that arose about where and how to draw the lines: the inclination on the part of some to find mitigating circumstances that would allow the community to reabsorb its souls lost to suicide and the resistance on the part of others to dissolving the distinctions that were important to maintaining community solidarity. According to Jarrick, the humanitarian impulse of the eighteenth century, increasing secularization of life, and finally Darwinism, which broke the idea of the Great Chain of Being (one source of condemnation of suicide because it implied that everything in creation had its place and could not absent itself ahead of its time) led to the decriminalization of suicide in Sweden in 1864 and an end to special burial of suicides in 1900. Jarrick is more interested in philosophical and theological issues, and literary portrayals, than in sociological questions. I would have expected an explanation of the decriminalization of

suicide to have given more space to the medicalization of suicide, infanticide, and other crimes closely associated with mental disturbance. New findings in forensic medicine in the nineteenth century fostered a belief that troubled people had little control over their behavior and hence a much reduced responsibility. Although he mentions this aspect at one point, his analysis focuses on other types of representation.

Finally, Jarrick poses the question of why suicide has always had a strong cultural charge, even though it affects few people directly. His argument rests on the notion of shame. Shame and humiliation were, in his view, the principal causes of suicide (although he concedes that they do not explain all cases). Suicide involved a complicated play of shame and blame shifting between the perpetrator and the community. Shame drove a person to suicide, but in committing the act, the suicide attempted to shift blame for it back onto the community by explicitly or implicitly holding the community responsible for inflicting the feelings of pain and humiliation. In other words, suicide in the past was a highly charged public statement, a condemnation of the community, and so the community in its turn, represented by its legal and religious authorities, had to restore the balance in its favor. It had to push the blame back onto the suicide by handing down judgments condemning the act. Jarrick understands that readers might question his position by pointing out that concerns about public shame have decreased in modern times while the rate of suicide has increased. His answer is that this is just the point. In early modern times, courts and other institutions were available to deal with issues of shame. A shamed person could file a complaint and restore his or her honor by winning a case in court. Or, if guilty, a person could publicly acknowledge a wrong and receive forgiveness. Public institutions for managing feelings of this kind scarcely exist any longer, writes Jarrick, and people therefore cannot so easily resolve their feelings of shame.

Jarrick seeks support for his hypothesis by excursions into literary representations of suicide, found principally in German and Swedish romantic literature, which often contain mixed feelings on the part of the suicide of self-destruction and revenge. Other examples come from daily news accounts right into our own time, which carry stories of angry suicides who take the lives of their spouses or children before killing themselves.

If ultimately speculative, Jarrick's argument is nevertheless absorbing, and in the course of making it, he takes the reader on one instructive excursion after another into theology, philosophy, court records, literature, and social theory.

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RODDY NILSSON. *En välbyggd maskin, en mardröm för själen: Det svenska fängelsesystemet under 1800-talet*. [A Well-Built Machine, A Nightmare for the Soul: The

Swedish Prison System during the Nineteenth Century]. *Bibliotheca historica Lundensis*, number 93.) Lund: Lund University Press. 1999. Pp. 491. 320 KR.

For the title of his book on the discourse surrounding and the actual changes in prisons in nineteenth-century Sweden, Roddy Nilsson uses the words of the Danish author Hans Christian Andersen as he reflected on the newly built cell prison at Mariestad in the late 1840s. Andersen called this example of the latest in concept and design, "*en välbyggd maskin, en mardröm för själen*" (a well-built machine, a nightmare for the soul) (p. 232).

In this thoughtful, superbly researched, and well-written work, Nilsson covers a wide range of themes. His first three chapters follow the pattern of most Swedish dissertations: introduction of the topic and central questions, review of the sources and literature, and discussion of methods. Central are the credit Nilsson gives to Michel Foucault's views on discourse and power and his use of traditional sources and unusual ones, such as the records of prison chaplains, to develop a study that moves away from earlier, reform-focused works on the subject.

The next seven chapters form the body of the work and fall into three units. The first focuses on eighteenth-century forms of punishment; the reform ideas of Cesare Beccaria, John Howard, and Jeremy Bentham; and the international and Swedish discussion that developed in the early nineteenth century around the issues of punishment and prisons. The second group of chapters examines the discourse and politics of prison change in Sweden in the 1840s, during the era of Liberalism's breakthrough. Here, Nilsson looks closely at the work of individuals such as Erik Gustaf Geijer, the Norwegian Frederik Holst, Crown Prince Oscar, and a variety of parliamentary committee and debate records. The reform discussion led to decisions to build new prisons based on the so-called "Philadelphia system," which was founded on the isolation of prisoners in single cells where they were deprived of their freedom and under constant observation. The third cluster of chapters looks at the evolution of the prison system in Sweden in the last half of the nineteenth century. Themes include the decreased use of physical punishments, the increased importance of a planned order and rigorous discipline to maintain all aspects of prison life, the importance of the prison chaplain and the guards in the creation and enforcement of that disciplined life, the development of new societal attitudes about crime and criminals, the creation of unique prisoner and guard cultures, and the increased isolation of the prison from the external world.

The final chapter sums up and sets out several general observations about the purposes of the prisons in the larger society. Nilsson concludes that the new prisons of the nineteenth century were distinctly "modern" projects. He also argues that while there was a rhetoric of reform and rehabilitation surrounding

them, they were actually places of punishment using isolation and control and that their real purpose was not to reform the prisoner but to make him (or her) into a model of docility and obedience. He goes on to say that the new prisons were just one element in the development of social control in the late-nineteenth century. Nilsson ends with a discussion of whether or not the new prisons were successful—a question loaded by late-twentieth century aversion to them and their rejection in Swedish reforms of the 1960s. Success, Nilsson correctly points out, depends on one's perspective. If these prisons were supposed to make new people who would re-enter society and never return to prison, then they failed. If, however, they were really supposed to be places where the criminal elements of society were kept under close control, they worked very well.

Overall, I was drawn into the subject and fascinated. Nilsson's style is clear, and the arguments presented are convincing. My one concern is that they seem to be set in a kind of historical vacuum. Although Nilsson mentions a larger picture, he never really develops the context of industrialization, urbanization, secularization, and democratization or the parallel means of social control through the military, police, popular education, organizations, and the media. This work is very good history, and, unfortunately, the number of people it will reach is limited by the language in which it was written. (The English summary hardly tells the whole story.)

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LIONEL GOSSMAN. *Basel in the Age of Burckhardt: A Study in Unseasonable Ideas*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2000. Pp. xii, 608. \$40.00.

The Swiss city of Basel has experienced two periods of cultural prominence. The sixteenth century has been considered the Golden Age of cultural life in the city. During the Reformation, Basel became an important international center of humanist studies and printing. Desiderius Erasmus, Hans Holbein, and a host of other figures found refuge in this city renowned for its tolerance, piety, and business acumen. In the nineteenth century, as the city on the Rhine was transformed from a sleepy provincial center, dominated by a commercial oligarchy, into a modern, democratic, industrial metropolis, Basel experienced another period of cultural and intellectual effervescence. Basel's Silver Age shared little of the optimism of the earlier humanism. Instead, through the work of the famous cultural historian, Jacob Burckhardt, and the lesser known philologist Johann Jacob Bachofen, best remembered for his work on matriarchy, the city became a focal point of antimodernist thought in the German-speaking world.

Concentrating on the work of these two scholars, but including a brief discussion on Friedrich Nietzsche and the theologian Franz Overbeck, Lionel Gossman seeks

to contextualize the antimodernism of the Basel critics within the history of this "small, somewhat idiosyncratic, but at times illustrious city-state in the heart of Europe" (p. 8). Repelled by the rise of mass culture, democratic politics, and demagogic nationalism, these men offered a measured, penetrating, albeit conservative, critique of modern liberal capitalist society. If Berlin, the capital of the new German Empire, embodied for these scholars the materialism, militarism, nationalism, and imperialism of their age, Basel—at least in their idealized version—still represented the cosmopolitan culture of "old Europe" and provided "a place where those whose ideas were 'unzeitgemäss'—untimely or unseasonable—could feel, to some degree, at home . . . a sanctuary for intellectual practices that ran counter to the reigning orthodoxies of German scholarship" (p. 9).

Gossman begins his study with an illuminating portrait of nineteenth-century Basel before proceeding to an in-depth and wonderfully rich analysis of the life and work of Bachofen and Burckhardt. Their opposition to modern society was perhaps most clearly expressed in their approach to history. They rejected the principles of the German Historical School on ideological, theoretical, and methodological grounds, arguing that this narrow, fact-driven, "scientific" history of events and politics killed myth and destroyed everything that was "grand and heroic." Both Bachofen, in his memorable feud with the Berlin historian of Rome, Theodor Mommsen, and Burckhardt, in his more measured works of cultural history, objected to the willful subordination of historical scholarship to political goals and to its transformation into a type of business enterprise. Knowledge existed for its own sake, for the cultivation of the individual and the community ("*Bildung*"), and not simply for the accumulation of information and the production of "*Wissenschaft*." Cultural history sought not to trace the progressive development of history from "paradise lost to paradise regained" (p. 314) but to offer insight into the guiding spirit of past ages, into peoples' mentalities and their ways of thinking.

The Basellers' understanding of the past and the nature of scholarship was closely connected to their penetrating critique of the relationship between power and culture. Both men insisted that the cosmopolitan *Kultur*, which they felt best embodied the German spirit, was incompatible with the new *Nationalstaat*, and they argued that individual liberty and cultural development could not be reconciled with the pursuit of power and material gain. Gossman is very much alive to these issues; indeed, one of his chief accomplishments in this remarkable work is his subtle reminder that the concerns expressed by Bachofen and Burckhardt about the relationship between culture and power, the individual and freedom, are today still relevant and unresolved.

Gossman's book, a product of many years of active contemplation, is a tour de force. It is at once an intellectual history, a cultural history of Basel and



Europe, and an important contribution to the study of nineteenth-century historiography. Written with a grace and elegance that many aspire to, few seldom achieve, this is model scholarship that stands comparison with two other classics of recent historiography: Carl Schorske's splendid portrait of Vienna (*Fin-de-siècle Vienna: Politics and Culture* [1981]), and Werner Kaegi's truly monumental work, *Jacob Burckhardt: Eine Biographie* (1947–1982). Gossman's book does not approach Kaegi's in terms of length—Kaegi's biography, after all, is seven volumes—but it nonetheless paints an equally vivid and vibrant canvas of the age.

JOHN R. HINDE  
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URS ALTERMATT. *Katholizismus und Antisemitismus: Mentalitäten, Kontinuitäten, Ambivalenzen; zur Kulturgeschichte der Schweiz 1918–1945*. Frauenfeld: Verlag Huber. 1999. Pp. 414.

The central question that Urs Altermatt sets out to analyze in this book is whether there is a link between traditional Christian hatred of Jews and modern forms of anti-Semitism, including, specifically, Nazi racial anti-Semitism. Intellectuals of all stripes have long debated this question, because its answer either absolves Christians from direct responsibility for the Holocaust or makes them guilty. Scholars have not been able to come to any agreement about it. Altermatt does not come down solidly on either side of the fence; there was, he asserts, a partial continuity between the old and the new brands of anti-Semitism (p. 56). In the end, is the answer to the question really that important? As Ernst Ludwig Ehrlich points out (p. 49), those who hated Jews were hardly able to distinguish the roots of their anti-Semitism.

With the theoretical discussion out of the way, Altermatt traces Swiss Catholic anti-Semitism step by step through the first half of the twentieth century, keeping an eye on developments in nearby Germany all the while. The author takes us through categories of anti-Semitism: in the liturgy; the distinction between "allowed" and "disallowed" (racial) anti-Semitism; fear of Jews overpopulating the country; and shifts in attitudes toward Jews as the Nazis escalated their abuse. He then reviews a few popular Catholic journals. By demonstrating how little attention was paid by their editors to the horror of the Holocaust, an effective point is made.

An outstanding quality of Altermatt's treatment is its clarity. The reader is never in doubt about what a chapter intends to do or what the relationship of a particular chapter is to the whole. The scope of the research is not ambitious, however. Only printed sources such as liturgical texts, theological treatises, newspaper content, descriptions of anti-Semitic magical folklore, and the like are investigated. Were not Swiss bishops discussing what they should say about genocide, just as French and German bishops were?

Was the author not allowed access to church archives to investigate this question? If so, Altermatt does not tell us this. By limiting himself to the sources I have mentioned, the picture that emerges of the Swiss is that of passive acquiescence in the face of genocide. But the Swiss bank scandal has demonstrated that the Swiss were by no means only passive. One comes away feeling that there is more to the story than Altermatt's sources allow him to disclose.

Swiss anti-Semitism appears very much to resemble German anti-Semitism, or Western European anti-Semitism. Even outstanding theologians like the Swiss Hans Urs von Balthasar, let alone lesser lights like Josef Beck, were unable to free themselves of it. Of course, the religious element of anti-Semitism, the "Christ killer" stigma, found common acceptance among the Swiss. The nearly universally accepted corollary to this belief, the idea that the Jews must wander the earth as a homeless people, constituted a perilous tenet when the Nazi genocide of the Jews unfolded: God uses human agents to punish his Chosen People for their betrayal of the Messiah (p. 117). But Altermatt found only one writer who went this far in his thinking.

By 1943, the Swiss became aware of the murder of the Jews. Their reaction was curious. The Swiss German Catholic press did not feel it had to condemn it, while the Swiss French Catholic press did. Most of the discussion about the Holocaust, however, did not center on genocide at all but on the question of whether Jews should be allowed to immigrate. The consensus of opinion opposed this because of the danger that Swiss society would be *verjudet*. The outstanding exception to the rule of Swiss indifference was the Catholic priest and theologian Charles Journet, who wanted to publish an article condemning the deportation of the Jews from France and the racism of the Vichy regime. Journet's bishop would not allow publication of the piece, however, on the grounds that it would threaten the security of the Swiss nation. In 1945, Journet became one of the first Catholics publicly to reject the idea that Jews were solely responsible for Christ's death.

Many readers may, I think, disagree with Altermatt's conclusion to his fine study. The author rejects the idea of Christian collective guilt for the Holocaust while positing in its place the idea of Christian shame.

MICHAEL PHAYER  
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ERIKA RUMMEL. *The Confessionalization of Humanism in Reformation Germany*. (Oxford Studies in Historical Theology.) New York: Oxford University Press. 2000. Pp. 211. \$45.00.

What happens when two great reform movements collide? Erika Rummel, in her solid study of cultural interaction under the pressure of historic events, sets herself the task of tracing the reciprocal effects of northern humanism's encounter with the Protestant



Reformation. It is, as she tells it, a sad story: the failure of humanism's attempt to limit and direct the religious passions that, in the 1530s and 1540s, were driving the evangelical reformers toward the rigidity of confessionalism. Allied at first, humanism and Reformation proved in the end incompatible, working against each other in many crucial respects.

Rummel presents this process of gradual separation as a grand debate. Humanists—Desiderius Erasmus preeminent among them but a large cast of participants collaborating—brought to the waging of this debate their guiding ideas of civilized discourse, reasoned argument, restraint, the willingness to entertain doubt and the need for accommodation, a dislike of dogmatic assertion, and above all a commitment to peaceful resolution and civic responsibility. Their chief impulse in the pursuit of “concord” was a foreboding sense of the endangerment of scholarship in an atmosphere of religious strife. Reformers, for their part, conducted the debate with uncompromising and self-righteous conviction, heated passion, and a large measure of intolerance. To them, humanists were pusillanimous time-servers, Nicodemists, scoffers, mere “rhetoricians” (“Erasmus wants to offend no one and please everyone”). At the same time, the reformers appropriated whatever humanist practices suited their purpose, notably philological expertise, the direction of intellectual effort back to sources, rhetorical sophistication, and progressive pedagogy. They knew well that their ideas could be made more attractive to intellectuals if they were associated with the “new learning.” As Rummel points out, the adoption of humanist practices by Protestantism was never more than ancillary to the reformers' main objectives. And humanists, despite their evident influence on Protestant scholarship, never lost their suspicion that evangelicalism set itself against literature and “elegant learning.” Still, humanism was coopted in the process and, losing its distinctiveness, was transformed. In mid and late sixteenth-century confessionalized Europe, it “blended into the cultural landscape” (p. 151).

This summary does not begin to suggest the richness of Rummel's book. She concentrates on humanist writers who fully engaged with the Reformation but distinguishes interestingly between “professional” humanists—-independent editors, translators, and philologists who could, if they wished, stay more or less on the sidelines of religious conflict—and “incidental” humanists—men attracted to and trained in the new learning but set in careers that made it difficult or impossible for them to keep from being swept along by confessionalization. She shows why, in the 1520s, Erasmian humanists and Lutheran reformers came to be perceived as confederates in the attack on obsolete traditions, apparently continuing in their own day the earlier rivalry between humanism and scholasticism. But this alliance, more imagined than real, could not last, given the fundamental differences in assumptions and goals between the two camps. Rummel traces in great detail the process by which the two sides were

pried apart. There were disagreements on the possibilities and objectives of education, rooted in humanist fears that liberal learning was being crowded out (Erasmus charged evangelicals with teaching nothing more than *dogmata et linguae*). The posture of Christian skepticism praised by humanists as an antidote to doctrinaire certitude was vilified by Protestant (as well as Catholic) reformers as “Lucianist” or “Epicurean” at best, “atheist” at worst. The humanist *ars dubitandi* proved irreconcilable with the basic suppositions underlying confessionalization. Figures like Beatus Rhenanus and Willibald Pirckheimer made emblematic the gradual humanist alienation from the progress of the Reformation. Others, like Georg Witzel, continued to explore the chances of accommodation between the two sides.

It is Rummel's achievement that her readers come to see clearly how utterly serious were the issues underlying the often recondite and always wordy contentions of all participants. Humanists and reformers themselves speak in her pages, their words vividly translated. Her explanation of the forces at work in the “confessionalization” of humanism is acute. For example, her analysis of the impulses leading particular humanists either to reconcile themselves to the prevailing trend or to remain aloof, identities peer pressure, fear of becoming outsiders, the wish to withdraw or stay on the margins, and a stance promoted by the intellectual habit of seeing and arguing both sides of a question. What emerges most strongly from this book is the realization that “confessionalization” was lived as a process of individual experiences undergone by real people who were struggling in a noble cause, which was the common humanistic heritage of liberal studies.

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HOWARD HOTSON. *Johann Heinrich Alsted 1588–1638: Between Renaissance, Reformation, and Universal Reform*. (Oxford Historical Monographs.) New York: Oxford University Press. 2000. Pp. xiv, 271. \$74.00.

There is much more to this monograph than traditional intellectual biography. Johann Heinrich Alsted, luminary of the Herborn Academy, is generally viewed in the light reflected by his students, most prominently Jan Amos Comenius. Indeed, attempts to fix Alsted in various intellectual lineages have produced some contradictory sketch portraits of the man and his work. Howard Hotson, however, appears only tangentially interested in intellectual genealogy. Instead, he wants to explore the wider contexts of Alsted's work. Thus the history of Alsted's career, primarily as an encyclopedist and as a pedagogue, becomes the study of a woefully neglected time and place: late sixteenth and early seventeenth-century Calvinist Central Europe. Hotson deftly considers Alsted's remarkable *Encyclopaedia* as a snapshot of a lively and influential intellectual milieu, one that has been pinched, historiographically, and not so much obscured as variously

deformed between Humanism/Reformation and Enlightenment. In the end, then, there is still something here for traditional historians of ideas: a picture of the world whence came the likes of Comenius, John Dury, and Samuel Hartlib.

But Hotson's main purpose—itsself slightly Alstedian, perhaps—is to recast an intellectual history in the mold of “further reform,” thereby bringing together two normally distinct historiographies. Thus Hotson consistently applies the concept of “confessionalization,” especially as it has been developed in the work of his mentor, Heinz Schilling, to Alsted's world and work. This has the engaging effect of rendering this particular brand of “Calvinist thought” creative and dynamic, something that developed over time, in relation to the processes of confessional statebuilding. Refreshing, also, is the way in which Hotson's explanation favors the practical concerns of further reform, over and against prejudiced expectations of theological and philosophical rigidity. For example, Hotson links the utilitarian and efficient style of the Herborn Academy, with its emphasis on *usus* and *praxis* and its unusual blend of Ramist dialectic and Aristotelian logic, to the ambitious fiscal and military policies of the Count Johann VI of Nassau-Dillenburg. In their relative spheres, both court and academy were small powers; yet both recognized that their members had to “think different” to survive in the confessional context. Moreover, Hotson extends his analysis to the much more influential Palatinate and the University of Heidelberg: “In Heidelberg as in Herborn, philosophical and theological preferences can only be satisfactorily explained by setting them in the context of a broader cultural and political programme of further reform” (p. 26).

For the most part, Hotson remains true to his stated aims, tracing the development of Alsted's work as a reflection of shifting confessional contexts. Curiously, however, a particular style of idealist intellectual history reasserts itself in Hotson's closing argument for the significance of both Calvinism (à la Robert Merton) and hermeticism (à la Francis Yates) as crucial factors in the “making of modern culture” (p. 229). Also somewhat at odds with his stated approach is Hotson's use of a bewildering array of “isms,” including Lullism, Rosicrucianism, Arminianism, Hermeticism, apocalypticism, millenarianism, and Socinianism, to name but a few. Unfortunately, in order to follow Hotson's fine distinctions and subtle allusions in these terms, readers will require more than a competent nonspecialist knowledge of such things.

A more serious limitation, is Hotson's underarticulation of the relation of “confessionalization” to “culture.” Here he simply relies too much on Heinz Schilling's model, which was developed in relation to the very specific problem of statebuilding. Thus Hotson can only bring confessionalization to bear on culture in a very narrow sense. For example, no evidence for the effective confessional acculturation of the inhabitants of Nassau-Dillenburg is ever offered.

Here, Hotson probably should not have ignored scholars—Gerald Strauss and David Warren Sabean spring to mind instantly—who have explored confessionalization from a very different historiographical perspective.

This is not to take away from Hotson's tremendous achievement. His monograph represents a staggering amount of research, meticulously documented and expertly presented. Since it was originally a doctoral dissertation, apparently massively reworked (Hotson modestly calls it “mature,” but he obviously has not been sitting on his hands), credit must also go the editors of Oxford University Press for continuing to publish young scholars. Hotson has offered us nothing less than an imaginative and innovative attempt at reforming the history of ideas. Clearly, he is setting high standards for himself and others in the next generation of intellectual historians, announcing in this volume his plans to publish two more on Alsted. We can therefore also look forward to further reform of the history of ideas.

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KEVIN MCQUILLAN. *Culture, Religion, and Demographic Behavior: Catholics and Lutherans in Alsace, 1750–1870*. (McGill-Queen's Studies in the History of Religion, second series.) Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press. 1999. Pp. 227.

Kevin McQuillan begins by noting that historical demographers have focused largely on the effects of economic change to the detriment of other influences on population growth. He contends that inattention to cultural factors, including most notably religious faith, has obscured the real causes for much demographic behavior. To redress the imbalance, McQuillan has undertaken a case study of Alsace, that border region between France and Germany with sizeable Lutheran and Catholic populations, in order to test the influence of religious faith on demographic change.

McQuillan chooses 1750 as a starting date, because it was not until the eighteenth century that both Catholic and Lutheran churches clearly managed to develop specific confessional identities among their faithful. Moreover, he notes that the dynamics of French governmental control between 1681 (when all of Alsace save the city of Mulhouse became part of the French kingdom) and 1789 tended to foster awareness of the confessional divide among average Alsatians.

The author collected aggregate data for a sample of twenty-six villages and small towns across Alsace, then singled out five for a family reconstitution study. Of the latter, three villages were Catholic, two Lutheran. One was dominated by an early textile “factory;” two were what McQuillan calls “rural-industrial,” meaning they had artisan manufacturing as well as agriculture; and two were overwhelmingly agricultural villages. After setting up the theoretical and regional background in the first two chapters, McQuillan devotes

four detailed chapters to the demographic facts of marriage and remarriage; illegitimacy and bridal pregnancy; marital fertility; and, finally, infant and child mortality.

McQuillan finds ostensible similarities but significant underlying differences between the Catholic and Lutheran communities. Although the Catholic population grew only slightly faster in the aggregate, there were significant differences in demographic patterns. Moreover, slight differences between the two populations in 1750 grew substantially by 1870. Overall, Lutherans married earlier, possessed a smaller proportion of celibate adults, increasingly spaced their children farther apart, and Lutheran women generally stopped having children long before reaching menopause. In addition, infant and child mortality dropped significantly in Lutheran communities during this period while remaining mostly unchanged in Catholic communities. Catholics appear to have largely maintained the "natural" fertility patterns well documented by demographers elsewhere, but the importance of celibacy, a slightly later marriage age, and unchanged levels of infant and child mortality all checked Catholic population growth.

In a substantive conclusion, McQuillan combines his demographic study with secondary sources in order to suggest the reasons for the significant differences in Lutheran and Catholic demographic behavior. He traces the evolution of Lutheranism in Alsace, including its embrace of the Enlightenment and its acceptance of the emancipatory effects of the French Revolution. Overall, the Lutheran Church accepted forms of secularism and rationalism while the Catholic Church in Alsace, due in part to the confessional struggle of the years 1681–1789, remained more conservative than the Catholic Church in France generally (for example, fewer priests in Alsace swore the oath demanded by the Civil Constitution of the Clergy than elsewhere in France). As a result, according to McQuillan, Lutherans were far more likely to attempt to limit their own fertility and to adopt measures that prolonged their children's lives. More obviously, Lutherans' adoption of new farming and production techniques reinforced their position as the wealthier of the two groups overall, probably leading to better nutrition for their children.

Some historians will be troubled by McQuillan's leap from careful demographic study to his broad argument about Lutherans and Catholics in the conclusion. This historian was specifically concerned by his comments about Lutheran encouragement of literacy, claimed by McQuillan to be yet another reason that Lutherans limited births and kept their children from dying. Such an argument understates the extent to which Catholics in Alsace responded to the Lutheran threat by fostering literacy, so that it may have been the presence of Lutherans that led to high levels of literacy, but those high rates of literacy were shared by Catholics. Literacy in Alsace cannot so simply be mobilized to explain the differences in demographic

patterns between the Catholic and Lutheran communities within the province.

In several respects, the book piqued this reader's interest in other demographic features that McQuillan does not directly address. Although this study is obviously less complicated for having left out the Jews, their inclusion might have helped to prove or nuance his thesis about secularization. If Lutheran demographic behavior changed as a result of acceptance of the rationalism and secularization of the state during the revolution, did Jewish population patterns respond in the same way? Given some Jews' support for many of the ideals of the revolution during the nineteenth century, one might expect a similar transformation. The author does not appear to have consulted the works of Vicki Caron and Paula Hyman, which might perhaps have led to a different conceptualization of the study as a whole.

McQuillan does cite Susan Cotts Watkins, who portrayed an increasingly national character of demographic changes in Western Europe after 1870, although he does not apply her ideas to the linguistic configuration of Alsace. Given the linguistic diversity of Alsace, which contained about eighty French-speaking communities, one wonders how the cultural influence of language may have influenced demographic behavior. Since birth control in some form (probably withdrawal or abstinence) is widely believed to have been frequently employed among French peasants by the early nineteenth century, presumably before similar practices were adopted elsewhere in Europe, it would be significant if these French-speaking communities—whether Lutheran or Catholic—appear to have adopted measures to limit fertility before German-speaking ones.

Such questions for additional research aside, this interesting book will simultaneously remind readers of just how much we have learned from family reconstitution studies and suggest how they might provide solid empirical data for cultural history.

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WOLFGANG HEINRICHS. *Das Judenbild im Protestantismus des Deutschen Kaiserreichs: Ein Beitrag zur Mentalitätsgeschichte des deutschen Bürgertums in der Krise der Moderne*. (Schriftenreihe des Vereins für Rheinische Kirchengeschichte, number 145.) Cologne: Rheinland-Verlag. 2000. Pp. xiii, 851. DM 58.00.

The study of German anti-Semitism during the Second Reich has long focused on the ideological tracts of its exponents and the political parties that represented it in the Reichstag. Only in recent years has increasing attention been given to its broader influence as a "cultural code," to use Shulamit Volkov's frequently cited term, or as a broadly disseminated, dominantly negative image of the Jew that was held almost without conscious reflection. This very substantial volume applies the second form of analysis to the periodical



literature of German Protestantism, seeking to derive from it the frequently ambivalent and sometimes contradictory views of contemporary Jews that it contains.

Wolfgang Heinrichs, both a Protestant pastor and a *Privatdozent* at a German university, has studied Protestant periodicals of different types: those representing Conservative Lutheranism, the Reformed Church, Liberal Protestantism, and the mission to the Jews, all directed mainly at clergy; and the far more widely circulated Christian magazines for the home that were read largely by women. He discusses the orientation and history of each periodical and the images of the Jew projected on its pages. Sensitive to changes occurring over time, Heinrichs attempts to correlate positive images with periods of social optimism, such as the years 1867–1873 and the period of economic boom in the decade before World War I, and negative images with periods of crisis, such as the years of economic contraction from 1873 to 1884. Yet he also notes that certain stereotypes remain constant elements of the bourgeois mentality regardless of changes in the German economy.

Most frequently, the periodicals related Jews in some manner to modernity. For the conservative journals, the Jews represented the incarnation of those forces that were secularizing society and driving it away from its Christian foundations. The chief objects of their anger and distress were the so-called *Reformjuden*, by which they mean those Jews who had rationalized their faith, making them guilty of the same sins as the Conservatives' Liberal rivals within Protestantism, and also the Jews who had essentially abandoned religious faith and practice, in whom they saw an anxiety-provoking harbinger of modernity's effect upon religion in general. Conservative Protestants, perhaps not surprisingly, were more favorably inclined toward Orthodox Jews, even recent immigrants to Germany from Eastern Europe. The unassimilated Orthodox were seen as being incarnations of the people of the Old Testament, the people of God, and—not least important—as the most favorable prospects for conversion to Christianity.

Liberal Protestants, themselves champions of modernity, were more favorably inclined to modernizing Jews, but they too demanded a form of conversion, in this case to Protestant culture. Moses Mendelssohn, the first German Jew to play a significant role in Jewish acculturation, served them as a model and criterion. But, especially during periods of economic uncertainty, they also viewed Jews as representatives of a negative modernity capable only of inducing social decay. They were especially critical of Liberal Jewish religious leaders, like Abraham Geiger, who dared to argue that Judaism was religiously more advanced than Christianity. Dialogue between Liberal Protestants and Jews in this period was almost nonexistent.

The most interesting source and arguably the most influential in the long term is the popular Christian literature. Here, in edifying essays, stories, and illustrations, "the Jew" appeared in new variations of

age-old stereotypes as the heartless exploiter, the clever manipulator of country folk, and the eternal wanderer who can never find a home. Occasionally, the Jew was completely removed from empirical reality and became the symbol of qualities that the Christian must seek to overcome: he was the dangerous "Jew within." Yet what sets all of the Christian periodicals apart from the racist tracts is their unwillingness to forget the historical role of Judaism in the formation of Christianity and the providential role of the Jews in salvation. They saw Zionism mostly in negative terms because it represented a secular self-assertion that ran counter to the role that Christian theology had assigned to the Jewish people.

This very large *Habilitationsschrift*, with its more than 2,100 consecutively numbered and often lengthy footnotes, is perhaps more detailed than the subject requires, and the absence of a subject index is regrettable. However, the research, which includes extensive archival work, the competence of the author, and the nuanced, insightful readings of the texts make this a most important work for understanding the distribution and range of Jewish stereotypes within a Germany that, as Heinrichs notes, may have become less churchified during the Second Reich but was not therefore necessarily less Christian.

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FRANK MÖLLER. *Bürgerliche Herrschaft in Augsburg 1790–1880*. (Stadt und Bürgertum, number 9.) Munich: Oldenbourg. 1998. Pp. ix, 474. DM 98.00.

This book is part of a project, directed by the prominent German historian and editor of the *Historische Zeitschrift* Lothar Gall, on the nature of the *Bürgertum*, the middle and upper strata of German urban society, between the French Revolution and World War I. Gall asserts that the *Bürger* of nineteenth-century Germany were the heirs of the guild burghers of the old regime. Their corporate ideal of a municipal society of independent, male heads of household, with equal civic rights regardless of distinctions in wealth (a "classless society of burghers" in Gall's formulation), remained alive in the first half of the nineteenth century. It only gradually gave way to a bourgeois-dominated class society with the onset of industrialization after 1850. Gall has set his students to investigating social relations in a number of different cities in the light of his thesis.

Frank Möller's work, a revised doctoral dissertation, is on the burghers of Augsburg. An Imperial Free City in the old regime, Augsburg was also a center of proto-industrial and craft production and had an unusual municipal citizenship arrangement that granted equal rights to Protestants and Catholics. (Less unusually, Jews were excluded from residence.) In the Napoleonic era, the city was annexed by Bavaria, which abolished its autonomy and much of its corpo-



rate social structure. Jews were allowed to settle there, at first tentatively and with special permission, later on equal terms with members of the Christian confessions. After 1840, proto-industrial textile manufacturing gave way to factory enterprise, so that by the 1860s Augsburg had become an industrial city, one of the many that claimed to be Germany's Manchester.

Möller's work analyzes, in detail, the membership and activities of voluntary associations, which his adviser, and many other historians, regard as central to the *Bürger* as a social group. The author considers the nature of and control over municipal government (this is the rule or *Herrschaft* of the title) and discusses some of the major political controversies in the city's history. These include the weavers' rebellion of 1794 and the crisis of old regime Augsburg, conflicts between the city's burghers and its bureaucratic Bavarian rulers in the first half of the nineteenth century, the revolution of 1848/1849, and the clashes between liberalism and political Catholicism in the two decades after mid-century.

The work is done with care and precision, drawing on the relevant published and unpublished primary sources, as well as the rich literature on the history of Augsburg. However, although the author seems reluctant to admit it, his findings do not support very well the theories of his dissertation director. Old regime Augsburg, while certainly a corporate polity, was ruled not by its burghers but by patricians, the ennobled descendants of early modern financiers. At the end of the eighteenth century, the city's merchants and manufacturers became increasingly discontent with this patrician rule. On their own, though, they were unable to end it; their rise to power—one might almost call it a bourgeois revolution—required the intervention of the Bavarian state.

In the early decades of Bavarian rule, Augsburg was a distinctly plutocratic polity. Its municipal government was dominated by the city's bourgeoisie, who formed their own elite associations, which often included Bavarian state officials (legally not *Bürger* of Augsburg) but shunned economically more modest artisans and retailers. This largely Protestant elite, already joined by some Jewish financiers (Möller attributes the post-1800 decline of Catholic wealth to changing trade patterns, rather than Weberian causes), was challenged, with increasing success in the 1840s, by the city's Catholic master artisans. There is thus not much evidence of a classless society of burghers in pre-1850 Augsburg. Möller's efforts to demonstrate its existence, by noting, for instance, that plays of the popular dramatist August von Kotzebue were far more frequently performed in the municipal theater than those of Schiller or Goethe, seem rather like grasping at straws.

As a result of the revolution of 1848, the city's bourgeois elite developed a more popular style of politics. Mobilizing support among lower middle-class Protestants, but among anticlerical Catholics as well, liberal activists, endorsed and supported by Augs-

burg's capitalists, wrested control of city government away from Catholic ultramontanists and dominated the municipality into the early twentieth century. Thus, the era of industrialization, in Gall's thesis, when the pre-1850 classless society of burghers gave way a class society, saw a greater cooperation between members of the upper and the lower-middle class than had been the case in the first half of the century.

In his brief conclusion, the author attempts to revive Gall's thesis by introducing a post-1850 intermediary stage of social formation and delaying the origins of a bourgeois class society until the 1870s, two decades later than his adviser's original assertion. I found this recategorization less than convincing. Instead, after reading this solidly researched and well-written work, I was left wondering whether Augsburg was an exception to Lothar Gall's broader ideas about the development of the German *Bürgertum* in the nineteenth century, or if his thesis itself needs reconsideration.

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MARGARET LAVINIA ANDERSON. *Practicing Democracy: Elections and Political Culture in Imperial Germany*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 2000. Pp. xix, 483. Cloth \$65.00, paper \$24.95.

To those of us who have hoped that the debate over the "modernity" of the German Empire would expire of its own lethargy, this book brings bad news. Margaret Lavinia Anderson's study of electoral practices in imperial Germany provides the most compelling assault to date on the idea that the German political system encouraged authoritarian attitudes, values, and political practices. Instead, she argues that the institutions of universal manhood suffrage, which governed elections to the federal parliament, nurtured genuine democratic habits of mind: "a nationalized, participatory public culture, one in which partisan loyalties organized expectations and structured much of public life" (p. 20).

This is a powerful, challenging piece of scholarship. It complements Jonathan Sperber's recent analysis of Reichstag elections in the imperial era. Anderson's book also represents the pendant to Thomas Kühne's 1994 study of the three-class franchise in the state of Prussia. Like Kühne's work, which it resembles in the sources it uses and the questions it asks, Anderson's study is wedded to an "institutionalist" interpretation of German politics. References to the work of Dankwart Rustow and Adam Przeworski reveal its theoretical moorings in the proposition that political behavior is molded to a significant degree by the institutions that provide its basic framework.

Hence Germans learned democracy by practicing it. This case rests on an imaginative reading of the petitions, protests, and other documents that found their way to the Reichstag's electoral commission, which was charged with reviewing voting irregularities.

These sources support a comprehensive analysis of the practices that universal suffrage, the secret ballot, and an abiding respect for the law encouraged in Germany at the end of the nineteenth century. The major portion of the book is devoted to an examination of the way these institutions shaped a democratic political culture, as they guided the mobilization of major political constituencies, molded the interplay of constraint and community solidarity, and steered the negotiation of political conflict. The *Kulturkampf* provided German Catholics with the first opportunity to probe the potential of the new federal suffrage system, as the clergy effectively molded community sentiment to the new modes of politics. Socialists exploited many of the same techniques in mobilizing an urban working-class constituency in subsequent decades, while "bread lords" and "chimney barons" attempted to reconfigure their traditional powers of constraint in the countryside and cities to the new political imperatives. All participants in this process, however, were profoundly affected by the new rules of the game, and none could escape the "democratizing" consequences of genuine political competition. These included a rhetorical commitment to political equality and an open society, the toleration of dissent, and the accommodation of political opposition. In fact, Anderson argues, the franchise regime corroded many of the props of political authoritarianism in imperial Germany, as it fed the legitimacy and power of the democratically elected Reichstag. She shows, for example, how the growing professionalization of German politics transformed the "chaplainocracy," which had forged Catholic solidarity during the *Kulturkampf*, into an arm of a party dominated by laymen.

This account mobilizes a breathtaking arsenal of sources, and a radiating presentation makes it as readable as it is enlightening. Anderson's case is also persuasive. She argues it here more effectively than do the studies by Manfred Rauh and others who have emphasized the democratic potential of German politics in the imperial era. Anderson's book also represents a more thoughtful and sophisticated application of institutionalist theory than does the work of Stanley Suval, who contended that the very act of voting represented a gesture of "system affirmation." Anderson demonstrates that the democratic franchise encouraged, at the least, the stability of the dualistic federal system, in which power was divided between a popularly elected legislature and an authoritarian executive; whether the Reichstag's franchise regime did the same for a system of genuine parliamentary rule is, as the author admits in her concluding remarks about Weimar, another question.

A couple of strictures are in order. The author's emphasis on the secret ballot reform of 1903 addresses a central part of her argument, but the importance of this legislation, which comes late in the story, is more affirmed than demonstrated. The treatment of confession is a little unbalanced. The analysis of Protestant institutions and their role in the federal electoral

processes is cursory. Attending to these institutions would perhaps burnish the sharp contrasts between "community" and "constraint" that guide her analyses of political Catholicism and electoral behavior in the eastern countryside.

This book is, in all events, a major achievement. It will require a rethinking of many easy generalizations that have guided analysis of electoral practices in imperial Germany.

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MAURIZIO RICCIARDI. *Ferdinand Tönnies sociologo hobbesiano: Concetti politici e scienza sociale in Germania tra Otto e Novecento*. (Annali dell'Istituto storico italo-germanico, number 30). Bologna: Mulino. 1997. Pp. 462. L. 52,000.

Ferdinand Tönnies (1855–1936) is principally remembered today as the author of the sociological classic *Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft* (1887), translated by Charles Loomis as *Community and Association* (1955) and published as part of Karl Mannheim's International Library of Sociology and Social Reconstruction. As Loomis notes in his introduction, some revision had been necessary before the book became more widely read at the turn of the century. Loomis does not draw attention to the change of subtitle associated with this revision; it originally read as "Treatise on Communism and Socialism as Empirical Cultural Forms," but this was later altered to "Basic Concepts of Pure Sociology." There is clearly something more than a question of readability involved here. This can in part be explained by two factors: German sociology of the early twentieth century was more a form of social philosophy and hence quite distinct to the American social science that became dominant by the 1950s; and Tönnies's early studies were devoted to the work of Benedict Spinoza, Friedrich Nietzsche, and, above all, Thomas Hobbes, whose writings he studied from 1877, publishing in 1889 editions of *Elements of Law Natural and Politic* and *Behemoth or the Long Parliament*. Ricciardi proposes to amalgamate these apparently disjoint approaches to Tönnies, reading him as a "Hobbesian sociologist." What might this mean?

Ricciardi suggests that Tönnies did to sociology what Hobbes did to politics: namely, transform a domain of social action into a science. This linked the emergence of sociology to the "social question" of later nineteenth-century Germany, transforming the issues spawned by class antagonisms and economic development into a "science of the social." Tönnies's formulation of the problems raised by socialism and communism was indeed rooted in the earlier writings of Lorenz von Stein and Wilhelm Riehl. These writers in turn drew on a tradition of natural law and the *Staatswissenschaften* running back through G. F. W. Hegel's reformulation of civil society as a domain separate from the state, via Immanuel Kant's conception of unsocial sociability, to Christian von Wolff and

Samuel von Pufendorf. As a young man in the 1870s Tönnies, like many others, saw the future of socialism in the process of nation and statebuilding, his interest in Hobbes being fired by this commitment. The world of society, of *Gesellschaft*, was public life, in which contractual and rational relationships dominated and were ordered by the state, a condition contrasting with that of the community, the *Gemeinschaft*, in which affective ties predominated. Consequently, a science of society could be constructed that would comprehend all domains of human activity, whereas the absence of rational calculation from communal relationships meant that there could exist no "science of community" by means of which they might be analyzed. This approach to society was associated with the project of "state socialism" that Tönnies shared with many contemporaries. Ricciardi's approach to Tönnies properly emphasizes this feature of his work. Indeed, from this perspective can be discerned a relationship to the contemporary idea of social democracy (in all its forms), a perspective that demonstrates the severe limitations of a linkage of early sociology to a dialogue with Karl Marx and Marxism.

Keeping clearly in view Tönnies's interest in Hobbes also brings into focus the importance to him of the work of Georg Jellinek and Otto Friedrich von Gierke. Ricciardi has read widely in the *Staatslehre* of the later nineteenth century, a line of development important, for example, to Max Weber's writing on the modern state. Indeed, although it would not normally occur to a modern student of *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft* that Tönnies was preoccupied with the analysis of the modern state, this is the inflection on his writing that Ricciardi presents and that serves to place him within the broad tradition of the German study of politics of the later nineteenth century.

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WILFRIED FELDENKIRCHEN. *Siemens 1918–1945*. (Historical Perspectives on Business Enterprise.) Columbus: Ohio State University Press. 1999. Pp. xvi, 714. \$75.00.

The Siemens company is one of the oldest and most important manufacturers of electrical products in the world. It has a well-deserved reputation for innovation, quality, and financial stability. This company-sponsored history, written by the well-known German business historian Wilfried Feldenkirchen, who was employed as the chief of the company's archives when the book was written, is a solid account of this prominent enterprise.

The origins of the Siemens conglomerate can be traced back to 1846, when Werner Siemens founded a small company to build telegraph equipment for the Prussian Army. Through the subsequent decades, the firm pursued a strategy of seeking dominance in the entire electrical engineering market, both for capital goods and consumer items, while avoiding

businesses unrelated to its core interests. It also consistently followed a strategy of seeking technical excellence in order to achieve long-term growth and to assure control of the firm by the Siemens family. The book provides an accurate, straightforward account of technological developments at Siemens, the organizational forms that it used to achieve them, and its pursuit of foreign markets.

Two aspects of the book, however, raise questions. The treatment of the company's behavior during the Third Reich is defensive and disturbing. The author stresses that Siemens was not directly involved in the production of weapons. This distinction is meaningless, however. Feldenkirchen provides figures that demonstrate clearly that the company, especially its Siemens and Halske branch, received enormous contracts from the armed forces. Siemens produced telecommunications, target acquisition, navigation, and other equipment, without which the German armed forces could not have fought on the contemporary battlefield. Moreover, Paul Storch of Siemens was the head of the special committee of Albert Speer's armaments ministry responsible for developing the guidance mechanism for the V-2 rocket, and in 1944 he became chief of the company charged with developing the entire missile.

Feldenkirchen forthrightly points out that Siemens employed foreign forced labor, Jews and prisoners of war. He provides information on how many were on the company's rolls, how they were treated, and how they were accommodated. Yet he goes to great lengths to show that Siemens's behavior was comparable to that of other German companies. While it is difficult to imagine a company successfully resisting the demands of the Hitler regime to accept forced and slave labor, the defensive tone with which this episode is presented creates a negative impression.

The second matter that could have been handled more effectively is the discussion of the company's finances. Feldenkirchen is to be praised for addressing the issue of hidden reserves. Opaque accounting rules permitted German firms to accumulate large reserves of cash and inventories that they did not have to show on their balance sheets. For this reason, examination of their operating statements and their tax returns is of vital importance. Feldenkirchen explains that the company manipulated its officially reported profits and assets on its balance sheet in order to accumulate about a half a billion Reichsmarks in unreported reserves by 1939. Yet, although he provides ample information on the company's sales, he provides inadequate information on its operating costs. Consequently, we can not determine Siemens's operating surplus or its free cash flow. Knowing these things would allow the reader to gauge the company's profitability and assess the validity of the figures given for the hidden reserves and profits.

In a related area, Feldenkirchen provides extensive, detailed evidence of Siemens's efforts to control competition by entering into cartel arrangements with its



German and international competitors, including General Electric. These discussions give a clear indication of the considerable extent to which competition on the electrical products market was abridged. The author claims that Siemens did not use these arrangements to raise prices, but lacking specific data, and in light of mainstream economic theory, one may legitimately question this assertion.

The book is marred by long general discussions of the German electrical industry, which are at best only indirectly related to Siemens, and long undigested quotations, some pages long. These stand in stark contrast to the lack of a portrayal of internal debates over company strategy, marketing, organization, or product development. We receive, instead, pat accounts of corporate policy that provide little feel for the pulse of the enterprise.

In sum, this study of Siemens in the first half of the twentieth century is a valuable addition to the growing list of histories of major German corporations. It addresses important, controversial issues, although in a defensive manner, and provides us with new information. It will serve as a starting point for more searching, critical histories written without the limits imposed by a cautious management.

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PETER GRIEDER. *The East German Leadership 1946–73: Conflict and Crisis*. New York: Manchester University Press. 1999. Pp. x, 243.

MARK ALLINSON. *Politics and Popular Opinion in East Germany 1945–68*. New York: Manchester University Press. 2000. Pp. x, 178. \$74.95.

The (East) German Democratic Republic (GDR) ceased to exist politically on October 3, 1990, but it lives on quite vigorously in scholarly works. Of the various reasons for this, the two most important are that exploring the history of the GDR enables us to understand the politics of postwar Germany and the Eastern European Communist states in a comparative perspective; and that the availability of GDR archival source material allows such investigations to reach a high level of documentary detail. Both of the authors whose books are reviewed here use this archival material to explore, and indeed refute, what they regard as false notions of GDR politics. Mark Allinson's "central assumption" is that "the GDR was for most of its history a stable state" (p. 4). He proposes to show how and why the GDR political system received the active or passive support of the population. He especially wishes to weaken the case for a GDR "declining by installments," the title of a book by Armin Mitter and Stefan Wolle (*Untergang auf Raten* [1993]) that serves as Allinson's target. Peter Grieder's aim is "to explode this taboo [the pretense of a conflict-free Socialist Unity Party or SED leadership] and penetrate the public image of a monolithic regime" (p. 2). While

Allinson proceeds with a largely chronological survey of East German life from war's end to 1968, Grieder focuses on four cases of high-level elite conflict between 1946 and 1973.

Allinson restricts his study to the state of Thuringia and the districts (*Bezirke*) into which it was divided in 1952. He uses party archives, memoirs, and contemporaneous newspaper accounts to analyze the reactions of both the public and lower-level party officials to important events, including church-state controversies (one of the strongest parts of the book), the June 1953 crisis, and the impact of the Prague Spring.

His explanation (pp. 9–10) for not using Stasi files is unconvincing and weakens his data base. Concentrating on Thuringia, while perhaps a convenient research strategy, is not justified by the subject. Allinson (pp. 5–6) is correct that analyses of the GDR tend to concentrate on the national level and the top of the political pyramid; why Thuringia is a suitable alternative field of study, and what insights he has gleaned that other studies overlook are not shown.

Grieder uses a conventional focus on high-level (Politburo) politics to demonstrate how the SED leadership was riven by conflicts over policy and personal ambition. By extremely close reading and analysis of archival materials, he shows how divisions in the leadership were articulated, positions adopted, rivalries signaled, and the attentive public of lower officials informed; he also shows just how these disputes were woven into the fabric of Soviet-GDR relations. As Grieder has read very widely in the SED archives, it may be a bit churlish to wish he had also consulted the GDR oral history archive at the Hoover Institution and perhaps searched more diligently into such works as those of Norman Naimark.

What do these books tell us about the formative years of the GDR? What new insights might we gain regarding the working of a Communist polity? What important scholarly questions do the authors bring to this newly available material?

Allinson's diligent study is vitiated by a poor choice of research question. He writes that "it is important to establish how far East Germans supported, accepted or tolerated" the regime (p. 2). But what does this mean, especially in the context of modern authoritarian politics? It is undoubtedly true that most East Germans, most of the time, led "normal" lives, busying themselves with mundane concerns. What does that tell us about the mechanisms for insuring acquiescence? Moreover, while most East Germans remained (willingly?) in the GDR, what is one to make of the millions who fled? Is it meaningful to conclude that East Germans were supportive because they only revolted once, in 1953? It is misleading to present, as Allinson does (pp. 160–62), involvement in political activity as a sign of stability; we know too much about Communist mobilization methods to accept this as a sign of "popular opinion."

Allinson points out that many policies were poorly implemented at the local level, and that East Germans



had mixed motives (personal and political) for going along. But this applies to many dictatorships and tells us little about the "stability" or "normality" of any such regime at any given moment. To sum up: the author fails to establish his case that "this framework of general normality presupposes a general acceptance of the GDR by its citizens" (p. 159).

Grieder uses SED records to provide a convincing and quite fascinating reconstruction of events and to illuminate larger issues of Communist rule in East Germany. He examines four turning points in the evolution of the SED leadership: its transformation into a Stalinist "party of a new type" between 1946 and 1953; leadership crises connected to the June 1953 uprising; the opposition to Walter Ulbricht in the wake of the 20th Party Congress (1956–1958), and the successful removal of Ulbricht in 1970–1971. Grieder demonstrates the scope but also the limitations of a Communist leader's power. We are reminded of how much Communist "high politics" turned on the determination, energy, guile and luck of particular leaders. Like their Soviet models and mentors, GDR leaders expended endless energy on court intrigues (while factoring in the added dimension of Soviet influence).

Grieder also shows how strong social democratic traditions remained within the SED, not only in the 1946–1949 period but indeed throughout the GDR's history, with some SED politicians advocating a greater role for social forces, for workers, and for cooperation with the West German Social Democrats (SPD). Moreover, Grieder shows how central disagreements over the national question were to leadership disputes.

An innovative contribution is his analysis of Ulbricht's removal. Grieder shows how Ulbricht's policies changed after the building of the Berlin Wall (1961). Now Ulbricht emphasized technology as a driving force for economic and political strength, the concomitant recruitment of nonparty experts into important policy positions, and, most contrary to conventional wisdom, a surprising receptivity to closer ties to West Germany. Grieder argues strongly that the Brezhnev leadership, while opposed to Ulbricht on both personal and policy grounds, moved very slowly and reluctantly against him. The driving force was rather the ideological and personal ambitions of Ulbricht's colleagues, especially his supposed chosen successor, Erich Honecker.

These crises, in which Ulbricht was first victorious, then defeated, leave us wondering what determined success or failure. Was Ulbricht simply older and slower in 1971 than he had been in, say, 1957? Or were his victories based on a defense of political and ideological orthodoxy, while his defeat came when he was more innovative? What may this tell us about the capacity of the GDR (and by implication, Soviet) system to innovate that would help to explain its ultimate collapse?

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CHANDAK SENGGOPTA. *Otto Weininger: Sex, Science, and Self in Imperial Vienna*. (The Chicago Series on Sexuality, History, and Society.) Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2000. Pp. x, 239. \$29.00.

Otto Weininger, briefly famous in his own time, has become infamous in ours for parallel but opposite reasons. The fin-de-siècle was, as we are, obsessed with issues of gender and racial identity; it is the opposed values of the two eras that account for the different valence of their judgments. As Chandak Sengoopta points out, the tragic "genius" of fin-de-siècle literary sexology has today become the symbol of its ugliest misogyny and racism. In his book, however, Sengoopta wants to go beyond psychological explanations of Weininger's pathology and condemnatory judgments of his ideology—neither of which he rejects—to a more informative understanding of the historical contexts of Weininger's ideas. While acknowledging, indeed insisting, that the paramount purpose of Weininger's *Sex and Character* (1903) was combating the women's movement, Sengoopta wants to show that Weininger's thought, far from being "mad" or irrational, not only shared in prevailing cultural discourses but was solidly rooted in the biomedical science of its time.

In this last aim he largely succeeds. The most original parts of the book—perhaps not surprisingly for a study that originated as a thesis in the history of science, medicine, and technology—are the chapters that deal with ideas about the biology of sex in turn-of-the-century botany, genetics, cytology, endocrinology, embryology, medicine, and psychiatry. Weininger was well informed in all of these fields; his arguments for the thesis of the sexual "intermediacy" (bisexuality) of all human beings, however speculative at times, were consistent with the most advanced and respectable contemporary scientific concepts. To cite just one example among many: Weininger's version of cellular bisexuality was derived from, although it went well beyond, the botanist Karl Wilhelm von Nägeli's hypothesis that a portion of cellular protoplasm was the carrier of hereditary traits from both parents. In another fascinating discussion, Sengoopta describes how Weininger turned Josef Breuer and Sigmund Freud's *Studies on Hysteria* into an argument for the pansexual nature of women.

As Sengoopta points out, however, such examples show that even within scientific discourse, Weininger took exactly what he needed for his argument and rarely explained why he rejected the rest, always guided by his larger, nonscientific objectives. Those are to be explained, Sengoopta claims, through the broader cultural discourses that dominated turn-of-the-century Vienna: discourses about the nature of the self, involving a debate between Ernst Mach's skeptical empiricism and a revived Kantian idealism; about the true nature and place of women; and about the role of Jews in German culture. Here, although he has some

interesting things to say, Sengoopta is rather less original. But there is a deeper problem. Sengoopta's cultural contextualization tends to dissolve the perverse originality and extremism of Weininger's theses about woman's essential nothingness and man's absolute being that so captivated many of his contemporaries. This might be thought simply a hazard of the contextual approach, but it is Sengoopta's omission of another crucial contemporary discourse—the anguished turn-of-the-century discussion among artists and intellectuals about creativity and its relation to sex and gender—that accounts for the somewhat flattening effect of his analysis.

Sengoopta himself notes two striking facts whose relationship and significance he does not pursue. He points out that the arguments Weininger used to combat German feminist efforts to found women's rights on the special dignity of mothers, the argument that maternity was as sexual as prostitution and hence “an ontological and ethical nullity,” did *not* rely on good contemporary science and were in fact largely literary. He notes, too, that by far the most positive reaction to Weininger's book was also literary. It was primarily writers who were taken by Weininger's hypothesis that women, as purely sexual and not spiritual beings, could never be culturally creative—a point that would have been greatly strengthened if Sengoopta had included the non-Germanic, and particularly the Russian reception of Weininger, which he mentions but modestly omits for lack of expertise.

The work Weininger relied on most heavily to attack motherhood was *The Father* (1887) by August Strindberg, not coincidentally one of Weininger's most enthusiastic advocates. Sengoopta notes shrewdly that Weininger's argument deconstructs itself, but he gets the point backward. As he writes, woman might be “Nothing” at the end of Weininger's discussion of maternity, but relying on August Strindberg's play led to the unintended apotheosis of the Mother, who, alone sure of her role in creating a child, “was almost Everything.” This, however, was not the accidental conclusion of Weininger's argument but its starting point. Many artists and intellectuals had come to fear, for complex reasons that cannot be gone into here, that masculine creativity was precarious and that it was femininity that was naturally creative. Those who, like Strindberg, identified feminine creativity with reproduction recoiled by demeaning the very naturalness they envied; mere “organic” creativity that required neither reason, imagination, nor will was not creativity at all. This notion is what (aside from any personal factors) lay behind Weininger's violent denigration of sexuality itself as mindless and soulless. Sengoopta gives little weight to Jacques Le Rider's hypothesis of a crisis of Jewish masculine identity in the Viennese fin-de-siècle, but along with much other evidence the origins of and responses to Weininger's work testify to a crisis of masculine creativity among European artists

and intellectuals at the turn of the century that went well beyond Vienna and Jews.

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DANIELA FRIGO, editor. *Politics and Diplomacy in Early Modern Italy: The Structure of Diplomatic Practice, 1450–1800*. Translated by ADRIAN BELTON. (Cambridge Studies in Italian History and Culture.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2000. Pp. v, 262. \$59.95.

CHRISTOPHER STORRS. *War, Diplomacy and the Rise of Savoy, 1690–1720*. (Cambridge Studies in Italian History and Culture.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2000. Pp. xiv, 345. \$69.95.

The two volumes under review appear in the Cambridge Studies in Italian History and Culture series and represent valuable additions to the literature on statebuilding, domestic politics, and foreign relations in Italy from the fifteenth to eighteenth centuries. Space does not allow for more than a brief consideration of their findings.

For English-speaking nonspecialists, the standard account of diplomatic practice in early modern Italy remains Garrett Mattingly's *Renaissance Diplomacy* (1955), which argues that modern diplomacy characterized by a tenuous balance of power preserved by resident ambassadors emerged in the first half of the fifteenth century. The avowed purpose of the essays in the volume edited by Daniela Frigo is to challenge that overly teleological schema with its emphasis on institutional fixity and to bring to the analysis of the Italian states the methods of the new diplomatic history, namely the examination of foreign relations in light of economic conditions and social systems, as well as changing mentalities. The volume includes seven essays and an introduction by the editor. The essays by Riccardo Fubini, Alessandra Contini, and Andrea Zannini consider the oligarchic republics of Florence and Venice; those of Maria Grazia Maiorini and Christopher Storrs the kingdoms of Naples and Savoy (Sicily and Sardinia) respectively. Frigo examines the diplomacy of the “small states” of Mantua and Modena, while Luca Riccardi provides an overview of papal diplomacy.

In spite of their broad range, several topics, including the development of diplomatic tools and the ends to which they are used, the social background and training of ambassadors and other personnel, and the culture of diplomatic maneuvering, receive treatment throughout. Fubini's essay on diplomacy and government in Florence and Venice in the fifteenth century provides the analytical key to the first of these topics. He argues quite convincingly that the development of residentiality emerged not, as Mattingly asserts, as an assertion of sovereignty but rather, paradoxically, from concerns over sovereignty and legitimation; the new diplomacy of fifteenth-century Italy was “first and foremost political activity, whose range and purposes

were, at least, juridically problematic" (p. 32). Contini furthers this analysis of the relationship between diplomacy and legitimacy by examining how Cosimo I de' Medici's diplomatic activity served to consolidate his regime both internationally and internally against the oligarchs. While the Florentine regimes were using diplomacy, in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, to legitimize their rule, it became, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, a way for the Italian states to preserve what they had already won and, with the exception of Venice, to further dynastic ambitions.

The authors also consider the evolution of the office of ambassador, the expansion of the secretariat, and the elaboration of written records and archives. Yet the story the essays tell is not the usual one of the development of a modern bureaucracy with a more professional staff. In his examination of Venetian diplomacy, Zannini comes closest to this account since he does note some decline among patricians in the "patrimonial conception of the state and of politics" and the rise of the *citadino* "public functionary" (p. 122). Likewise, Riccardi finds evidence that papal diplomacy modeled itself more and more on the forms and methods of the secular states. But in her essay Maiorini notes the "ambiguous character of the Neapolitan diplomatic corps" (p. 203), manned as it was by nobles who only served in order to gain prestige and whose loyalties often lay with Spain rather than with the newly created kingdom. In all these states, systems of clientage and patronage continued to thrive within the new bureaucracies; and in many of them there existed alternative systems of communication (for example, via marriage alliances between royal houses), as well as variegated avenues of information.

In this regard, it is clear that diplomatic practice remained, to a surprising degree, tied to aristocratic court culture. Storrs calls attention, in his analysis of Savoyard diplomacy, to the role that dissimulation played for the smaller states. And several of the essays note the importance of the arts, especially ceremonial entries and architectural displays. Maiorini in particular highlights the attention that was paid, especially in Protestant countries, to the appearance and upkeep of the legation chapel. One would like to see more consideration given to this and similar topics. Overall, the essays expand the notion of what constituted diplomatic activity and illustrate the interweaving of domestic and foreign policy concerns in a period when sovereignty and the nature of the state itself were still very much in flux.

The same may be said of Storrs's analysis of Savoy under Victor Amadeus II during the period from 1690 to 1720. Building on earlier studies, especially those of Guido Quazza and Geoffrey Symcox, Storrs marshalls his voluminous research and data around an assessment of the role that war and diplomacy played in the creation of the Savoyard "absolutist" state, with particular attention to the period before 1713.

Through skillful diplomatic maneuvering and his participation in the Nine Years War and the War of

Spanish Succession, Victor Amadeus was able to transform Savoy from the status of a French satellite and secure for his house a royal title, first as kings of Sicily and later as kings of Sardinia. Storrs focuses the first part of his analysis on the army and finances and demonstrates how the need to secure funds for the war effort led to more effective exploitation of the state's resources. But he also shows just how dependent Savoy was on foreign subsidies, which in the crisis year of 1706 amounted to forty-one percent of ducal revenues. Such dependence on foreign contacts and support created the need for an acute sense of diplomatic possibilities. Between 1690 and 1703, Victor Amadeus pulled off three volte-faces, thereby securing for himself a reputation for duplicity on the international stage, while at the same time embellishing his reputation and power at home.

The second half of the book focuses largely on domestic questions, as Storrs examines the impact of war on administration, the nobility, and various regions and communities. Here he documents not only the creation of more efficient and centralized bureaucratic structures, such as the institution of intendants, but also the continuing importance of the court and such chivalric orders as that of the Annunciation, originally founded in 1362. Storrs finds, in contrast to Quazza, that Victor Amadeus was not antinoble and that the nobles "sought to batten onto the Savoyard state not combat it" (p. 264). Victor Amadeus adopted various approaches to the regions of his realm, subduing Mondovi, accommodating the Duchy of Aosta, and recognizing (under foreign pressure) the rights of the Protestants in the Vaudois.

Placing his findings squarely in the middle of the debate about the nature of absolutism, Storrs comes down on the side of the revisionists who see it as "more of a compromise with (than an imposition on) the ruled" (p. 13). Yet by focusing on Savoy, he is able to provide an alternative model applicable to the smaller states and to demonstrate the critical role that international contacts and foreign resources played in these less well studied absolutist regimes.

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LUCA MOLÀ. *The Silk Industry of Renaissance Venice*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2000. Pp. xix, 457. \$48.00.

This is a good book that describes the silk industry in Venice from 1450 to 1600. Luca Molà concludes that "The structures of the Venetian and, more generally, the Italian silk industry were highly flexible . . . Far from being a stagnant activity that embodies the golden decline of the Italian economy, the silk industry was one of its more vital sectors, one that eventually came to play an important role in the industrial revolution of the peninsula" (p. xix).

Molà's work reveals the rich results of collaboration among Italian, American, and British historians. This



book belongs to the genre of case studies of particular industries. Other examples are Jean-Claude Hocquet, *Le sel et la fortune de Venise, I-II* (1978–1979), and Reinhold C. Mueller, *Money and Banking in Medieval and Renaissance Venice, II* (1997). These works, like the present volume, reflect exhaustive archival searches for data and consultation with the secondary literature, which is then related to the wider historical scene. Longer trends (the *longue durée*) are only cautiously proposed.

Molà's book stems from his doctoral dissertation, completed under the direction of Richard Goldthwaite. He also acknowledges the guidance of and consultation with well-known English-speaking historians of the early modern Italian economy. He relies on innumerable recent publications in well-known and obscure journals, primarily in Italian. His command of the primary sources in the Archivio di Stato of Venice is awesome. For example, when quoting from the dispatches of the governors of the Venetian mainland cities, he relies on the original texts and not on the inaccurate but convenient modern editions that appeared in the 1970s.

Molà divides his well-organized study into three parts. He first establishes the preparation and distribution of Venetian silks in their wider geographical and chronological setting. In the sixteenth century, seven Italian cities—Genoa, Milan, Venice, Bologna, Florence, Lucca, and Naples—dominated the production of silk thread and cloth in Europe. However, raw silk was also imported from the Levant and began to be produced also in Spain and southern France. In the latter sixteenth century, the techniques of spinning and weaving silk cloths spread farther north in Europe.

Part two examines in great detail the Venetian commerce in raw and worked silk, the production of silk thread, its dyeing, and the weaving of cloths in the city itself. The basis for this analysis is the Venetian public record, especially the guild archives, the records of state agencies and of the Senate. The data reflects this governmental regulation and taxation of the industry as well as the patenting process of new inventions in the industry.

Part three concerns the silk industry in Venice's mainland possessions. From the fifteenth century, the lagoon city also governed northern Italy, from the mouth of the Po west to the environs of Milan, north into the foothills of the Alps, and eastward to Carinthia. (The War of the League of Cambrai, 1509–1516, temporarily subtracted much of the mainland from Venetian control, but the cities returned to the Venetian allegiance by midcentury.) In these territories (the *Terraferma*) mulberry trees were planted and silk worms raised. "Throughout the sixteenth century, the Terraferma was unquestionably the greatest producer of raw silk in northern and central Italy" (p. 236). The towns of the *Terraferma* also spun silk threads, the major centers being Vicenza, Verona, and Bassano. After midcentury, they began to weave silk fabrics. Because the silk entrepreneurs of the capital (*setaioli*)

wanted to control all phases of silk production, they pressured the Venetian government to restrict the silk industry on the *Terraferma*. But Molà demonstrates that this was not always successful, because the state recognized that such restrictions would cause unemployment and civic unrest in the subject cities. Protectionist decrees, consequently, often went unenforced.

In conclusion, Molà points to changing fashions that induced Venice to alter its protectionist policies and to accept new products and techniques. Neither the guilds nor the city fathers were able to control the direction of the industry. Demand for lighter silks after 1570 increased diversity in the Venetian silk industry; different markets wanted different silks. With rough calculations, Molà concludes that by 1600 the "annual turnover" for the raw silk trade in Venetian territories roughly equaled the annual revenue of the Venetian state.

The book concludes with three appendixes detailing the charters granted to the Italian silk industry, tabulating the inventions presented for Venetian patents, and printing a partnership agreement concerning Venetian silk industry inventions. The book also contains endnotes, a glossary, a thirty-four page bibliography, and an index. Tables and plates illustrate the text. The publisher should be commended for producing a text relatively free of Venetian institutional jargon, and for a clear typeface.

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CHRISTINE SHAW. *The Politics of Exile in Renaissance Italy*. (Cambridge Studies in Italian History and Culture.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2000. Pp. x, 257. \$64.95.

This book by Christine Shaw examines a topic that is too often neglected by historians of the Renaissance, although exiles were certainly an important part of political life of the time. Because so many men spent time in exile, their impact was felt throughout the peninsula. Exiles were of great concern both to the states that banished them and to those states that thought of using the exiles to intervene in the affairs of their rivals. For many years, Shaw has been actively involved in the Elites Project housed at the University of Warwick, and this work represents the fruit of her research. In some ways, Shaw's book complements Randolph Starn's *Contrary Commonwealth: The Theme of Exile in Medieval and Renaissance Italy* (1982), which examines the literary tradition of exile in thirteenth and fourteenth-century Italy but does not deal with the political issues that Shaw does.

Even though the title leads the reader to believe that the book covers all of Italy, it really focuses on the experiences of fifteenth-century Siennese exiles with comparisons to some other states. It is true that Siena seems to have exiled a large part of its population in the second half of the fifteenth century—some 691



documented cases between 1456–1500 (p. 3)—and it may even be true that Siena exiled more men than any other state of the time, but Florence, Naples, Milan, and Genoa all suffer in comparison to the coverage that Siena receives. Shaw makes clear that the exiles played a critical role not only in the life of their own states but also in the relations between Italian states. Grounded in the obviously rich archival collections of Siena, she is able to show how the exiles sought help from other major powers in their attempts to return home. She writes knowledgeably about the methods used by exiles to gather external support, about some aspects of their lives in exile, about the bureaucratic practices required by the states that banished them, and about their relations with each other as well as with the families they left behind.

While the Siena section is quite strong because of its reliance on primary sources, comparisons to the experience of exiles from other cities are less convincing. In terms of secondary sources, unfortunately, this is a sparsely documented book. Many of the works cited are out of date and are not used as effectively as they might be. Consulting William Caferro's *Mercenary Companies and the Decline of Siena* (1998) would have enriched this work by providing an additional perspective on both exiles and mercenaries. Similarly, existing studies on Florence and Venice that could have been used to make more effective comparisons include Susannah Foster Baxendale's excellent study of the Alberti in exile, Paula Clarke's *The Soderini and the Medici: Power and Patronage in Fifteenth-Century Florence* (1991), and Dennis Romano's study of the Querini-Tiepolo conspiracy in Venice.

Missing from the picture that Shaw presents is the impact that exile had on the women left behind. Even though they did not hold political office or wield power in their own right, many women members of elite families spent years trying to bring their men back from exile. Heather Gregory's work on the Strozzi, my own work on the women of the 1466 conspiracy against Piero de' Medici, and Baxendale's study of the Alberti women reveal the terrible price paid by women whose fathers, brothers, and husbands conspired to overthrow the dominant regime. These women became political actors as they attempted to hold on to family property and to marry their children effectively while at the same time keeping families together in the face of physical separation.

Shaw's book makes a contribution to the field. Her rich footnotes, full of archival references, can easily be mined by historians for more information on Siena. Although I wish that Shaw were able to bring a fuller examination of exiles from other Italian states to her work, this book presents a tantalizing glimpse of the type of synthetic history of exile that can be written once historians do for the other Italian city-states what Shaw has done for Siena.

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CYNTHIA L. POLECRITTI. *Preaching Peace in Renaissance Italy: Bernardino of Siena and His Audience*. Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press. 2000. Pp. xi, 271. \$61.95.

Sermons are usually taken as the prototypes of top-down communication; even the term "sermonizing" connotes an open mouth and closed ears, attached to an unwavering moral purpose. In this important book, Cynthia L. Polecristi examines the role of audience response in shaping the sermons, fame, and eventual sainthood of one of the most famous preachers of the Italian Renaissance, Bernardino of Siena (d. 1444). Although widely respected as a fearless critic of contemporary immorality and corruption, Polecristi argues that Bernardino attracted the following he did because he was careful not to stray too far from his audience's expectations or to challenge their cultural assumptions. This conservatism brought immediate fame but little lasting influence or effect.

Bernardino had a charisma that filled piazzas and cathedrals in daily preaching cycles that could run for weeks or even months. Of noble birth, he chose holy orders over family expectations. He began preaching in 1404, but his fame as a moralist and peacemaker took off with a campaign in Lombardy in 1417. The Observant Franciscan harshly castigated gamblers, adulterers, sodomites, and factional troublemakers (the focus of Franco Mormando's *The Preacher's Demons: Bernardino of Siena and the Social Underworld of Renaissance Italy* [1999]). Cities vied for the honor of being publicly flagellated in this way, and for the opportunity to experience Bernardino's practical work as a peacemaker. At least three offered him a bishopric, including his native Siena, but he feared the constraints and temptations of high office and died in the pulpit, as it were, while preaching peace in the Abruzzi. Sainthood followed six short years after his death, one of the quickest such spiritual promotions in the history of the Roman Catholic Church.

Bernardino's Latin sermon notes and the transcriptions of his vernacular sermons by members of his audience reveal a preacher of vivid style. His images and stories drew in his audience, and his oratory could be interrupted by dialogues with listeners, or even the familiar stutters of someone watching his train of thought recede into the distance. With his acerbic and sometimes earthy comments on the ambitions, delusions, and failings of Renaissance Italians, his sermons are often mined for vivid quotations that reveal some of the texture of daily life. Polecristi includes some of this in her study but does not stray far into biography or anecdote; she retains a sharp focus on the theme of peacekeeping and on the dynamic relationship between Bernardino and his audiences.

Contemporaries reported that whole towns attended Bernardino's outdoor sermons, but the rhetoric and illustrations suggest audiences of women, children, and clerics. His props included bonfires of vanities to clear the moral rubble and banners radiating Christ's name

to spur imitative piety. These last became so prominent as to earn him charges of promoting idolatry. Polecristi examines extensively how issues of faction and suspicion, gossip and slander, honor and shame made individual and communal peacemaking so difficult. Peacemaking rituals combined staged spontaneity and notarized agreements and usually depended on outside mediators to overcome local division. Bernardino based outer peace on inner peace: inner secured outer, but outer, even when ritualized and "insincere," might shape inner by means of emotion and habituation. At key points, Bernardino took refuge in ambiguity, couching critique of political factionalism in archaic terms like Guelph vs. Ghibelline. Polecristi's analysis culminates in a final chapter that traces the topical and rhetorical rhythm of a six-week sermon cycle in Siena in 1427 that built to a climactic public peacemaking ritual. This valuable case study would be more helpful if schematized in a table or appendix.

Polecristi bases much of the study on transcriptions, which she assumes to be transparent and reliable. While there is no immediate reason to doubt this, issues of transmission are hardly unproblematic and need to be addressed more directly if audience response is used to interpret Bernardino. The analysis is grounded in extensive citation of current scholarship on faction, feud, masculinity, identity, preaching, and the rest, but it betrays some odd gaps with regard to Biblical sources for Bernardino's themes and images. Polecristi finds paradox in Bernardino's call to pursue a vendetta through love, yet this is little more than an adaptation to his audience's language of the biblical proverb (Proverbs 25:22, Romans 12:20) that in loving your enemies you heap burning coals on their heads. This could indeed be the very practical form of an image that perplexes Polecristi: the notion of creating balls out of pitch, tallow, and hair (representing humility, love, and understanding) for use against enemies. These balls were like Renaissance fire-starters, and so a very practical adaptation of the burning coals coyly advocated by Solomon and Paul.

NICHOLAS TERPSTRA  
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ANTHONY GRAFTON. *Cardano's Cosmos: The Worlds and Works of a Renaissance Astrologer*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 2000. Pp. xii, 284. \$35.00.

The Milanese physician Girolamo Cardano (1501–1576) always thought that his medicine was better than his astrology. But as Anthony Grafton details in his splendid new book, Cardano spent the greater part of his life perfecting and polishing his astrological skills in order to please patrons, explain events, and ultimately explain himself to anyone who cared to understand him.

English-speaking readers have had remarkably little knowledge of this fascinating late Renaissance figure. While his autobiography, *The Book of My Life*, was

translated into English in 1931 and is considered one of the classics of this Renaissance genre, very few studies have made Cardano accessible, let alone comprehensible. Nancy G. Siraisi's *The Clock and the Mirror: Girolamo Cardano and Renaissance Medicine* (1997) explored Cardano's medical career and his relationship with traditional and novel, learned and popular aspects of medical and natural philosophy in the sixteenth century. Grafton's study adds considerably to the portrait of Cardano initiated in Siraisi's book by examining astrology as the other significant practice in his life that allows us to follow his career in its entirety. In doing so, he also invites us to examine the place of the astrologer in late Renaissance society.

Comparing Renaissance astrologers to modern-day economists, Grafton presents them as experts in the science of subjectivity, contentiously immersed in the technical details of an ancient discipline and attempting to create rules that might render comprehensible the vicissitudes of fortune. Just as Renaissance humanists probed the effect of fortune in human history in order to understand the shape of contemporary politics, so, too, astrologers reminded their clients that a geniture outlined possibilities but not certainties in the interpretation of one's life.

In discussing Cardano's astrological practice, Grafton emphasizes the role it played in the development of Cardano's identity as an author. We see him initially as the author of a vernacular *Prognostico* (1534), combining his mastery of the technical skills of astrology with the usual predictions of apocalyptic change soon to come. Four years later, he had evidently decided that his fortunes could best be made by displaying his more scholarly skills, writing in Latin and demonstrating in greater detail how his command of modern astronomy might serve a better astrology. Equally important, he pioneered the practice of including famous genitures in his works. As an author even more than as an astrologer, Cardano crafted his image as a man who laid bare the successes and failures of the powerful and the learned by analyzing their horoscopes. While other astrologers collected horoscopes, a manuscript tradition that preceded Cardano's publications, Cardano "treated the horoscope as a literary form" (p. 82). Grafton aptly compares the results to works such as Paolo Giovio's lives of famous men that revived this ancient form of biography in the mid-sixteenth century. He charts the growth of Cardano's success as an author (and not incidentally as a medical and astrological practitioner) from the period in which he recognized the subjective and narrative appeal of astrology, resting on the continued perfection of its mathematical tools, in an age in which the printing press could disseminate widely his pronouncements on the human condition. Using his well-known skills as a historian of the book and of reading practices, Grafton examines the popularity of Cardano's approach as seen in marginalia in his books and manuscript copies of his best genitures.

Fame, of course, had its price. One of the many

virtues of this book lies in its ability to take us into the contentious world of Renaissance astrology, bringing to life figures such as Luca Guarico and Nostradamus in relationship to the prolific and sharp-tongued Cardano. We hear them gloating over each other's failures, debating the proper reading of a geniture and the possibility of rereading it in light of changed events (such as Cardano's notoriously optimistic prediction of a long life for young King Edward VI), and continuing to argue over how to best use ancient astrology. Cardano, for instance, had no doubt that the Greek astronomer and astrologer Ptolemy would have approved of his horoscope of Jesus Christ, which he felt demonstrated simultaneously the validity of Ptolemaic astrology and the remarkable nature of the Savior. If his contemporaries disagreed and wondered at his piety, Cardano felt that it was further proof of the place of astrology in his encyclopedia of knowledge.

The book concludes with a reading of Cardano's famous autobiography. In it, Cardano demonstrated the success of his science by applying it to himself. Grafton, modifying Jacob Burckhardt, who made Cardano an example of Renaissance individualism, sees Cardano's prolonged commentary on his own life through his horoscope not as a statement of bold affirmation but as a rich and probing document of the self that made his scholarly virtues a necessary precondition for attempting to sketch his morality and psychology. The astrologer, in Grafton's terms, had the brash predictive power and quantitative skills of an economist, the psychologist's therapeutic ability, the historian's sense of narrative, and the philosopher's talent in drawing a lesson from these results.

Grafton's learned and sympathetic portrait of Cardano, written in his characteristically accessible prose, should take its place next to Michael Macdonald's *Mystical Bedlam* (1981) in taking us inside the world of Renaissance astrology through the reconstruction of an individual career. Unlike Macdonald, who focuses more on the patients than the practitioner, Grafton is less concerned with the dynamic of practice and more interested in the intellectual and cultural milieu of astrology. And this is as it should be. Cardano was a scholar's scholar: fiercely erudite, respectful of the ancients while modifying and improving upon them at every turn, unwilling to suffer criticism, proud enough of his abilities to offer them to princes and popes, and confident enough to resist criticism of the results. All these ingredients come into sharp focus in Grafton's study, making it a pleasure to read.

PAULA FINDLEN  
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ANDREA CARLINO. *Books of the Body: Anatomical Ritual and Renaissance Learning*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2000. Pp. xiv, 266. \$29.00.

Studies of Renaissance anatomy traditionally follow a periodization that identifies the work of Andreas Vesalius as a watershed, and Andrea Carlino's book is

no exception. It focuses largely on the pre-Vesalian period by addressing the issue of why it took so long for Renaissance anatomists to start challenging the classical heritage. In dealing with this question, Carlino explores a wider set of issues: notably the iconography of dissection scenes; the practice of anatomy in Renaissance Rome; social, religious, legal, and anthropological attitudes toward human and animal dissection; and the shift of the role of anatomy from ritual practice to the production of knowledge. The four chapters dealing with these themes stand as well-defined entities, and I shall discuss them in turn.

This book was originally published in Italian in 1994. The English edition contains a welcome bibliography, epilogue, and index, omitted in the Italian version. The bibliography includes works not discussed in the original edition and in some cases works published after 1994, but in the text under review I have been unable to find signs of an engagement with their conclusions, even in cases when these differ from Carlino's. Recent works mentioned in the bibliography include Andrew Cunningham, *The Anatomical Renaissance: The Resurrection of the Anatomical Projects of the Ancients* (1997), and articles by Katharine Park and Nancy G. Siraisi. In recent years, there has been a resurgence of interest in the medicine and anatomy of the Renaissance. Other highly relevant works published between the Italian and English editions of Carlino's work include Giovanna Ferrari, *L'esperienza del passato: Alessandro Benedetti filologo e medico umanista* (1996); Ferrari's edition of Alessandro Benedetti, *Historia corporis humani, sive Anatomice* (1998); Roger French, *Dissection and Vivisection in the European Renaissance* (1999), and David Gentilcore, *Healers and Healing in Early Modern Italy* (1998).

The opening chapter discusses the iconography of dissection scenes, largely from editions of Mondino de'Luzzi's *Anathomia* (1316), based on a *lector*, *sector*, and *ostensor*. The *sector* regularly occupied the lowest rank, whereas the roles of *lector* and *ostensor* varied at different locations. At Padua, the *lector* was junior to the *ostensor*, but this hierarchy seems to have been reversed elsewhere. In his explanation of those scenes, following William Heckscher, Carlino refers repeatedly to the "quodlibetarian model" of academic disputations or the "show windows through which the non academic outsider could observe and enjoy the goings-on of the universities" (p. 13, n. 9). This explanatory quotation from Heckscher, however, is relegated to a footnote, despite the fact that it occupies a central role in the text. A careful and extensive discussion of the significance and role of the "quodlibetarian model" and of the role and significance of public academic disputations would have greatly helped and strengthened Carlino's analysis. The first chapter ends with a discussion of a different tradition of dissection scenes in the works of Vesalius, Juan Valverde, and Realdo Colombo. Carlino's claim (p. 50, fig. 20) that the illustrations in the second edition of Vesalius's *Fabrice* were re-engraved on copper is incorrect.



The investigation of anatomy in Renaissance Rome contains the most successful and original contributions of the book. Rome was a highly interesting venue where the presence of the pontiff at the center of Christianity added an interesting dimension to the relationships among religious attitudes, political authority, and dissection practices. Moreover, relying on archival sources, Carlino has been able to provide a list of sixteenth-century executions and to document the transactions among civic authorities, students and anatomists, and the arciconfraternita di San Giovanni Decollato, a sodality devoted to providing moral and material assistance to people condemned to death. His work points to changing attitudes towards dissection and a greater freedom for anatomists and toleration toward their practices emerging in the early 1570s.

The third chapter charts the relationships between anatomical knowledge and dissection practices from antiquity to the sixteenth century. This survey discusses anthropological, legal, and religious themes stretching from the *Corpus Hippocraticum*, Aristotle and the Alexandria school, Galen, the Byzantine world between the fourth and twelfth centuries, to medieval and early modern Europe.

Last, Carlino moves to the central argument of the book. In his view the anthropological, rather than religious or epistemological, opposition to dissection joined with the preeminence of textual authority over the direct observation of the cadaver to generate an intellectual inertia delaying the growth of anatomical knowledge. In an interesting aside (p. 212), Carlino notices the analogies and temporal coincidence between Vesalius's epistemological attitude to the body and ancient authority on the one hand, and the analogous debates over Scripture and ancient authority between Catholics and Protestants on the other.

DOMENICO BERTOLONI MELI  
Indiana University

JAMES FENTRESS. *Rebels and Mafiosi: Death in a Sicilian Landscape*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 2000. Pp. 297. \$29.95.

The popular myth of social banditry has fascinated people since the story of Robin Hood. Recently, professional historians, led by Eric Hobsbawm's pioneering books *Primitive Rebels: Studies in Archaic Forms of Social Movement in the 19th and 20th Centuries* (1963) and *Bandits* (1981), have undertaken scholarly investigations of the many and varied "social" organizations around the world. Not surprisingly, the "social" movement that seems to have provoked the most interest is the Sicilian mafia. Now, James Fentress has added to the growing number of works on the historical development of the mafia in Sicily.

As expressed in his title, the author's thesis is straightforward. He asserts that the history of the Sicilian mafia cannot be understood outside the many revolutions that shook the island in the nineteenth century. Hence, he defines the mafia as an "alternate

network of power" that emerged during the struggle for Sicilian freedom (p. 7). And he correctly explains that the network of power was based essentially on personal relationships that provided information about the activities of the mafia to the authorities and about the activities of the authorities to various mafia organizations. These relationships eventually established a deeply imbedded synergistic relationship that made repression of the mafia extremely difficult. Indeed, as Fentress points out, the talents required in politics and organized crime are similar; the politicians and the mafia came together because both were in the business of controlling people.

As the author points out, the social barrier between the politicians and the criminals began to crumble after unification. He explains that the more the Italian state attempted to repress the rebels, the more it weakened the position of the traditional Sicilian ruling class. Hence, Fentress argues, anger against the harsh measures of the Piedmontese government caused people to trust the criminals and bandits who appeared to be the only Sicilians willing to fight against outside control.

In order to vindicate his thesis that the mafia members were the "soldiers of the permanent revolution" (p. 256), the author attempts to redefine the meaning of a revolution. He asks the reader to discard the idea that a revolution must overthrow the existing society and to accept the notion that a simple act of rebellion against legitimate authority (a crime, for example) is a revolutionary act. To accept Fentress's definition is, however, to romanticize the mafia in a manner similar to the myth of Robin Hood. In all his numerous vignettes of mafia leaders in Sicily, he provides little indication that any of them intended their "rebellions" to extend beyond a firm establishment of their control over the local society.

In addition, the author asks the reader to accept that the term "brotherhood" emerged from the revolutions and could never be associated with a criminal organization (p. 213). Therefore, he asserts that the use of the word brotherhood rather than mafia indicates that the ideals of the revolution still existed within the mafia. Here again there is a dangerous tendency to romanticize the mafia and its members who were, according to the author, required to call each other brother (*fratello*) or partner (*compare*). No matter what they chose to call each other, as the author established one page earlier, the motive of the Stoppaglieri mafia was to eliminate its rival in Monreale (the Giardinieri), not to start a revolution.

In order to establish his thesis, the author uses the first half of the book to rehash the familiar story of the nineteenth century revolutions in Sicily and of the unification of the Italian state. It is not until he explains that the attempted revolution of 1866 was widely perceived by northern Italians and Sicilians as a mafia uprising that he finally makes the connection between the rebels and the criminal elements of Sicilian society. By choosing to organize the book in



this manner, the author is frequently forced to move abruptly from one point to another, quite different one using a telltale phrase such as "we will return to the earlier point later in the book."

Finally, and perhaps most disturbing of all, the author incorrectly identifies one of the most prominent Italian politicians ever, Giovanni Giolitti, as Antonio Giolitti. And the mistake is repeated, twice in the text and even in the index! Fentress's editor and readers should have served him better. Even with these important weaknesses, however, the book does provide an interesting look at the development of certain mafia organizations in nineteenth-century Sicily.

CHARLES L. BERTRAND  
Concordia University

JOHN DICKIE. *Darkest Italy: The Nation and Stereotypes of the Mezzogiorno, 1860-1900*. New York: St. Martin's. 1999. Pp. 209. \$45.00.

John Dickie is a leading member of a group of young historians working in British universities with a distinctive revisionist thrust to their work on modern and contemporary Italian history. They do not shy away from theory, whether historiographical or broadly social scientific, and are happy to challenge past and current *monstres sacrés*, from Denis Mack Smith to Edward Said. This interpretative study of some neglected dimensions of the attempt by successive generations of the Italian ruling class to define the identity of their country is attractively well-written, even when Dickie strays into the semantic thickets of deconstruction.

The exploration of the constraints and possibilities of nationbuilding by social elites in the modern period is a constant thorn in the side of historians, who are always tempted to assume the existence of enduring national identities rather than lift the carpet of celebratory patriotism. In the case of the nation-state of Italy, latecomer par excellence, the layers of mystification are manifold and dense. Most of them relate to the largely unexamined great divides assumed to exist between the labile entities denoted by "North" and "South," "modernized" and "backward" (or even "archaic") sectors, "bourgeoisie," "workers," and "peasants." Dickie, taking his stance close to the position of the "new southern history" (p. 12), joins in the task of "diluting the difference" implied by such terminologies. He focuses upon "the various ideas of the South produced at various times" (p. 13) in terms of the stereotypes they embodied and the uses to which, consciously or otherwise, the latter were put in the discourses of Italians about and within the nation. His work suggests that the generation of stereotypes of the South was not simply a byproduct of the making of Italy but functional to it.

The discourses chosen are, inevitably, disparate and to some extent arbitrary: the still influential works of the pioneer *meridionalisti* Pasquale Villari and Leopoldo Franchetti certainly make an obvious start-

ing point for Dickie's analysis of how the "Southern Question" was first posed and developed into an anxious ethnocentric debate about national identity. Similarly, obvious candidates for scrutiny are the narratives and reflections of Italians involved in the repression of the postunification "brigandage" in the South, which powerfully shaped perceptions of the latter's otherness. Rather less persuasive, perhaps, is the reliance on a single press source, the *Illustrazione italiana*, as the most representative repository of "bourgeois" attitudes to "darkest Italy." An analysis of the stereotypes implicit in the discourses of at least equally influential journals of opinion, for example, might have revealed a picture contrasting significantly with this "dilettante anthropology of the picturesque" (p. 97), and one wonders also what might have emerged from a closer scrutiny of the almost Spartacist utterances and symbolic acts of the losers of the social war of the 1860s. Historical empathy is, sadly, no longer fashionable.

It is one thing to disinter and dissect stereotypical *topoi*, quite another (as Dickie himself reflects, p. 197) to determine how they lead to or deter from specific actions. The point is made clear by Dickie's treatment of the baleful figure of Francesco Crispi, the fiery Sicilian survivor of the heroic generation of the "makers of Italy," whose two periods of office (1887-1891 and 1893-1896) coincided with (and perhaps resulted from) the first major crisis of Italy's governability since the brigandage of the 1860s. Threatened by the collapse of the national banking system, a diplomatic and trade crisis with France, and a fresh peasant-plebeian revolt in the form of the Sicilian *fasci*, the tottering polity reached for a charismatic leader to pull it together. The once-radical Garibaldian Crispi, now a populist-monarchist, appeared to be the only strong man available. He also preeminently fitted the ambivalent stereotype of the southerner-superpatriot ready to emulate Bismarckian realpolitik in his nationalist and colonialist ardor. For once, the stereotype seemed to converge with the demands of the real situation, Crispi being "perceived to be both of the other Italy and a rampart against it" (p. 141).

Crispi's repression in Sicily succeeded, but at Adowa, the feudal army of Menelik destroyed the Italian expeditionary force. After Crispi's (stereotypically Italian?) downfall and disgrace, the enterprise of making Italians who would be ready to fulfil the fantasies of their rulers passed, a generation later, into even more dubious hands. Today the latter-day *lanista* who will probably come to office in 2001 deploys the artifices of a football manager to promote his motley team. Dickie's stimulating book shows why the stereotypes rippling out from these past and current events should continue to receive comparable attention as aids to historical understanding.

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DONNA R. GABACCIA. *Italy's Many Diasporas*. Foreword by ROBIN COHEN, Series Editor. (Global Diasporas Series.) Seattle: University of Washington Press. 2000. Pp. xv, 264.

In what was one of the greatest migrations of people during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, nearly thirty million Italians went abroad. The migrants came from all parts of the Italian peninsula, and they went to multiple destinations on six continents. Some remained permanently in their new societies. Others returned home. Still others went back and forth many times. And a not insignificant number moved from one destination abroad to another. This truly global movement of people had important consequences not only for the migrants themselves but also for Italian society and the multiple receiving societies abroad.

This is the most recent in a series of insightful books by Donna R. Gabaccia that evaluate various aspects of Italian migration in its global, transnational, and comparative contexts. It is a path-breaking effort that is based on years of research in a number of countries and on the fruits of collaboration with many other scholars. Basically, this is the story of nineteenth and twentieth-century Italian migrations and how these migrations impacted on nation-state building both in Italy and in the various receiving societies (Argentina, Brazil, France, the United States). It is the story of the intertwining evolution of the multiple local, national, and international identities of the Italian peasants, workers, merchants, and professionals who went abroad. It is also the story of the connections among these places and the migrants who lived there.

The eight chapters in the book provide us with a compelling description of the dramatic story of Italian migration over a thousand years. The first chapter explores the pre-nineteenth century migrations, when Italy was neither a nation nor a state. Although those who lived in the Italian peninsula did not think of themselves as Italians, the merchants, artists, clerics, and students who traveled abroad carried a distinctive culture with them that, by 1500, educated Europeans referred to as "*civiltà italiana*." Most of the book, however, focuses on the past two centuries. Chapter two examines the efforts of elite supporters of the Risorgimento to construct "diaspora nationalism" and to use it to incorporate the labor migrants into the nation. Chapters three through six constitute the heart of the book. In them Gabaccia explores the village-based proletarian mass migrations between 1870 and 1940. Chapter three analyzes the causes of migration both within Italy and the Atlantic economy as well as the national economic patterns of the various receiving societies. Chapter four provides much rich detail on the social connections of migrants and their family members in Italy, the international family economy, and life in the colonies. The author skillfully examines the development of a series of Italian national identities in chapters five and six: diaspora nationalism, labor internationalism, proletarian nationalism, fas-

cism, and antifascism. And, finally, chapters seven and eight look at the post-World War II period, the impact of Italy becoming a receiving as well as a sending society, and the complex identities of the migrants' descendants in the multiethnic nations in which they lived.

One of the most important contributions of this book is that it provides fresh insight into the complex process of Italian migration by exploring it in terms of diasporas. The Italian diaspora, according to Gabaccia, clearly differed from the better known "victim diasporas" of Africans and Jews, but it did at different times manifest many of the characteristics of diasporas set forth by Robin Cohen: an expansion from a homeland in search of work; a collective memory and myth about the homeland; a return movement that gains collective approbation; and a strong ethnic group consciousness sustained over a long time (*Global Diasporas, An Introduction* [1997]).

Yet a critical issue for Gabaccia is whether there was a single Italian diaspora or many diasporas. As she points out, there was no Italian nation or Italian people before 1861, and this makes it "difficult to write with much confidence about an Italian Diaspora" (p. 1). She argues instead that it was the regions, the towns, and the villages that produced Italy's many diasporas. These diasporas were "webs of social connections" that connected the local villages and regions with the wider world.

Nevertheless Gabaccia insists that it is "heuristically helpful to imagine the possibility of a single Italian diaspora" (p. 9), because it forces us to recognize several important points about the nature of Italian migration. First, national histories have obscured the global dimensions and the circulatory character of migrations from Italy. The concept of diaspora, she suggests, compels us to look simultaneously at the multiple migrant destinations and the connections among them. Second, the use of the concept of diaspora brings to the fore Italy's ties to the rest of the world and the impact of these ties both on Italy and on the respective receiving countries. This in turn demands a comparative approach to the analysis of the migrants in their many locations abroad. And third, looking at Italian migrations as a diaspora highlights their transnational nature.

This is an important and provocative book that stimulated me to rethink many of my ideas regarding migration. It is essential reading for anyone interested in migration history, Italian migration history, and the meaning of the concept of diaspora.

SAMUEL L. BAILY  
Rutgers University

CARL LEVY. *Gramsci and the Anarchists*. New York: Berg. 2000. Pp. xii, 272. \$65.00.

Until fascism seized power in 1922, anarchism was a powerful force to be reckoned with on the Italian left. While there is now a vast library on Antonio Gramsci

and Italian communism, little attention has been paid to the forgotten movement of Italian anarchism. Carl Levy has written a solidly researched work that is a welcome addition to the literature on twentieth-century Italian political history. The book is dedicated to the memory of James Joll, a scholar who did much to rescue and recover the history of Italian and European anarchism. Utilizing the state archives in Milan and Turin as well as the central state archives in Rome and the International Institute of Social History in Amsterdam, Levy seeks to reconstruct the relationship between the great Marxist theorist and a heterogeneous group of Italian anarchists.

As Levy remarks in his opening paragraph, the history of Italian anarchism has never received the attention it deserves (even in Italy). Gaetano Salvemini warned that, if the anarchists were not careful, their history would be written by their enemies. Unfortunately, Salvemini's prophecy, writes Levy, has been fulfilled. In Levy the anarchists have found a sympathetic supporter, but one who is not blind to their faults.

The repressive policies of postunification Italy acted as a catalyst for a terrorist anarchism that vied for public support with a more humane and philosophical tradition of anarchism. Levy focuses almost exclusively on what transpired in Turin in the last few decades before fascism came to power. Anarchism, socialism (of various stripes), syndicalism, and communism all combined in a heady brew for the urban proletariat of Fiat's home city. Relations between the groups ranged from warm fraternity to outright hostility to murderous fratricide. Often the members of the numerous political clubs, associations, or factory councils had very little knowledge or understanding of their own political ideology. "We talked about Marx," one communist admitted, "because we had his portrait in our meeting room, however to say that we knew about Marxism would be exaggerated because Marx's books were too heavy for our stomachs" (p. 35).

Levy has not attempted a biography of Gramsci but rather a study of the formative influences on his politics and the "elective affinities" between his thought and that of the anarchists and syndicalists. Gramsci's relationship with the anarchists, Levy writes, was "tortured and complex" (p. 3). There are some minor missteps, such as the claim that once Gramsci became a recognized journalist "all of Turin was at his feet" (p. 95). More serious is a structural weakness: Gramsci and the anarchists do not often meet in this work. The first two chapters are devoted solely to Italian and Turinese anarchism, respectively. Gramsci is a peripheral figure until chapter three, and his relationship with the anarchists is not broached until almost the mid-point of the book. It is only in the penultimate chapter on "Productivism and Anti-Jacobinism" that Levy closely and carefully examines the ideological "affinities" and contradictions between Gramsci's new vision of Marxism and the anarchists.

The book's merits, however, outweigh its flaws.

Early chapters touch on important points: a long public debate carried on between 1916 and 1918 by Luigi Fabbri on behalf of the anarchists and Giacinto Menotti Serrati for the maximalist socialists concerning the possibility of a united front prompted Gramsci to intervene and argue against any such tactic; when Gramsci launched his influential journal, *L'Ordine Nuovo*, in 1919, the anarchists responded favorably; Gramsci, for his part, never reciprocated the warm feelings and to the end insisted that anarchism was a premature and juvenile political philosophy and that anarchists were merely "street orators" with little of the party discipline necessary for a successful revolution. Anarchists, for Gramsci, were capable only of rebellion and riots. Gramsci could be intolerant and stinging in his assessment, yet he recognized that the anarchists could be useful tactical partners.

Gramsci's colleagues made important contributions to the debate: Angelo Tasca, Umberto Terracini, and Palmiro Togliatti all wrote in reply to anarchist essays. For their part, the anarchists could boast of some powerful thinkers and writers of their own such as Fabbri, Armando Borghi, Errico Malatesta, and Camillo Berneri. When, in November 1921, Italian anarchists denounced the Soviet Union, Gramsci was merciless in his condemnation of the anarchists. As Levy reminds us, between 1921 and 1926, Italian anarchists were driven out of the factories into poverty, despair, and exile—not by the fascists but by the communists. In the 1920s, two anarchists tried to assassinate Benito Mussolini, offering the regime an excuse to persecute the rest. "The anarchists," writes Levy, "probably suffered greater violence in proportion to their numbers than other political opponents of fascism" (p. 223). The book ends in a poetic and tragic fashion with the anarchist Berneri offering an eloquent tribute on the occasion of Gramsci's death, only to be assassinated two days later by Stalinist agents in Spain.

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BRIAN PORTER. *When Nationalism Began to Hate: Imagining Modern Politics in Nineteenth-Century Poland*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2000. Pp. x, 307. \$45.00.

Brian Porter's book is an extensively researched and perceptive analysis of the evolution of Polish nationalism during the decades from the late eighteenth to the early twentieth century, when the historic nation found itself struggling to negotiate the passage to modernity without an organized state of its own. Porter challenges what he sees to be two common and mistaken assumptions: one, that the exclusive nature of modern nationalism is self-evident and self-explanatory, and two, that the processes of modernization necessarily leads to liberal democratization. In analyzing Poland's case, he hopes to demonstrate that the processes of modernization and democratization of the nation require close study to explain their trajectories



and were intertwined with (not antipathetic to) a growing yearning for order, hierarchy, and authority by the end of the nineteenth century.

The strongest sections of Porter's study are those in which he examines closely the sometimes anguished discourse about the nation as it developed through several generations (and several uprisings) in the nineteenth century. For example, his discussions of the Polish intelligentsia's evolving perceptions of the relationship between Polishness and Judaism are most enlightening and do much to challenge any assumptions about the self-evident nature of Polish anti-Semitism. Similarly, his exploration of radical politics at the end of the nineteenth century reveals the dynamic and paradoxical nature of the relationship between "left" and "right." He analyzes this transformative political moment better than anyone else I have read. In general, he is at his best in close analysis of writings from the period that are otherwise inaccessible to anyone who does not read Polish (and probably new even to most of those who do). (He is the least useful or convincing, in my view, when he distances himself from the texts and writes theoretically.)

My main criticisms of the book are three. First, I think the title is unnecessarily inflammatory. The arguments Porter advances show that Polish nationalism evolved through a discourse that included many and varied voices. Although the national chauvinist and anti-Semitic *Endecja* (National Democratic Party) that emerged by the turn of the century had the loudest voice, it neither silenced the others nor entirely drowned them out. This remains true for the interwar period, which Porter does not discuss directly but to which he alludes suggestively. This may seem a trivial criticism, but I think that the title suggests a national consensus that the evidence, and even Porter's analysis, do not bear out. Second, Porter's examination of Polish nationalism seems rather parochial. Other than some discussion of the extreme popularity of Herbert Spencer among the Polish intelligentsia, he does little to place the Poles in a broader European context and virtually nothing to place them in the context of other modernizing European nationalisms. Since the Polish intelligentsia was not itself isolated or parochial, this seems inappropriate to the topic. Perhaps most noticeably and importantly, he does not present his argument about the eventual Polish abandonment of liberal, evolutionary historiosophy in favor of an activist right radical ideology (at the start of the twentieth century) in the context of parallel processes elsewhere in Europe (e.g. willfully interventionist Bolshevism and fascism). It is unclear to what extent the Polish case is exceptional and to what extent typical and related. Finally, Porter's categories of analysis and vocabulary are noticeably the product of recent trends in historiography and sometimes seem egregious or distracting from the substantive discussion. For example, he writes that "the intellectuals did not merely articulate the voices of workers and peasants in an *unmediated* [my emphasis] fashion" (p. 79). This is

hardly a new or startling insight. In another example, he writes, "The nation itself had to become popular and the voice of the *lud* had to become hegemonic (if I may use an anachronistic expression) before the allegiance of the people could be demanded or expected" (p. 115). The need to include the parenthetical and self-conscious apology should have been a signal to choose another term.

These criticisms aside, the book is a very welcome addition to the historiographies of both Poland and nationalism, bringing an expanded base of sources, fresh hypotheses, and skillful discussion to familiar topics. It succeeds admirably in being at once provocative and authoritative in its scholarship and simultaneously empathetic and critical toward the subject matter.

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KEITH HITCHINS. *A Nation Affirmed: The Romanian National Movement in Transylvania, 1860–1914*. Bucharest: The Encyclopaedic Publishing House. 1999. Pp. 407.

This volume is the final installment of Keith Hitchins's comprehensive studies of the history of the Romanian national movement in Transylvania from 1700 to the advent of World War I. Beginning with the era of constitutional experiments in the Habsburg monarchy in the 1860s and unfolding during the period of Austro-Hungarian dualism between 1867 and 1914, this final stage was marked by the accession to political and ideological power among the Romanian majority in Transylvania of a nascent Romanian middle class and the gradual diminution of the role of Romanian churchmen. The intent of the book is to describe and discuss the nationality problem in the last years of the monarchy, to show how and why Romanian and Magyar relations steadily worsened in this period, and to trace the evolution of the Romanian position from one of autonomy within the empire to an assertive position of self-determination.

The author begins with a lengthy summary description of the first two stages of the Romanian national movement, showing clearly how Romanian national consciousness emerged in eighteenth-century Transylvania, the role played by Romanian churchmen in this development, and how all of this crystallized into the Daco-Romanian consensus. He carefully relates this process to political developments in the region as well as the broader canvas of European intellectual development. Finally, he shows how linguistic and historical criteria came to define the Romanian "nation," and how this was expressed in the 1848 springtime of peoples.

The "central tragedy of 1848," Hitchins believes, was the failure of the Magyars to realize that their "attempts to carry out Magyar national goals ran counter to the aspirations of the other peoples of Hungary to achieve their own national ambitions" (p. 40). Despite



this, and despite repeated disappointments and betrayals at the hands of the emperor, the Romanian national movement remained loyal to the Habsburg monarchy almost to the very end.

In the 1860s, after several short-lived concessions from the emperor, the Romanians of Transylvania found their worst fears realized when Transylvania lost its autonomy by being incorporated into Hungary, and the *Ausgleich* elevated the Magyars to copartners in the running of the empire. Hitchins describes the impact that the Compromise of 1867 had on the program and tactics of both the Hungarians and the Romanians of Transylvania. At this time, a conflict emerged among the Romanian leadership between the traditional approach of working within the system to defend Romanian rights (activism), and a more radical approach (passivism) calling for a boycott of elections and parliamentary participation until these rights were guaranteed.

The passivists dominated the Romanian national movement from 1867 to the 1890s, including the Romanian National Party, which was formed in 1881. Their primary strategy, described in detail by Hitchins, was to argue for the restoration of Transylvanian autonomy and the affirmation of Romanian national rights through the periodic issuance of petitions, memorials, and statements of principles. By 1890, however, the Romanian leadership realized that Transylvanian autonomy was a dead issue. At the same time, the Romanians had moved far beyond the "Transylvanianism" that autonomy represented to natural rights arguments and a federal solution to the national problem in the Austro-Hungarian monarchy. Unfortunately for the Habsburgs, the "unfolding of the nationality problem after 1900 was, in a sense, the history of the failure of the Hungarian government to offer its minorities . . . incentives to remain loyal citizens" (p. 323).

This transition coincided with the growing interest of the heir to the throne, Franz Ferdinand, in some kind of federal system for the monarchy. Hitchins traces in some detail the dialogue between the Romanians and the archduke's circle between 1905 and 1914. At the same time, he delineates the increasingly frequent contact between the Transylvanian Romanians and politicians from the Romanian kingdom. He concludes that the federalist solution probably had lost its opportunity by 1910.

1910 also marked the advent of the last major effort to reconcile the Magyars and the Romanians, an initiative of István Tisza, who served as prime minister from 1913. The discussions, which lasted up to the war, were indicative of the irreconcilability of Romanian-Hungarian aims by this point in time. The issue came down, Hitchins notes, to one of centralism versus federalism. In the end, both sides came to believe that national survival was at stake.

This book is outstanding both in scope and coverage of the development of the Romanian national movement. Few scholars have the linguistic tools that

Hitchins combines with meticulous archival study and superb synthetic skills. All of these are on display here. In addition to the main lines of the story, the book also provides relevant chapters dealing with the economic development of the Transylvanian Romanians, the socialist movement in the region, and school politics (although some of this might have been better integrated into the primary thread of the book). This is the best single volume on the Romanian national movement in Transylvania available in any language.

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RADU IOANID. *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940-1944*. Forewords by ELIE WIESEL and PAUL A. SHAPIRO. Chicago: Ivan R. Dee; in association with the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, Washington, D.C. 2000. Pp. xxiv, 352. \$30.00.

From 1940 to 1944, roughly 270,000 Jews—half of the total under the Romanian government's control—perished through murder and the terrible hardships of deportation. Another 130,000 out of some 150,000 who were left in Transnistria after it fell under Romanian control from 1941 to 1944 also died. This is the subject of Radu Ioanid's book. Romania's Gypsies, also slated by the Nazis for extermination, suffered much less. According to Ioanid, some 25,000 perished out of about one million.

Ioanid presents innumerable horror stories, many previously published, but also from unpublished sources. To read about the brutality, wanton cruelty, greed, and nightmarish inhumanity of so many officials, and often ordinary Romanians, who committed these atrocities is shocking, even for someone who knows exactly what happened in Europe during those years. This may be why Elie Wiesel's foreword so enthusiastically endorses a book that repetitiously pounds into the reader's head how awful the Romanians were; it is Wiesel's, and Ioanid's, mission to remind the world about the evil of the Shoah.

The Romanian version of this book may convince some of those Romanians who do not know what happened in Romania in those years under the rule of their "Conducator" (*Duce*) Marshall Antonescu that Romania was truly guilty. Isolated by almost fifty years of totalitarian lies, from 1940 to 1989, some may still be ignorant, though one suspects that the intellectuals and politicians who have tried recently to rehabilitate Antonescu as an honorable anticommunist nationalist are not naïve. Nor will the few bizarre Western (including some American) scholars who have been apologists for Romania's awful record of anti-Semitism and for Antonescu himself be swayed by evidence they certainly already knew about.

For those who accept the substance of the story and know the work of Raul Hilberg and others on this topic, however, Ioanid's book poses some unanswered problems that he does not fully address. The killing of

Jews under Romanian control was very unevenly distributed. Over seventy percent of those who lived in the provinces bordering on, and briefly occupied by, the Soviets in 1940–1941—Bukovina and Bessarabia—were killed. Between eight-five and ninety percent of those in Transnistria died, the same proportion as those under control of the Hungarians in North Transylvania (Wiesel's home) during the war. But well under half of the Jews in Romania's old heartland died, and even there, it was mostly in the east. Antonescu somewhat protected "his" Jews, especially in Bucharest, just as the Hungarian dictator Miklós Horthy did, and the Bulgarians protected "theirs." The ones in occupied or suspect territories were not so lucky.

Ioanid says this was because of corruption, inefficiency, and opportunism; but that does not fit with the evidence he presents about Antonescu's own frequent wavering on the Jewish question throughout the war, not just after the German (and Romanian) defeat at Stalingrad.

Antonescu's anti-Semitism, like that of most Romanians, had a nationalist and economic rationale. For Adolf Hitler, Jews were a deadly viral disease, secretly inserting themselves into and polluting the Aryan race. Antonescu was more old fashioned. He disliked Jews because he thought they were economic leeches and politically unreliable. His Jews, ironically, were like those portrayed by Karl Marx's essay on the Jewish Question. Antonescu thought Bolshevism was much the greater menace, so Jews who were more Romanized and seemed more removed from Communist influence than those of eastern Moldavia, Bukovina, Bessarabia, and Transnistria bothered him less.

This is not to exonerate Antonescu or Romania's wartime criminal behavior but to explain, as Ioanid does not, why Romania's Holocaust was a half-hearted affair, and the persecution of Gypsies was haphazard. For Hitler, Gypsies were also racial polluters. For Antonescu, they may have been contemptible, but they hardly seemed menacing.

The book, nevertheless, has great merit because it provides so much useful evidence. Only occasionally does it err, as when it claims that King Carol II, deposed by the fascist regime, was also an anti-Semite. Actually, he was not, though he tried to pretend to save his throne. Still, he never agreed to give up his Jewish mistress, and in exile, he married her. Many Romanians were not very anti-Semitic; many were but did not support the Holocaust, and even some of Romania's fascists were quite ambivalent about what was happening. Such complexity and how, nevertheless, it could have led to such tragedy, remain to be fully explained. Ioanid's book helps by providing a lot of evidence but still leaves much work undone.

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DENNIS DELETANT. *Communist Terror in Romania: Gheorghiu-Dej and the Police State 1948–1965*. New York: St. Martin's. 1999. Pp. xii, 351.

The installation and consolidation of the Communist regime in Romania in the two decades following the end of World War II was a many-sided process that attracted the attention of Western scholars and commentators from the beginning. Since the fall of the Communist system in 1989, Romanians, too, have been free to investigate its origins and nature and have brought to light valuable sources. Newly available materials from Soviet archives have illuminated the crucial relationship between the Soviet and Romanian Communist Parties. All of this work reveals an order of things that may well be described as an exercise in terror. This is the approach that Dennis Deletant has taken.

In successive chapters, he describes the imposition of the totalitarian regime between 1945 and 1948, giving particular attention to the fate of the Orthodox and Uniate churches to the late 1950s; the organization of the Securitate, the security police, and its abuse of power in crushing real and imagined enemies; the efforts by Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej in the late 1940s and 1950s to prevail over ambitious colleagues and to survive by reassuring his Soviet masters of his loyalty; the purge of Lucrețiu Pătrășcanu; the functioning of the Romanian gulag; Dej's triumph over his chief rivals and his emergence by 1957 as uncontested head of the party; and, finally, Dej's success in loosening his bonds to the Soviet party and in setting Romania on an autonomous course of development.

Much of the ground that Deletant covers has already been trodden by others, but he adds useful details and emphasizes some fundamental truths about the Communist regime. He leaves no doubt about the subservience of the Romanian Communists to the Soviet Union in the 1940s and most of the 1950s, as he describes Soviet penetration of the security services and Soviet expertise in setting up the repressive apparatus. Yet, it would be enlightening to know more about these matters from the Soviet side, including Soviet attitudes toward the Romanians as a nation and as Communists. Here the growing literature in Russian could be put to good use. As for the gulag, Deletant has used several important memoirs to describe its horrors, but to complete the picture many other works in the growing genre of prison literature could be consulted.

Deletant's portrait of Dej as a clever and brutal manipulator, poorly educated, and for most of his career subservient to Moscow is accurate. He also points to Dej's skill in charting Romania's "independent course" against the Soviet Union and argues that his struggle for power with Ana Pauker, Vasile Luca, and Pătrășcanu was personal and had nothing to do with ideology. But what one misses here is a discussion of ideology or the set of ideas that guided Dej and his associates. What, in other words, was their vision of a

future Romania, and how and why did that vision evolve? Why, specifically, did Dej seek "autonomy" from the Soviet Union? Was he a "Titoist" at heart?

The elimination of Pătrășcanu was one of Dej's most difficult tasks. Deletant gives the matter a thorough airing and concludes that Dej had Pătrășcanu purged because he feared him as a rival, and he points out that Soviet leaders were deeply involved because they had decided that Pătrășcanu was a "chauvinist," that is, hostile to the Soviet Union. Deletant treats Pătrășcanu sympathetically as an intellectual who would very likely have ruled less callously than Dej. Yet, his portrayal remains incomplete. Little is said about Pătrășcanu as minister of justice, especially his use of the justice system to promote the Communist seizure and consolidation of power.

Deletant has understood the term terror in a restricted sense with emphasis on its political and repressive aspects. He has covered them amply, but our appreciation of the nature of the terror is limited because he has neglected its broader implications. Many questions deserve elucidation. What, for example, was the impact of the terror on intellectual and cultural life? What was the depth of Russification across the society as a whole and how was it received? How was the day-to-day existence of ordinary people affected by the terror? What support did the regime have among the population at large, and why? What were the regime's positive accomplishments, and how did its domestic policies moderate, and why?

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ALEKSANDAR JAKIR. *Dalmatien zwischen den Weltkriegen, Agrarische und urbane Lebenswelt und das Scheitern der jugoslawischen Integration*. (Südosteuropäische Arbeiten, number 104.) Munich: R. Oldenbourg. 1999. Pp. 534.

The bloody demise of the second Yugoslavia has prompted not only continued reconsideration, scholarly and otherwise, of Josip Broz Tito's postwar Communist federation but also invited closer attention to the fate of interwar Yugoslavia. How in particular did this first attempt at national integration proceed among the same ethnic groups that have failed to accommodate each other even in the successor states to the second Yugoslavia? The question calls for more detailed study of the individual regions and groups that made up this now-broken mosaic.

We may therefore welcome Aleksandar Jakir's careful study of interwar Dalmatia, culled from his recent doctoral dissertation. This volume is the latest in a long series on the wider region from Munich's Südost-Institut, reminding us that more published archival research on Southeastern Europe is currently coming from Germany than from any other country. Jakir focuses precisely on the growing disillusion of his territory's large Croat majority (some eighty percent

versus seventeen percent Serbs) with the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes. His title and his longest chapter direct us to the new kingdom's socioeconomic promise and its almost immediate shortcomings as the crucial elements in this disillusion. The Split city archives and a myriad of interwar newspapers and other publications provide him both with statistical evidence from 1880 into the 1930s and the local flow of Croatian political discourse. Rather than detailing the local Serb response, however, the author concentrates on the unwelcome initiatives of the Serbian-dominated central government in Belgrade.

Jakir begins with a chapter on the initial post-1918 prospects for a newly united Yugoslav state and concludes with one on the interwar ascendancy of the Croatian Peasant Party (HSS). Its rise would swamp the cultural institutions promoting an integral Yugoslav identity in Dalmatia. We are not surprised to learn about the familiar wartime attraction to some future Yugoslavia within a still-Austrian Habsburg province threatened with postwar absorption into Italy by the Entente's ill-starred Treaty of London in 1915. When the monarchy disappeared and the Italian threat receded, so did the Dalmatian attraction to a government based in Belgrade to ensure Serbian military protection. But Jakir joins his senior German colleague Holm Sundhaussen (from *Geschichte Jugoslawiens, 1918–1980* [1982]) in rejecting the thesis of some Croatian and American historians that a mass Croatian political identity existed before the 1920s.

Jakir shows how the early failure of the kingdom's land reform to prevent the deterioration of conditions for Dalmatia's large peasant majority and the subsequent lack of industrial employment, both made worse by the impact of the Great Depression of the 1930s, created an opening for political opposition into which the HSS successfully stepped. Three quarters of the recipients of the small plots actually distributed quickly fell into debt whose repayment to private lenders absorbed all the next harvest's income (p. 193). Industrial employment grew to a modest 10,000 workers but stagnated as Italian investment departed during the 1920s. It fell after 1935, when the Belgrade government honored the League of Nations' sanctions against Italy, primarily at the expense of cement and timber exports from Dalmatia (pp. 288–94).

One mass response was emigration. Some 75,000 had left by 1929, but the Depression forced 20,000 to return, mainly from France (p. 307). Jakir admits that Serb peasants were hit just as hard by this combination of conditions that made Dalmatia, with tourism still in its infancy on the coast and with an upland interior unable to feed itself, one of the poorest parts of interwar Yugoslavia. But he leaves us with no further details on why there was no mass Serb movement (p. 453).

Jakir's aforementioned concentration on Dalmatia's Croats is most instructive when it traces the spread of HSS cooperatives and the failure of Belgrade's heavy-handed cultural institutions. Created specifically to



foster a common Yugoslav identity, they began to lose support as soon as the Italian threat to Dalmatia had subsided. By 1922, the Jugoslavenski sokol, formed on the Czech model of an athletic club and nationalist organization, had already split into Croat and mainly Serb groups (pp. 373–78). But for the HSS to become what Jakir calls “the generator of Croatian national consciousness on the coast,” its cooperative network needed to multiply from 35 in 1928 to 202 by 1937. Essential to this consciousness was the cooperatives’ program to repair still-widespread peasant illiteracy (pp. 231–35). Jakir elaborates on this and other socio-economic detail to provide persuasive evidence for his initial argument that mass political consciousness was for Dalmatia’s Croats a product rather than a precondition of the interwar period.

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VIKTOR MEIER. *Yugoslavia: A History of Its Demise*. Translated by SABRINA P. RAMET. New York: Routledge. 1999. Pp. xvii, 279. Cloth \$85.00, paper \$25.00.

Yugoslavia’s disintegration corresponded with the age of instant information and analysis. As a result, many journalists, diplomats, humanitarian aid workers, and scholars with any knowledge or acquaintance with the regions of former Yugoslavia hurriedly put pen to paper and produced a “history,” “a memoir,” “a diary,” or “an exposé.” They explained the reasons for Yugoslavia’s bloody collapse and indicted those responsible for the brutality and savagery that Americans witnessed via satellite from Vukovar, Sarajevo, or Priština. Some of these studies were based on experiences collected during short or long stays in the region, and others were written from a distance by longtime Yugoslav specialists. Rare is the book that combines a fifty-year scholarly and journalistic association with the region, eyewitness accounts, interviews with many of the principal political players, and archival research to explain Yugoslavia’s demise. Even rarer is a study representing the view from Central Europe that is made available to an English-speaking audience. Viktor Meier has written such a book, and we have Sabrina P. Ramet to thank for translating it.

Meier, longtime Balkan correspondent for the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, examined the Yugoslav economic system in his 1950s Ph.D. dissertation. As a confidant to Slovenian and Croatian political elites, he now adds his considerable expertise to explain “the reasons for Yugoslavia’s collapse and to identify those responsible” (p. xiii). The reasons, according to Meier, can be found in the decisions made and actions taken by Yugoslavia’s republican, federal, and party elites between 1986 and 1991. He argues that the political and ideological disputes that broke out over the distribution of power among the republics and over competing political systems, whether capitalist or socialist, federalist or hegemonic, democratic or author-

itarian, must be given primacy in any discussion of Yugoslavia’s disintegration.

Sympathizing with the “Western” Slovenes, Meier embraces the argument that Slovenia by the late 1980s had adopted a “democratic, pro-federalist orientation for a Yugoslavia” and that others, particularly Serbia, adopted “Balkan centralism” (p. 61). Thus, Meier’s study joins a number of works that judge the decisions and actions of individuals, nations, or interest groups within Communist Yugoslavia as Western or Balkan, democratic or despotic, moral or immoral, good or evil. In his study, “Western Yugoslavia” (i.e. the republics of Slovenia and Croatia) falls on one side of the divide and the other republics of Yugoslavia, presumably “Eastern or Balkan Yugoslavia,” on the other.

Perhaps it is unfair to criticize the author for his partisanship, because in his introduction, he does warn the reader that “I did not write this book as a historian, but rather as a contemporary witness and observer” (p. xiii). It is as a witness and not as a historian that Meier makes his contribution. While fascinating for the detail on the political maneuvering and decisions of Yugoslavia’s republican, federal, and party elites that only specialists can appreciate, this book is more valuable as an indictment of those responsible for Yugoslavia’s breakup. Balance and objectivity are not its strengths.

Meier draws on his years of observations, published memoirs, interviews, and records and transcripts from key meetings of top officials from the Republic of Slovenia and from the Yugoslav Communist Party to compile a list of the guilty—and he has a persuasive list of candidates. Slobodan Milošević is not only the first of the post-Tito Yugoslav leaders who rejected Titoist Yugoslavia and its unwieldy federal structures but also the embodiment of Serbian political culture and destiny. Other “villains” are the self-serving and self-interested leaders of the Yugoslav People’s Army—disproportionately Serbian; the inept federal party leadership that failed to solve Yugoslavia’s economic or institutional crises of the 1980s; and the Western diplomats who failed to intervene on behalf of the democratic forces in Yugoslavia and against Milošević. Meier argues that the West should have intervened as early as 1989 when Serbia, acting unconstitutionally, stripped Kosovo and Vojvodina of their autonomous status within the federation. Even when it was clear that Slovenia and Croatia intended to secede in 1991, the West failed to intervene. Meier attributes this reluctance to the Western diplomatic corps in Belgrade, whose members, he argues, practiced “a colossal jumble of political error, lazy thinking, and superficiality,” and to their bosses, who were “paying almost no attention to the country’s realities” (p. 217). In his opinion, only the Germans made amends by their decision to recognize Slovene and Croatian independence in December 1991.

Meier borrowed much of the material for this book from the numerous articles that he published in *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* between 1986 and 1991. This



reader cannot help but wonder how much of his perspective on the unraveling of Yugoslavia and his warm embrace of the Slovenian view, which argued that the Slovenes were "a Central European people, [who] felt more and more cut off from Europe" (p. 69), influenced the German public to defend this Central European people against "Balkan," "hegemonic," and "socialist" forces. Nowhere in this study does Meier hold the Slovenes responsible for their own brand of nationalism, economic or political. The author abruptly ends his history in 1991; maybe this is the end of the story for the Slovenes, but what about the other peoples of Yugoslavia?

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GEORG BERNHARD MICHELS. *At War with the Church: Religious Dissent in Seventeenth-Century Russia*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1999. Pp. x, 354. \$60.00.

The formation of Old Belief in seventeenth-century Russia is one of the classic themes of Russian history, and one of the few topics in the history of religion in Russia to attract much scholarly interest. Though falling short of its grand claims, Georg Bernhard Michels's addition to this literature sheds new light on familiar episodes and brings a large body of sources to the attention of scholars. Michels's aim is to disprove what he believes to be the dominant view that Old Belief became an instant mass movement when the archpriest Avvakum Petrovich rejected the liturgical innovations imposed by Patriarch Nikon in 1653. In fact, only V. S. Rumiantseva has made that assertion, and her views are much more nuanced than Michels admits. His first two chapters are consequently pushing on an already open door. Like his predecessors Ivan Ivanovich Subbotin, N. F. Kapterev, Pierre Pascal, and Nikolai Mikhailovich Bubnov, Michels argues that the earlier opponents of the new liturgy were isolated clerics without much following before the church council of 1666. His portrait of the economic and other tensions within the church hierarchy in those years, by contrast, is much more original. A great many of the bishops and abbots of the period were accused of various sorts of tyrannical behavior, and they may well have been guilty, though the sources as presented here cannot definitively prove the case. The emphasis on Bishop Alexander of Viatka as an important figure, exceptional in the hierarchy in those years, is again not as new as claimed, but does expand on earlier work by Bubnov to reinforce the impression that Alexander was indeed a key figure.

In the second half of the book, Michels surveys various forms of popular dissidence among monks, priests, and laymen in the second half of the seventeenth century. This is his most original scholarly contribution, based on an extensive use of archival material that earlier historians have ignored. The author's contention that there were other issues at

work beyond rejection of the liturgy is convincing. It would be even more so if he did not feel the need to downplay all instances where his own data reveal the rejection of the new liturgy as part of the case. Human beings are rarely so simple that one motive must exclude any other. What Michels cannot prove is how extensive any of these phenomena were: the Russian church and state lacked the bureaucratic apparatus of their counterparts farther west, and, as Michels himself notes, the church could not control provincial parishes. The result is that the cases Michels has found are only part of a reality that remains hidden to us. It is clear that Old Belief (after the 1660s) had some popular appeal, as did Michels's other types of dissent, but how much is hard to gauge. Thus his assertion that the other types were more numerous and important than Old Belief is no more sustainable than the opposite assumptions of textbook and popular writers. His argument would have been better served had he presented his new material more fully and given the reader a better sense of its context. Where he is surely on the right track, as he has more clearly explained elsewhere, is in arguing that the Old Believer tradition was reformulated in the early eighteenth century in a series of canonical texts, and that historians must move beyond them to understand the phenomenon (see Georg Michels, "The First Old Believers in Tradition and Historical Reality," *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas* 41 [1991]: 481–508).

Michels's work would inspire more confidence if it had fewer mistakes. Fedor Ivanov did not write in the name of the "majority of all the people" because *vsenarodnoe mnozhestvo* means "a great many of all the people" (p. 217). F. M. Rtishchev, Savellii Kozlovskii, and Ivan Gundorov were not boyars (pp. 92, 130). Spiridon Potemkin did not come from the boyar aristocracy (p. 88), for no Potemkin ever rose above the much lower rank of *stol'nik*. There is no proof that the monks Bogolep L'vov and Iov Saltykov came from the boyar families of the same name (pp. 137, 150).

All this being said, the author's impressive archival research and new insights have great value. Michels's work forces the historian to rethink accepted notions about religious dissent in seventeenth-century Russia and its ecclesiastical and social dimensions.

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DOUGLAS SMITH. *Working the Rough Stone: Freemasonry and Society in Eighteenth-Century Russia*. DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press. 1999. Pp. x, 257. \$38.00.

Since the decline and final disintegration of the Soviet Union, the history and nature of freemasonry have received increasing scholarly attention in Russia (see for example, the publication of A. I. Serkov). The major question is the real or putative role of freemasons in bringing about the fall of imperial Russia and in the policies of the Provisional Government. This

concern has led to a reawakening of curiosity concerning freemasonry in earlier times, in particular the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. We can speak of a reawakening because, in the last decades of the imperial regime, much valuable work was done to bring to light important sources and to publish monographic and biographic studies on prominent freemasons. True, even in Soviet times, literary scholars addressed the fact that seminal figures in the early history of modern Russian literature (e.g. Mikhail Kheraskov, Nikolai Novikov, Nikolai Karamzin, Aleksandr Pushkin) had had associations with masonic lodges. It so happens also that, stimulated by the seminal work of Reinhart Kosellek, Jürgen Habermas, Roger Chartier, and Franco Venturi, to mention only a few, historians of eighteenth-century Europe and of the Enlightenment have turned their attention to freemasonry as a form of sociability and cultural life that fostered and disseminated liberal and enlightened norms of comportment among the educated classes.

Building on this historiographic background, both Russian and Western, Douglas Smith offers an account of Russian elite (i.e. educated and noble) society in the second half of the eighteenth century. Smith places freemasonry firmly in its historic and existential contexts and, in so doing, clarifies its role in and contribution to Russia's europeanization (or "modernization"). He provides a careful reconstruction of the membership, ritual practices, and activities—cultural and philanthropic—of the lodges. He draws not only on the published sources (contemporary periodicals, plays, tracts) and monographic literature but also on much unpublished documentation (correspondence, individual records, and investigatory reports).

The principal purpose and significance of Masonic lodges in eighteenth-century Russia, concludes Smith, was to implement Peter the Great's program of transforming Russian society on contemporary European models. The freemasons took on the didactic task of promoting new forms of sociability in order to "civilize"—i.e. firmly root civility of comportment—the service nobility and foster an educated "public." The practices of the lodges were to enhance their members' sense of autonomy, dignity, and worth as individuals by learning "to become civil and polite by curbing their base desires and passions, a process they called 'working the rough stone'" (p. 5). This in turn made for their greater spiritual and social self-awareness and contributed to the moral and cultural progress of the nation.

Thus freemasonry reflected the neo-Stoic didacticism of contemporary political culture, as exemplified by enlightened absolutism. It also drew on Protestant mysticism (Jakob Boehme) and esoterism (Rosicrucians). Smith illustrates (pp. 176–77) the dual nature of the freemasons' task by describing the symbols engraved on Count Z. G. Chernyshev's snuff box (now in the Hillwood Museum in Washington, D.C.). Their double-pronged goal was to be both loyal, devoted servants of the state and educated, useful members of

a civic-minded "public" (i.e. a proto-civil society). Such a public should be engaged in privately sponsored and run activities in such field as education, publishing, theaters, philanthropy, and science.

However, the secretiveness of their meetings and rituals fanned the distrust of the authorities and the popular belief that freemasons were engaged in magical and satanic practices. Smith distinguishes three periods in the public's attitudes toward freemasonry: masons as Satan's servants (first half of the eighteenth century); masons as dupes and charlatans (third quarter of the century); masons as and heretics and "Martinists," whom Catherine II held responsible for the revolutionary turmoil in France and saw as a threat to established monarchical and social order.

The popularity enjoyed by masonic beliefs and practices all over Europe in the first three quarters of the eighteenth century began to be displaced by new currents of thought and feeling on the eve of the nineteenth, notes Smith. Masonic lodges and membership had dwindled to insignificance by the time Catherine II prohibited them. The arrest and incarceration, in 1792, of Novikov—the leading public figure in Russian masonry—was mainly due, argues Smith, to the excessive suspiciousness and fear of A. Prozorovskii, the governor general of Moscow. That Catherine II did not take masonic activities too seriously is shown by her mild treatment of other well-known masons, such as Ivan Turgenev, Ivan Lopukhin, and Aleksandr Kutuzov.

Permission, given by Alexander I, to reopen the lodges did not revive freemasonry as a significant cultural or social movement. Late nineteenth and early twentieth-century masonry was an altogether different phenomenon, Smith's clearly written and well-documented study is the best overall English-language history and appraisal of freemasonry in eighteenth-century Russia. It will be essential to the toolkit of all those interested in studying and understanding the development of modern Russian culture.

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RICHARD S. WORTMAN. *Scenarios of Power: Myth and Ceremony in Russian Monarchy*. Volume 2: *From Alexander II to the Abdication of Nicholas II*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 2000. Pp. 586. \$59.95.

In this second of two hefty volumes devoted to the evolving myth of the Russian monarchy as revealed, principally, in ceremony—that is, through careful study ("semiotic analysis") of visual and narrative representations of coronations, jubilees, commemorations, ritualized voyages, parades, and the like—Richard S. Wortman completes his survey of the entire two-hundred-year imperial period of Russian history from the early eighteenth to the early twentieth century.

It is an impressive work in several respects. It displays mastery of a huge literature on Russian political, cultural, and intellectual history, frequently

laced with comparative perspectives from literatures on other European monarchies, as well as an easy familiarity with works on semiotics, political theory and historical sociology. It brings into scholarly purview a whole range of sources, visual in particular (with ample illustrations in the text) but also narrative, on the Russian monarchy or, more precisely, on the Russian monarchs Alexander II (1855–1881), his son Alexander III (1881–1894), and his grandson Nicholas II (1894–1917) and their reigns, that have received little if any attention from historians: a range of sources that extends from official descriptions of ceremonial events to Fabergé eggs and any number of texts and images in between. And, most significantly, Wortman musters all this to make a very important point: that the myth of the Russian monarchy, the whole apparatus of symbols, notions, and articulated ideas marshalled in support of the monarchy's legitimacy, was a work forever in progress. Every ruler in turn was, to greater or lesser degree, reinventing the myth in attempting to adapt to ever-changing historical circumstances.

It is a point that seems obvious in retrospect. To be sure, Wortman is hardly the first scholar to have pointed out that the Russian monarchy was forced into considerable overhaul of its legitimacy myth in the wake of the French Revolution and the advent of the age of nationalisms in Europe, an overhaul that consumed much of the energies of Alexander I in the last ten years of his reign and of his brother, Nicholas I, who succeeded him (1825–1855). By the same token, there is a considerable literature on the so-called "counterreforms" of the 1880s–1890s under Alexander III, when the monarchy, under the impact of the assassination of Alexander II, significantly revised the political and social modernization project, the gradual "unbinding" (*raskreposhchenie*) of the various estates of the realm, to which all of Alexander's predecessors going back to the great Catherine (perhaps with the exception of the ill-fated Paul [1796–1801]) had subscribed, however erratically, by reaching back to a mythologized pre-Petrine past for quasi-Slavophile "eternal Russian principles." I would venture a guess, however, that most of us who offer survey courses of Russian history tend to assume that once we have dealt with the Byzantine (and sometimes Mongol) heritage, the doctrine of the Third Rome, and the introduction by Peter of the idea of the state, the myth of the Russian monarchy remained essentially static.

Wortman marshals evidence against such an assumption. In volume one, he argued that the eighteenth-century monarchy, beginning with Peter the Great, superimposed a "European" scenario of civilization and progress on the long-established Muscovite scenario of the monarch as foreign conqueror (Varangian, Byzantine, Mongol) and showed how this myth was adapted and reconstituted through the first half of the nineteenth century to meet the challenges of the French Revolution, liberalism, and nationalism. Volume two documents the transformation of the

internationalist/supranational myth of imperial monarchy into a national myth, accompanied by what might be called a shift in its societal focus from the Europeanized elite (the nobility in the first place) to the Russian people (the peasantry); in other words, the rise of the concept of "social monarchy" (a term Wortman does not use) as a bulwark against a rising clamor from "Europeanized" elements for a share of political power. Wortman points out that in Russia the political order never came to constitute a "legal entity superior to the will and characteristics of individual monarchs," and "the national myth excluded educated society from the nation" (Vol. 1, p. 406; Vol. 2, p. 525).

Wortman's approach is four-square historical, both in the general sense that his work is arranged chronologically and narratively, and in the sense that it aims to shed light on a central issue of that most central of questions for historians of modern Russia, the causes of the Russian Revolution. Why were Russia's monarchs, especially Nicholas II, so intransigent in their rejection of political reform?

On the whole, it seems to me that Wortman succeeds in his main aim of "restor[ing] the monarchy as an active, conscious factor to the history of Russia's political evolution before 1917" (Vol 2, p. 4). That said, I think his argument about the invented, and continually reinvented, nature of the monarchical myth would have been considerably reenforced had he dealt systematically with the question of personnel: who were the "spin doctors" of the myth, the planners of ceremony and its representations? We get a few glimpses of this "kitchen," but only a few. While rulers like Peter I, Catherine II, or Nicholas I undoubtedly took an active part in the mythopoetic process, it is difficult to imagine Alexander II, Alexander III, or especially Nicholas II doing so on a sustained basis.

Finally, the book's argument might have been better served were it less encumbered with narrative detail. There is a lot of political and biographical detail here, mostly derivative from secondary works, that appears less than essential to the central theme. The book remains a distinguished achievement.

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ANNA GEIFMAN. *Entangled in Terror: The Azef Affair and the Russian Revolution*. Wilmington, Del.: Scholarly Resources. 1999. Pp. x, 247. Cloth \$60.00, paper \$19.95.

Evno Azef might have stepped from the pages of Joseph Conrad's *Secret Agent* (1907) or a John LeCarré novel. Born into a struggling Jewish family, unpopular at school, and unsuccessful at work, Azef absconded from Russia with embezzled funds in the early 1890s to study engineering in Germany. Soon after, he embarked on a second career, which lasted fifteen-odd years, as an Okhrana mole in the Socialist Revolutionary Party (PSR). His exposure in 1909 ignited a scandal that cast a lurid light on the seamy reality underlying a



struggle portrayed in the highest moral terms by the Russian authorities and their revolutionary foes. Anna Geifman retells this story in riveting fashion, incorporating archival materials as well as virtually all the relevant secondary and memoir literature. Unfortunately, she yokes it to an explanatory hypothesis that relies more on surmise than on concrete evidence.

Geifman comes well equipped for her task. She has previously published an interesting study of the terrorist underground, material from which appears in this study. Her introduction also captures vividly the fascination exerted by the Azef affair on contemporaries, particularly the émigré Menshevik Boris Nicolaevsky, who became the authoritative historian of the topic. Geifman acknowledges her debt to Nicolaevsky but also revises him significantly.

Building on Nicolaevsky, Geifman follows Azef's early life, his enlistment in the PSR, and his sometimes troubled relationship with the Okhrana. His quick wit and his apparent dedication to the revolution won the admiration and confidence of leading underground figures. By 1904, he had joined the leadership of the PSR's notorious Combat Organization, responsible for some of the most sensational terrorist acts that helped usher in the Revolution of 1905. Azef's startling climb occurred in tandem with a growing Okhrana salary, a "cover" as an engineer, and an ostensibly conventional marriage and family life. He was undone in early 1909, having long evaded others' suspicions, thanks to the determination of revolutionary publicist V. L. Burtsev, a man who craved the limelight as much as Azef shunned it. Azef escaped capture by his erstwhile comrades, deserting Paris and his family for a German music-hall singer, with whom he frequented the gaming tables of prewar Europe before settling in wartime Germany, where he failed in business and died in jail.

Geifman parts company with Nicolaevsky and subsequent historians in her assessment of his role in the underground. To salvage some polemical advantage from the disaster, revolutionaries of the time, and later Nicolaevsky, argued that the government had cynically used Azef as an agent-provocateur, thus colluding in the terrorism it claimed to combat. Through painstaking research, including Okhrana archival materials, Geifman demonstrates persuasively that Azef had merely cultivated the appearance of involvement in the Battle Organization's most stunning coups, while carefully distancing himself from the actual deeds. He even thwarted several assassinations through timely warnings to his employers. In Geifman's rendering, Azef was never anything but an informer, a cut-rate sybarite who duped his credulous comrades in exchange for ample Okhrana payments that he squandered on tastes she terms "philistine," as would have Azef's intelligentsia contemporaries.

Apparently finding Azef's sheer pettiness insufficient cause for monstrous treachery, Geifman seeks an appropriately grand explanation in psychology. Donning the mantle of interdisciplinarity, and undeterred by a lack of much testimony from Azef himself, she

dismisses out of hand such possible diagnoses as sociopathy or a gambling disorder, preferring to argue that Azef was driven to his treachery by a pervasive fear. Drawing on psychiatric textbooks and old literature on *shtetl* life, she argues that Azef developed this overwhelming fear from an abusive father, his status as a Jew, and his singular physical unattractiveness; she leaves unaddressed just how exceptional any of these circumstances were for someone of Azef's background. He thus embraced the hazards of life as an informer because his pathological fear drove him to seek risk. These passages in the book rely on shaky evidence and the subjunctive mood. In seeking a cause equal to the effect of Azef's exposure, she forgets that Azef only caused the scandal; he did not create it. Geifman's peregrinations in the world of DSM-IV detract from what is otherwise a well-told tale about a curiously modern scandal and the figure at its center. In debunking the Azef-provocateur theory, she has offered insight into the myth-building proclivities of the revolutionary intelligentsia. For those accomplishments, this book deserves to be read by scholars, their students, and their friends in search of a real-life LeCarré story.

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LAURA L. PHILLIPS, *Bolsheviks and the Bottle: Drink and Worker Culture in St. Petersburg, 1900–1929*. DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press. 2000. Pp. viii, 212.

That Russian workers drank—sometimes copiously—is a fact well known to historians of Russian labor. In this book, Laura L. Phillips examines the social context, cultural and political significance, and gendered nature of working-class drinking practices in the city of St. Petersburg. The book belongs to a growing body of work that crosses the divide of 1917, seeking continuity as well as change.

In tsarist Russia, drink may have carried more explicitly political meanings than it did elsewhere. Following the introduction of a state monopoly in 1895, alcohol sales offered a substantial source of revenue to the tsarist state. To its officials, workers' drinking seemed a guarantee of passivity and lack of interest in oppositional politics. To autocracy's opponents, on the other hand, government involvement in the sale of alcohol became further evidence of its neglect, or even exploitation, of workers. Thus, workers attacked liquor outlets at times of social unrest, as during the Revolution of 1905 and the period preceding the outbreak of war in 1914.

Without entirely depriving drinking of its political implications, the Revolution of 1917 changed the terms of the conflict, as Phillips demonstrates, by empowering both opponents and defenders of drink. Adopting the imagery of prerevolutionary temperance activists, the Soviet state posited a good, "conscious worker" who behaved rationally, sought to improve



himself, worked conscientiously, and abstained from alcohol; his evil twin, the "unconscious worker," spent his leisure hours drinking to excess and harmed production and his own health. The task of the new government was to transform the latter into the former. But workers subverted these efforts. During prohibition, they imbibed the more dangerous home brew. When authorities closed down their favorite drinking haunts, they brought alcoholic beverages to sites the state sanctioned for other purposes, such as worker clubs and dining halls. Empowered as workers by a revolution made in their name, they became more prone to confront authorities who sought to change their drinking practices. Eventually, Phillips contends, such resistance forced the state to abandon its efforts.

According to Phillips, workers resisted because drinking played a key role in their collective sense of themselves as workers and as men. Before the revolution, taverns offered a place where men could find jobs as well as socialize with coworkers and escape demoralizing living conditions. Gender was as important as class: women entered drinking places at their peril. The years of prohibition during World War I and the Civil War undermined the vitality of this life; so did the Soviet practice of closing local taverns, which broke the link between tavern and workplace. In consequence, workers' drinking practices changed: although still defiantly masculinist, they became stripped of much of their prerevolutionary cultural significance, leaving, perhaps, worker culture the poorer for the loss. This however, is not a point emphasized by Phillips, who prefers a more triumphalist interpretation of worker interaction with the state.

Phillips devotes a chapter to working-class women and youth. Neither abstainers nor frequent imbibers, women tolerated their husbands' drinking, seeking to wrest from them such resources as they could, except when men's drinking threatened the well-being of children. Only on rare occasions did women's individual coping strategies become collective action. Women joined forces during those very moments of social unrest in which men participated, when, according to Phillips, women joined crowds attacking liquor outlets, forcing politics onto the street where they could play a role. Thereby, women manifested a "women's consciousness" that found no "substantive expression" in the revolutionary state (p. 119). I would have liked to see more evidence and development of this point, as it rests entirely on the same nameless and faceless crowds attacking liquor outlets on which Phillips bases her discussion of worker opposition.

Phillips sometimes fails to tease out the broader significance of the changes she chronicles so well. She could have made more of drink's cultural meaning for temperance activists, the Soviet state, and workers themselves, perhaps bringing to bear on the latter the anthropological sources that she draws on to very good effect in her discussion of the constructed nature of drunken behavior. At 146 pages of text, the book is very brief. Still, even if it does not offer the last word

on the topic of workers and drink, this solidly researched, well-written book represents a pioneering foray into this underexplored subject. It will be of interest to students of Russian working-class identity, including gender identity, and the relations between workers and authorities.

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CHARLES E. CLARK. *Uprooting Otherness: The Literacy Campaign in NEP-Era Russia*. Cranbury, N.J.: Susquehanna University Press. 2000. Pp. 235. \$41.00.

This comprehensive study of the 1920s Soviet program to end illiteracy joins a number of recent works that examine the Bolshevik regime's efforts to change the hearts and minds of its citizenry during the first decade of Soviet power. Charles E. Clark sees the literacy program as an example of the "campaign mentality" of the early Soviet state. The regime deployed its small cadre of party members and sympathizers, together with its enormous propaganda machine, to try to get the majority of the population to change its ways. Bolshevik leaders believed that literacy was a self-evident good. It would offer evidence that the new regime was a modern, progressive state. Perhaps more important, it would also provide an avenue through which the citizenry could be molded to meet Bolshevik ideals.

In an attempt to reach the illiterate population beyond school age, the Bolsheviks launched an ambitious campaign between 1923 and 1927 called the "Down with Illiteracy Society." Underfunded from the start, it depended on the good will and effort of those who already knew how to read and write. Members of the Bolshevik youth organization, the Komsomol, were especially enthusiastic participants. Yet after four years of hard work, the Soviet Union was still very far from general literacy. Some of the obstacles were predictable. Rural Russia had high illiteracy levels at the time of the revolution, and the Bolsheviks had poor control over the countryside before the collectivization program of Joseph Stalin begun in the late 1920s. Those who supported the literacy campaign in the countryside, mainly rural teachers, had many other burdens and thus little time to volunteer. Moreover, the central state agency that oversaw the effort, the Commissariat for Education (Narkompros), also had inadequate funds and many competing responsibilities.

Clark uncovers problems that were unique to the literacy campaign. Bolshevik efforts to tie literacy to political education, to teach peasants how to read and hate capitalism at the same time, alienated many students. While the government saw literacy as a self-evident good, the prospective clientele was not so easily persuaded, and the program did not include adequate outreach efforts. Since the Bolshevik government was forced to devise ways to communicate to an illiterate population, including vibrant posters, theater,

films, and radio, it was easy for peasants to learn what the state expected of them without knowing how to read.

Most of Clark's book is devoted to the countryside, where illiteracy was greatest. However, he also examines the literacy program in the trade union movement, located mainly in cities. Trade unions had a big head start because they had their own cultural programs that also stressed literacy and cultural uplift. Yet even here, results fell far short of expectations. Industries that employed large numbers of women could not make headway with their labor force because most women workers were overburdened with labor and family responsibilities. In addition, new workers from the countryside, usually illiterate, posed a continual challenge. As a result, unions made little progress toward universal literacy during the 1920s.

Although he provides ample evidence for the literacy campaign's shortcomings, Clark also focuses on the positive achievements of the program. First of all, millions of people beyond school age learned to read through the efforts of hardworking volunteers. More important, citizens learned how to channel the government's propaganda efforts to serve their own needs. The most vivid example Clark offers is the case of state-supported reading rooms in the countryside, intended to aid the literacy program. Instead, peasants converted these humble institutions into social centers where they met to talk, learn life skills like dressmaking, and enjoy radio, public readings, and amateur performances.

In his conclusion, Clark proposes that the literacy campaign was a benevolent program designed to expand Soviet influences in the countryside using "small, peaceful, and humane steps" (p. 180). Certainly it offers a stark contrast to the massive, violent, and invasive methods that Stalin was soon to mount against the peasantry. But were these the only two alternatives: bungling voluntarism or invasive force? Although the program operated very cheaply, there were still significant costs. It exploited the time and good will of volunteers, it alienated adults with its heavy-handed propaganda messages, and it diverted precious resources away from children, millions of whom continued to go untaught. Perhaps the real lesson of this program was to show to subsequent Soviet leaders the importance of compulsory childhood education as the best path to literacy.

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LYNNE ATTWOOD. *Creating the New Soviet Woman: Women's Magazines as Engineers of Female Identity, 1922-53*. (Studies in Russian and East European History and Society.) New York: St. Martin's, in association with the Centre for Russian and East European Studies, University of Birmingham. 1999. Pp. v, 213.

One of the Ur-texts of modern feminism, Betty Friedan's *The Feminine Mystique* (1963), analyzed fiction in four popular women's magazines to argue that women in postwar America were deeply frustrated by their exclusion from the public sphere. Critics later used that same magazine literature to challenge Friedan's conclusions, but both parties accepted the significance of female-oriented periodicals as sources for studying the ideology of gender. Lynne Attwood examines the contents of two early Soviet-era women's magazines, *Krest'yanka* (The Female Peasant) and *Rabotnitsa* (The Female Worker), in order to shed light on the Soviet state's ideas about constructing the ideal female for the new era. The two journals were edited to facilitate the *smychka*, or union between city and countryside, in an effort to create a female without social class, but nevertheless with a gendered identity.

Attwood makes no reference to Friedan's cultural approach, concentrating on the relationship between journal contents and state policies. She illustrates very effectively how the journals' editorial policies and fiction changed with the tides of social policy. Centering her study around conflicting ideals of the social role of women, the "romantic" versus the "rationalist," she illustrates the constant tension between the state's theoretical objectives and its social needs. Family stability constituted one paramount concern, as the journals' readers were fully implicated in ideas about marriage and abortion. A conflict developed from competing interpretations of gender, especially about the function of women: were they primarily men's equals, or companions whose job was to keep the home stable? The journals provide further evidence of how socialist theory never found its place in reality. Soviet women were supposed to be feminine without being feminist, because feminism was eschewed as a bourgeois philosophy that privileged sex over class. Femininity reminded of sexual difference but purported to be free of class bias. Hard pressed to maintain beauty and charm through civil war, collectivization, and World War II, Soviet women faced off against a government that wanted them to attract men in order to procreate but spent very little of its budget on the consumer goods, from stylish dresses to lipstick, that would help them. *Krest'yanka* and *Rabotnitsa* thus reinforced the dual roles that the Soviet government assigned to women: they had to work in the factories when needed but also produce the next generation of workers and provide men with a comfortable respite from the factory once the early utopian ideals of classlessness had crashed.

However much Attwood's succinct discussions of the correlation between official policy and journal contents provide the strength of this monograph, her hesitation to present these magazines as independent forces in the larger cultural framework marks its weakness. She did not use either journal's archives, which presumably contain the unpublished editorial debates and letters from readers that would have offered insights into readers' receptions; the author

may well have been denied access. Yet more could have been extrapolated from other secondary sources as well as the journals themselves to place this monograph more fully in the historiography of social life and the possibilities for personal agency in the transition from Bolshevism to Stalinism. Attwood cites, for example, Sarah Davies's *Popular Opinion in Stalin's Russia: Terror Propaganda, and Dissent, 1934-1941* (1997) but does not expand her own analysis in that direction, even when, for example, she uncovers a telling example of editorial deviation from state policies. In post-World War II journal fiction, many women were allowed to keep the managerial positions they had assumed in wartime, despite pressure from the state to surrender superiority to returning male veterans. Attwood would have profited by making at least a nod in Friedan's direction and arguing more forcefully for the complexity of the relationship between readers and journals, rather than relying on the simplicity of editorial policy.

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JAMES R. HARRIS. *The Great Urals: Regionalism and the Evolution of the Soviet System*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1999. Pp. viii, 235. \$39.95.

This book makes an important contribution to the literature about the interwar development of the Soviet political and economic system. Traditionally, scholars have analyzed the Soviet system as centralized and hierarchical and have seen regional leadership primarily as local representatives of the center. This analysis has been increasingly questioned in recent years. In particular, the dramatic improvement in access to Communist Party and state archives since the mid-1980s has enabled historians to reassess center-periphery relations through regional case studies. James R. Harris adopts this approach to provide the first archive-based study of the behavior of regional political leaders. Using the example of the Urals region, he poses the key question of whether regional pressure had any significant impact on the center's economic policy making.

Harris argues that his findings compel us to rethink the nature of Soviet politics and policy making from the October Revolution of 1917 to the formation of the Stalinist system by the early 1930s. Far from simply representing the center in their region, the regional leaderships forcefully represented their area's interests to the center. The fact that these interests varied from region to region, notably in competition for industrial investment, helped to ensure that the cumulative pressure from the regional leaderships exerted considerable influence over central policy making and the evolution of the Soviet system. Thus, notwithstanding the increasing centralization of decision making and Joseph Stalin's acquisition of immense personal power, the rapid transformation of Soviet Russia into a major industrial power during the interwar period

"cannot be understood solely as the product of the will and actions of Stalin, or of a narrow group of top leaders" (p. 210).

The book has seven main chapters. Chapter one places the issue of regional economic development in its long-term context and argues that, by the mid-1920s, fearing competition from Ukraine for investment, the Urals leadership believed that their interest in strengthening the local economy through industrial modernization "would be best served by pressing the center for maximal tempos of industrialization and a maximal share of production targets and investment" (p. 37). The following five chapters, which discuss how the Urals leadership exerted pressure on the center during the 1920s and 1930s, argue that regional influence took three main forms. One was direct involvement in the decision-making process: the center depended on the regions for planning data, but the regions exaggerated their potential to absorb new investment. The resultant strong pressure for rapid industrialization was mobilized by Stalin against his "moderate" Politburo opponents. In the case of the Urals, this pressure persuaded the center to ratify the locally devised "Great Urals Plan," which Urals officials hoped would establish their region as the USSR's leading producer in heavy industry. A second means of exerting regional influence was independent action or innovation. For instance, having won central confirmation of their great plan, Urals officials soon faced a severe labor shortage, which they tackled (unsuccessfully) by exceeding central targets for collectivization and dekulakization, thereby becoming the main force in creating the infamous Gulag system of forced labor. The third form of influence was resistance to central directives. By the mid-1930s, regional officials were faced with strict plan targets that they could neither question nor achieve. In response, they developed coping strategies that included far-reaching deception. The center's subsequent exposure of these tactics in 1936 was a key reason for the explosion of terror in 1936-1938 and annihilation of the regional leaderships. Chapter seven summarizes the center-periphery relationship from the late 1930s to the present. It argues that regional leaders continued (and continue) to defend regional interests and that their influence on central policy making has been profound, most recently in deflecting Boris Yeltsin from the politics of confrontation in the mid-1990s.

This book has been thoroughly researched and well crafted. The author and publisher should also be commended for including some good photographs of Urals leaders and industrial plants, which helpfully support the text. Some readers might worry at the book's extensive reliance on secret police interrogation records, but Harris confronts this issue judiciously in an appended note on sources (pp. 217-18). A possible weakness is the lack of a means to clarify precisely how much influence regional leaders had in policy making. However, one should recall that the book's fundamental task is to correct the view of regional leaderships as



mere representatives of the center, and in this it succeeds admirably. In sum, this book will be essential for anyone concerned with the development of the Soviet political and economic system during the inter-war period.

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LENNART SAMUELSON. *Plans for Stalin's War Machine: Tukhachevsky and Military-Economic Planning, 1925–1941*. Foreword by VITALII SHLYKOV. (Studies in Russian and East European History and Society.) New York: St. Martin's, in association with the Centre for Russian and East European Studies, University of Birmingham. 2000. Pp. xv, 267.

During the 1920s, especially after the removal of Leon Trotsky from his position as defense commissar in 1925, reassessment of defense problems took on a renewed urgency for the Soviets because of their military and economic weakness. Problems of this importance could not but give rise to a clash of approaches, among military specialists, economic experts, and politicians, the complexity of the road to an adequate military strength being magnified by the changing international scene and by the military's dependence on the country's problematic economic development. It was one thing to anticipate an attack by Poland and Romania, even if backed by France, and it was quite another, some eight years later, when Germany (allied with Poland, as it was then believed) became the main trouble spot. In this new situation, having enough factories capable of producing large quantities of artillery pieces, tanks, and planes (and the ever-scarce gunpowder and ammunition) became a matter of extreme urgency. Yet the danger of thereby militarizing the economy prematurely, at the expense of a more balanced and growth-capable development, was also perceived, engaging experts and agencies in heated discussions of threat assessments, strategies, and operational art to be adopted in future wars as well as about ways of expanding the country's economic potential. Some of those involved argued forcefully that the coming war (which was seen as not being too far distant) would be one of huge and very mobile mechanized, motorized, and airborne armies that would require an entirely new way of conducting war, a thoroughly reorganized and retrained command systems, and an industrial base that the impoverished Russia of, say, 1927 could only dream of.

Armed with much new archival data, Lennart Samuelson offers us what turns out to be a very intricate story, including some fascinating "personal" aspects centering on the talented and impetuous young Mikhail Tukhachevsky, a military commander and thinker who flooded the leadership with interminable memos, articles, and books in which he mapped out the features of future technological warfare with amazing foresight. He thereby ruffled many feathers, notably those of the not-too-bright and slow-thinking War

Commissar Kliment Voroshilov, and also stepped on Joseph Stalin's toes. The unpredictably cunning Stalin supported Voroshilov in 1930, depicted Tukhachevsky as an "anti-Marxist" fantast and even "a red militarist." He allowed the secret police to accuse Tukhachevsky of treason but finally reversed himself and decided, "after a personal investigation," that the impetuous young officer "came out clean." In 1932, Stalin went even further and apologized to Tukhachevsky for those earlier harsh criticisms. By now, the general secretary was himself adopting the same "anti-Marxist" output targets for tanks and planes!

The monograph unravels the making of an institutional setting engaged in anticipating the future needs of the military to be supplied by industry and the rest of the economy, first during a short initial stage after the outbreak of war, next during the first year of battle, and finally for the duration of the war. An array of institutions mushroomed—in the High Command, the Gosplan, the Main Industrial Administration, the central government, the party—each of them doing their part but also meddling and quarrelling with the others. Many of these activities are investigated here for the first time, showing a complicated, often messy business, notably because these activities overlapped with the general plans for economic development as embodied in the Five-Year Plans. A very large part of military procurement orders had to be placed with the civilian branches of industry, without impairing the performance of the economy in peacetime. Samuelson shows the chaos and failures that accompanied the whole process, notably the 1932 industrial flop and the catastrophic intrusion of Stalin's purges, which destroyed the flower of the officers corps and effectively sabotaged the whole war effort. Yet the author is quite convinced that despite all setbacks, the institutions for planning and coordinating the military-economic effort, even though manned by less experienced people, were at the heart of the subsequent Soviet success—something both Adolf Hitler and the Western Allies knew little about.

This point is interesting and worthy of attention. Some other statements though are not too clearly formulated. One of them is Samuelson's repudiation of claims that Stalin panicked at the outbreak of the war, when in fact he was busy undertaking all kinds of important measures already in early June 1941. This is plausible, but he also argues against those who claim that Stalin disregarded numerous warnings about the imminent German attack. If he did not disregard the warnings, how do we explain the fatal lack of war readiness of the huge Soviet armies massed on the frontiers against a fully combat-ready German army? Samuelson promises a further installment with more answers. Judging by the quality of the one under review, the next is worth waiting for.

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WILLIAM TAUBMAN, SERGEI KHRUSHCHEV, and ABBOTT GLEASON, editors. *Nikita Khrushchev*. Translated by DAVID GEHRENBECK, EILEEN KANE, and ALLA BASHENKO. New Haven: Yale University Press. 2000. Pp. viii, 391. \$45.00.

This book is a gem for Khrushchev watchers. Chapters are based on presentations at a conference, held at Brown University, to mark the centenary of Nikita Khrushchev's birth. Most of the authors are Russian, ranging from professional historians to Sergei Khrushchev, Nikita's son, who is a senior fellow at Brown. One, Oleg Troyanovsky, was a top foreign policy aide to Khrushchev, and another, Georgi Shakhnazarov, advised Mikhail Gorbachev. Three specially commissioned chapters have been added. There are many fine essays, but two are outstanding: one by Elena Zubkova on Khrushchev's rivalry with Georgi Malenkov and the other by Nancy Condee on cultural codes of the thaw. Condee aptly sums up Khrushchev when she writes that he wanted to be Joseph Stalin's successor but not his heir. In other words he wanted to be a civilized Stalin. He was, after all, his only role model. Both, among other things, shared a disdain for specialists who set limits to what could be done. They believed Bolsheviks could climb any mountain if inspired to do so. Khrushchev's pet scientists were the quacks Trofim Lysenko, who promised Khrushchev the earth, and V. R. Vilyams, the grassland guru. Soviet agriculture paid dearly for their ill-thought-out theories.

A redeeming feature that Khrushchev possessed but that Stalin lacked was a conscience. The "wonderful Georgian," V. I. Lenin's phrase, was a hard man until the end. During the 1930s, Khrushchev, almost without a second thought, executed Stalin's blood-soaked policies. Vladimir Naumov reveals that Khrushchev carried out Stalin's order of June 1937 to arrest 35,000 people and execute 5,000 of them in Moscow. He earmarked 2,000 former kulaks, who had migrated to Moscow, as part of his deadly quota. Wartime suffering changed him, however. His years as leader can be seen as an attempt to redeem himself in the eyes of the Soviet people for the grievous sins he had committed. This is especially evident after 1961, when voluntarism and utopianism run riot. He had exhausted himself by 1964 trying to improve everyday life for his fellow citizens.

Several authors point out that Khrushchev was uneducated, and this is one explanation for his crude cultural and religious policies. He surprised a British ambassador once, however, by quoting a passage from Leo Tolstoy. On returning to the embassy, the envoy located the passage and discovered that Khrushchev had remembered it accurately. Although Khrushchev knew his Russian classics, he disliked jazz, Ilya Ehrenburg, and abstract art. To Condee, he reveals a twentieth-century antipathy to modernism. He saw himself as a conductor. "Just as a conductor sees to it that all the instruments in his orchestra shall sound in harmonious accord, so in sociopolitical life the Party directs the efforts of all Soviet men and women towards the

attainment of a single goal" (p. 173). This explains Khrushchev's opposition to economic incentives in agriculture and industry. William J. Tompson, in a sharply focused chapter on economic reform, points out that Khrushchev always preferred administrative solutions in the search for greater efficiency. For him, the party was always a better manager than any farm chair or enterprise director. This spared the Soviet Union the erratic economic-based reforms of the Gorbachev era.

The irony of the period is that Khrushchev believed that the country was poised for economic takeoff in its battle with the United States. His overweening confidence in foreign policy was fueled by the astonishing Soviet achievements in space. The leap toward communism, taken in 1961, was also an expression of supreme optimism. In reality, what was regarded as the takeoff phase turned out to be the zenith of Soviet economic achievement. Khrushchev, not surprisingly, was totally bewildered by economic decline. He shouted at everyone in sight, but the fault lay not with personnel. The planned economy, as Gorbachev demonstrated, could not be successfully reformed.

The central mystery of the Khrushchev era was his decision to dethrone Stalin. Naumov states that Lavrenti Beria was preparing to use his colleagues' complicity in terror against them. This is why Khrushchev raised the question of Stalin's crimes before any of his colleagues. Nikolai Barsukov sees him as being the first to sense the need to do this. The Pospelov commission, in December 1955, was the result and allowed Khrushchev to influence the pace of the revelations.

Given that Khrushchev favored strong party management of industry, why did he set up the *sovmarkhozes* in the spring of 1957? The answer, supplied by Tompson, is that the reform was tactical. It was to gain the support of local party leaders in his conflict with his opponents, which culminated in the June 1957 clash. Khrushchev knew that there would be a challenge from the conservatives, who had their power bases in the government ministries. He took the initiative and brought the simmering conflict to a head. This epitomized his leadership style: act before your opponents. The military helped Khrushchev to win in June 1957 but fell out with him afterward. This was due to the enormous cost of the armed forces and new weapons. The military always wanted more, and Sergei Khrushchev demonstrates that this was not possible if living standards were to rise.

The foundation of Khrushchev's foreign policy was the conviction that a nuclear or conventional war between the superpowers was not a viable option for either side. He blustered and threatened the West in order to improve the Soviet Union's world standing. In all the crises he provoked, he always pulled back from the brink. Vladislav Zubok, analyzing the Berlin conflict of 1959–1963, concludes that all he was trying to achieve was to force the West to accept the division of Germany. This was the first step toward turning Ger-

many into a positive force for peace in Europe. Oleg Troyanovsky states that Khrushchev and John F. Kennedy developed great respect for each other in the wake of the Cuban missile crisis. Had they continued in office, the disarmament of the Gorbachev era might have been achieved earlier.

Georgi Shakhnazarov and Peter Reddaway compare the Khrushchev and Gorbachev eras. The former, a fan of Gorbachev, and the latter a fan of neither, predictably do not see eye to eye. To Shakhnazarov, Gorbachev was an emerging social democrat but to Reddaway he remained a Marxist.

Finally, what did the Soviet people think of Khrushchev? Not much, according to Iuri Aksutin. He quotes a Radio Armenia joke: "Why did the legendary Khodzha Nasreddin promise the emir it would take him exactly twenty years to teach a donkey to speak? Well, he was smart. He knew that by that time either the emir would have passed away or the donkey would have dropped dead!"

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GALINA MIKHAILOVNA IVANOVA. *Labor Camp Socialism: The Gulag in the Soviet Totalitarian System*. Edited by DONALD J. RALEIGH. Translated by CAROL FLATH. (The New Russian History.) Armonk, N.Y.: M. E. Sharpe. 2000. Pp. xxiv, 208. Cloth \$62.95, paper \$24.95.

Until the Soviet Union fell apart, no full and honest history of the system of concentration camps known as the Gulag could be written. Most of the archives housing needed information were closed to historians, and in the USSR the subject was taboo. Nonetheless, we knew a lot about the camps. A few Western historians, most notably George Leggett and Lennard D. Gerson, managed to piece together fairly detailed histories of the Cheka, the earliest incarnation of the Soviet political police, from published sources. Dissidents and emigrés like Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn, Varlam Shalamov, Evgeniia Ginzburg, and Nadezhda Mandel'shtam wrote stories and memoirs derived from personal experiences in the prisons and camps of Joseph Stalin's era. And a few historians, including Solzhenitsyn, Robert Conquest, and Roy Medvedev, have attempted to synthesize this information into more general histories of the "terror" and the camps.

Almost all of this was written from the prisoners' perspective. We have lacked institutional histories examining the purposes of the camps, their establishment, and operation as seen by Soviet administrators. This brief survey is meant to fill some of those gaps. It is a compendium of information dug from recently opened archives—some of which are closed again—about the development of the system of camps and colonies with a particular look at the economy and the personnel of the Gulag.

Galina Mikhailovna Ivanova's first brief chapter provides a good statistical summary of people impris-

oned, exiled, and executed by the tsarist government, particularly in the last interrevolutionary years, 1906–1917. She discusses also the use of prisoners for labor—political prisoners were not required to work—and the government's recognition that it cost more to exile prisoners to labor projects than to imprison them. The second chapter, by far the longest, discusses the establishment and growth of the Soviet camp system. Readers hoping for an insider's view of the camps, perhaps insights to Soviet leaders' thinking about them, will not find that here. Ivanova mentions a few interesting events along the way, such as the brief failed attempt by the Commissariat of Justice in the early 1920s to abolish the camps in favor of prisons and the use of prisoners of war to mine radioactive ores, but most of the chapter is taken up with a chronological progression of the names of the institutions that administered the camps; the title and date of the laws that provided them with the authority to arrest, sentence, and execute prisoners; and estimates of the numbers of prisoners interned and executed in some years. Readers might be surprised in a few places by the author's choice of words. She makes no attempt to conceal behind more customarily "objective" language that she is writing about a system she despises.

The third chapter on the economy of the camps explores the use of prisoners for many types of labor and the continuing effort to make the camps a productive part of the Soviet economy. Ivanova discusses efforts at mining, timbering, the construction of canals, railroads, factories, and dwellings, and the use of Soviet and POW scientists in technical projects. She cites government reports to show that prisoner labor was approximately fifty percent as productive as free labor, that almost all camp projects failed to achieve their planning goals, and that only in rare exceptions did camps pay for their own existence.

The last chapter investigates the personnel of the Gulag, both in the central organs of administration and in the camps themselves. Ivanova discusses the growth of the administration and the increasing domination of Russians (as opposed to Latvians, Jews, and others) at the center. She briefly explores their numbers, social origins, level of education, pay, and privileges and recounts the difficulties the authorities had recruiting enough personnel to staff the system, particularly the most remote camps. Former Red Army soldiers made up ninety-five percent of the camp guards, whose dreadful work led to high rates of alcoholism and suicide.

By way of conclusion, the author provides her estimates of how many prisoners passed through and perished in the Gulag. According to her reckoning, the number of prisoners held at any one time peaked in 1950 at about 2.8 million, and altogether more than 20 million perished in the Gulag. She does not explain how she arrived at these numbers, however, and notes earlier in the book that official statistics are thoroughly unreliable. This book is a small, useful collection of facts about the Gulag, but readers might wish at many

points that the author had provided a little more discussion or explanation.

Twenty-five black-and-white photos accompany the text.

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#### MIDDLE EAST AND NORTHERN AFRICA

DICK DOUWES. *The Ottomans in Syria: A History of Justice and Oppression*. London: I. B. Tauris; distributed by St. Martin's, New York. 2000. Pp. viii, 244. \$55.00.

Scholarship on the Ottoman Empire's Arab provinces is advancing as historians explore documents from local religious law courts. These documents contain extensive data on official appointments, taxation, property holdings, production, trade, marriage, divorce, and inheritance. Historians have used them alongside chronicles, biographical dictionaries, and European travelers' reports to provide a richer and more accurate portrait of provincial life under Ottoman rule than was available twenty years ago. Religious law court records from the Syrian provincial town of Hama for the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries are the documentary core for Dick Douwes's book on the relationship between military, coercive, and fiscal practices, on the one hand, and a concept of justice and oppression held by authorities and subjects, on the other. This concept was captured in the phrase, "Circle of Justice and Bounds," which maintained that the proper political order is one in which the sultan provides justice and security for his subjects. In a just, secure setting, the subjects prosper and economic production grows to the extent that revenue extraction suffices to pay for political and military expenses without resorting to burdensome, unjust rates and varieties of taxation that subjects deemed un-Islamic.

Douwes argues that only in optimal circumstances did Ottoman rule achieve a measure of justice by using military power to create secure conditions for agricultural producers and long-distance merchants exposed to nomads' depredations. Ottoman provincial administration had difficulty balancing the costs of maintaining security and remitting a portion of revenues to Istanbul against the capacity of rural and urban producers to bear fiscal demands. Officials responsible for performing this balancing act frequently imposed extralegal levies to maximize the benefits of their insecure tenures. Threats of dismissal and confiscation set limits on provincial officials, but those limits were negotiable and flexible. Douwes contends that those limits frequently stretched to the breaking point between 1770 and 1840 because of a series of challenges to Ottoman authority in the eastern Mediterranean: Egyptian governor Ali Bey's invasion of Syria in 1771; power struggles among governors of Damascus, Sidon, and Tripoli between 1785 and 1810; Napoleon Bonaparte's invasion of Palestine in 1799; Saudi en-

croachment on Syrian towns and occupation of the Muslim holy cities Mecca and Medina in the early 1800s; and, finally, Muhammad Ali's 1831 invasion of Syria. Each of these episodes precipitated extraordinary fiscal demands on subjects in order to pay for military operations. Furthermore, Istanbul developed a voracious appetite for revenue when it confronted the Greek revolt for independence (1821–1829), and the sultan began to enlarge and modernize his army beginning in 1826.

In the early chapters, Douwes sketches a complicated picture of relations among military commanders (*aghas*), urban traders, religious dignitaries, peasants, and pastoralists, themselves divided into competing tribes. The dynamic of political and military conflict will be familiar to readers of existing works on Syria. Douwes's original contribution stems from his use of law court records pertaining to the interior town of Hama, roughly 100 miles north of Damascus. The later chapters on fiscal practices are significant because these show so much variation from one Ottoman province to another. He offers a minute examination of various taxes, their uneven application to rural districts and townspeople, and the proportions of revenue distribution among local officials and the central treasury. The overall impression is one that adds to our picture of urban domination over the rural hinterland. The author has used law court records to illustrate (in eight tables and four appendixes) the distribution of taxes on tribes, urban properties, and different fiscal categories for villages. One of his most interesting findings is the large increase in taxes on urban property in Hama during the Egyptian occupation.

Douwes is to be commended for presenting data from the Hama law courts and some previously neglected chronicles. Two features of the work, however, will limit its audience. First, the author has missed an opportunity to place the Syrian case in a comparative context in relation to other Ottoman provinces or other empires. Second, the narrative is thick with incidents but thin in analysis and interpretation. It appears that Douwes is too close to his sources, and because the sources themselves are spotty in many aspects, the narrative frequently lacks continuity and coherence. Adding to the reader's frustration are infelicitous language, editing slips, and footnotes referring to works that are not in the bibliography.

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MEIR LITVAK. *Shi'i Scholars of Nineteenth-Century Iraq: The 'Ulama' of Najaf and Karbala'*. (Cambridge Middle East Studies, number 10.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1998. Pp. xiv, 255. \$59.95.

This fact-filled monograph by Meir Litvak traces the development of the two Iraqi "shrine cities," Najaf and Karbala', into Shi'ism's most important centers of learning and religious life in the nineteenth century,

specifically from the years 1791–1904. The study is placed in the overlapping contexts of important developments in the Shi'i 'ulama's educational, professional, and patronage institutions; sociopolitical developments and relations between Sunnism (first Mamluks and then Ottomans) and Shi'ism in both Iraq and Iran; and the relationship between religion and state, specifically the Qajars of Iran. Several other important ancillary issues are treated along the way, such as ethnicity (Arab, Persian, Turkish) and its contribution to the rivalries and alliances among the 'ulama', the scholarly contributions of key figures to Shi'i jurisprudential and religious thought and their impact on the scope of Shi'i clerical activity, the charisma and personal talents of individual Shi'i *mujtahids* (expert in Islamic law) and the impact of these on both the Shi'i religious establishment and the place of Najaf and Karbala' as Shi'i religious centers, and, finally, the rise and significance of charismatic and heretical movements, such as Shaykhism and Babism, and the response of Shi'i orthodoxy.

The book is divided into nine chapters and a conclusion distributed over two parts. Part one consists of chapters one through five and treats important developments in the Shi'i religious establishment. Key among these is the triumph of Usulism over Akhbarism in the late eighteenth century and the effective conversion from a regime of *taqlid*, or following the precedents laid down by the imams, to a regime of *ijtihad*, whereby *mujtahids* acquire the authority to interpret the law independently. From this point on, the aim of Shi'i education comes to reside in the production of *mujtahids*, who have the authority to move Shi'i thought in new and unprecedented directions. It is ultimately through the efforts of these *mujtahids* that Najaf and Karbala' are elevated to a new status as centers of Shi'i religious learning and patronage. While Karbala' initially emerged as the primary center for Iranians, with Najaf as home to the Arabs, Litvak shows that through a convergence of factors Najaf ultimately triumphed as the center for all ethnic groups.

Both cities were affected by a number of political events and realities, and these are the subject of chapters six through nine of part two. Just to give a few examples, the large number of Iranians living in the shrine cities prompted Iran to claim the right to protect its "ethnic citizens"; meanwhile, these Iraqi Iranians did not want to identify too closely with Iran lest they confirm Mamluk and then Ottoman suspicions that they were Iranian agents. This explains the political quietism of the shrine cities for most of the nineteenth century. However, the Wahhabi massacres in the early nineteenth century forced the Sunni rulers of Iraq into a balancing act whereby their more active role in protecting the Shi'i minority had to be kept from undermining their image as the representatives of Sunni dominance.

Overall, Litvak does an impressive job of unearthing important (and some little-known) facts and explain-

ing his subject. However, his tendency to see the Ottomans as the representatives of Sunni tradition is problematic and probably explains his presentation of developments in the Shi'i religious establishment as if these were exclusive to Shi'ism, (for example, the notion of *riyasah* or the Shi'i 'ulama's reticence about being co-opted by the state, or the use of such honorifics as *sultan al-'ulama'* or *hujjat al-Islam*). Meanwhile, a number of works (for example, my own *Islamic Law and the State* [1996]) have shown just how determined Sunni 'ulama' were to maintain their independence from the state. And the honorific, *sultan al-'ulama'*, was applied to the Shafite al-'Izz b. 'Abd al-Salam in the seventh/thirteenth century, while al-Ghazali was known as "*hujjat al-Islam*" back in the fifth/eleventh century.

Also problematic is Litvak's occasional unwarranted cynicism and overindulgence in sociological concepts that he seems not to have digested fully. For example, in analyzing the Shi'i 'ulama's response to the Babi heresy, Litvak explains their motives in purely political terms (i.e. they simply wanted to protect their status and position). But it would certainly be more reasonable to assume that scholars who were known for their piety and religious learning and who had devoted their entire lives to these simply opposed Babism because they believed it to be their duty to do so. The fact that this may have coincided with certain political interests should not be overvalued. After all, just because one is paranoid does not mean that one is not being followed. Litvak also uses the sociological concepts of church and sect to explain the position taken by the state or the Shi'i 'ulama' in Iraq or Iran. This is largely a distraction and shows little explanatory power. The book would have been better off without it.

Other infelicities include a number of questionable translations, such as "absolutely preponderant supposition" for *al-zann al-mutlaq* and "retire in prayer and fasting" for *f'tikaf*. Yet none of this negates the fact that Litvak has produced a sophisticated and valuable work that can be read with great profit and is certain to take its place among important works treating Shi'ism in early modern times.

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#### SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

CLAIRE ANDERSON. *Convicts in the Indian Ocean: Transportation from South Asia to Mauritius, 1815–53*. New York: St. Martin's. 2000. Pp. xii, 192. \$65.00.

Between 1814 and 1837, some 1,500 Indian convicts, of whom only six were women, were transported to Mauritius. They were part of the 100,000 Indian convicts banished by the East India Company to other settlements, mainly in Southeast Asian region. This small British insular possession had a population of 86,000 in 1826, made up of 63,000 African slaves, 14,000 Indians, Chinese, and Creoles, and 9,000



whites. The convicts only modestly filled Mauritius's need for laborers. This was later filled by indentured laborers from India, especially after slavery was abolished in 1834. Eventually, some 453,000 of them were imported.

While much has been written about convict settlements in other British colonies, this book by Claire Anderson is the first to examine in such detail the experience of those settled in Mauritius. It seeks to give voice to the convict migrants. The book's central focus on power relations serves as a basis for the examination of issues such as identity, resistance, gender, and race.

The "colonizing imagination" in the early part of the nineteenth century believed that subjecting individuals convicted of serious crimes to *kala pani*, literally meaning travel across the "black waters," would act as a deterrent among caste Hindus who feared such defilement. This may have applied to about one-third of Hindu convicts. The rest were Muslims or *dalits* and *adivasis* to whom the caste strictures did not matter. The real reason that they were dumped was to remove a potential threat to British rule in India, and to help out the colonies with their labor needs.

In Mauritius, a specially created department took over the responsibility of organizing the penal laborers into a work force and otherwise established rules of behavior, conditions of labor, and so on. They were placed in overcrowded barracks and put to work quarrying stone, constructing canals, building or repairing roads and pavements, or replanting trees. The convict laborers were illegally allocated to planters briefly around 1818. One colonist engaged them in silk and opium manufacture. Despite the restrictions placed on them, a few engaged in money lending or hired themselves out. The more enterprising among them took over from incompetent overseers. About forty of the convicts were appointed as "commanders" in 1823 to act essentially as informers.

Collective resistance occurred only once in 1818, but Anderson, using Michel Foucault's maxim, argues that it was to be found in a wide range of everyday behavior and activities. Anderson shows that slowing down, false compliance, feigned ignorance, arson, and sabotage were tactics commonly used by the convicts, although she cautions that it was not a simple dialectic of domination and resistance. It is problematic, she points out, to consider suicide among the convicts as resistance. The disregard for the convicts' religious or caste sensibilities was occasionally the cause of open resentment. Convicts often ran away and marooned themselves.

Dislike of their convict status was a strong incentive to engage in the informal economy. Such activities provided them with a measure of autonomy. Thus, for example, the production, sale, and consumption of liquor; narcotics; and the melting down of stolen jewels, presumably for resale, were intended to enhance property accumulation. It is under these terms that one must understand the behavior of some one

like Sheik Adam, a deserter who became a habitual criminal. He poisoned his victims by providing drinks laced with the island's devil flower and robbed them. The convicts continued to show resourcefulness and initiative in seeking liberation in the 1840s, when they began to apply for pardons. There were 376 of them in 1847. Most were liberated by 1850, and all but two of the remainder were freed by April 1853.

Linked to their resourcefulness was a desire to create new identities. In spite of official discouragement, 286 convicts took wives from among the slave population and indentured women and fathered 446 children. They participated in cultural and religious events, one of which described in the book is *Moharram*, a popular Muslim event that commemorated the martyrdom of Imam Hussain in 680 C. E., in which Hindus also participated.

This book uses an impressive range of primary and secondary sources to map the arrival of convicts to Mauritius and their adjustment to life there. It incorporates some of the newer issues raised among scholars examining the colonial experience, pertinent also in the study of slaves and indentured laborers. It does well in giving voice to a small group of convict laborers. The book is weak, however, in outlining their cultural and religious life, a more detailed account of which would have given a truer measure of the way identities were shaped.

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MARTIN A. KLEIN. *Slavery and Colonial Rule in French West Africa*. (African Studies, number 94.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1998. Pp. xxi, 354. Cloth \$54.95, paper \$19.95.

In this book, Martin A. Klein offers an account of African slavery and its changing fortunes under French colonial rule, from about 1879 to the 1920s. A summary of the thematic argument of the book and an indication of the complex role of slavery in Africa seems the most satisfactory way of introducing the book to readers of this review.

According to Klein, slavery was well established in Africa by the time of the arrival of the Portuguese in the fifteenth century, and so the forces of slave production in Africa coalesced with the demands of European and New World markets to expand the slave trade. The Western slave trade, Klein observes, is the organized market form of a slave system in Africa that produced endless variations in social codes governing behavior, conduct, hierarchy, household roles, and status in domestic life. Slave children and slave women, for example, added to the disadvantage of their age and gender the burden of servitude and abuse. The general demand for slaves fed the momentum for war and raids, and that in turn led to the establishment of military states in Africa. The military machine that was required for slave raids demanded range and speed for which cavalry was ideal, and so

horses, especially resilient breeds, as well as guns, entered into the equation. Warrior groups exploited slaves to feed court and army, and the political nobility used slaves to reproduce themselves by war and enslavement. Merchants used slaves for profit, and profit enabled the merchants to expand their revenue sources and to cultivate or patronize religion. Klein lays out how increased revenue from slaves brought about an increase of settlements and the flourishing of towns. "Bullion" by way of concentrated slave quarters and townships established the economic foundations of thriving political and economic centers.

Slaves had many occupations and were employed in many fields: farming, weaving, and as smiths and leatherworkers. Slaves were warriors, eunuchs, concubines, servants, messengers, and soldiers. Slaves also traded and were traded by themselves and by others.

African slavery was an established domestic institution, Klein maintains, but it was altered by the export trade, first across the Sahara and then across the Atlantic. All of that changed the nature of slavery. Outside Africa, slaves acquired a racial definition. Slaves were blacks, and blacks were slaves. So even the free black in the Mediterranean and North Atlantic worlds was never done with the reputation of slave. European colonialism introduced a complication: it banned slavery and the slave trade but replaced them with the idea of Africans as subject races. The slave trader became colonial master, and the emancipated slave a colonial dependent. The colonial complication might explain the irony of why, given a choice, slaves refused the offer of statutory manumission and stayed with their African patrons. That form of dependency retained some protection and recognition for the slave, whereas emancipation severed old bonds without new answers. Slavery was controversial, as were remedies for it. Muslim slavery in Africa and elsewhere reduced the controversy by having a frame of reference for slavery in scripture and law. Endorsements and objections to the practice could be tracked in the canon without much moral strife.

Klein's study ranges across these different terrains, with a detailed look at the French colonial context of slavery, the slave trade, and emancipation. French abolition in 1848 was directed initially at the French West Indies and later expanded to West Africa, to Goree and St. Louis specifically. The slave routes were the economic channels, and so banning the slave trade required control, not suffocation, of the economic channels; that, in turn, required reliance on the middlemen who operated the routes. The French raised the children of ex-slaves to fill the role of middlemen and to become brokers. Without a clear plan, French emancipation struck at the heart of the political and economic structures spawned by the transatlantic slave trade and threatened major social upheaval. Remnants of the old slave-based chieftaincy system filled the gaps in the new ad hoc system. Patrons and clients, landlords and tenants, land owners and migrant laborers, masters and apprentices, lenders and borrowers—

these were the relic structures surviving from the slave trade, and the French, as evident in the policies of Governor Major Louis Faïdherbe (1854–1861, 1863–1865) and his successors, modified their antislavery stance accordingly.

Slavery in Muslim Africa had a recognized place in law and society, affording the French an indigenous justification for their modified stance. The continued demand for slaves in the course of the nineteenth century stimulated commensurate developments at the supply end of the chain. The French adjusted their policy in the face of this reality. Laws could be enforced in only a few places, such as at St. Louis and Goree. Opposition to the trade was unpopular with the Bordeaux merchants, while confrontation with hinterland powers, dramatic in its shock value, was still costly and had an uncertain outcome. In the long term, confrontation was unsustainable. Antislavery required direct rule, but direct rule without hinterland collaborators, many of whom were slave owners, was untenable. Colonial armies competed with slave traders for young men, and without military muscle the French could neither secure compliance nor expand their power. Thus, colonial rule became implicated in the slave trade and its consequences. A rapprochement with the leaders of Muslim Africa was inevitable, and that involved at least tacit compromise on the slavery question. At its highest in the late nineteenth century, emancipation affected only a couple of thousand slaves; otherwise it was a hundred here and a hundred there for the trouble. At Goree, it was a handful or fewer a month. After 1879, with the triumph of the Republicans in France, a renewed drive was undertaken on behalf of abolition, though the logic of protecting the human rights of slaves conflicted with the Republicans' commitment to colonialism. Conveniently, colonialism was justified as the remedy for slavery.

Thus commenced France's energetic drive into the interior of Africa, which Klein describes in detail. Thus began, too, France's close encounter with Muslim West Africa. The *tirailleurs* (riflemen) were created by Faïdherbe, but it was Joseph-Simon Gallieni who in 1886 made them the mainstay of the colonial army. With their interventionist policy, the French introduced profound changes in Africa, but also, not to minimize the fact, they were constrained to climb down from their republican anticlericalism. Eventually, Catholics in France, goaded by Cardinal Lavigerie's White Fathers, joined in the antislavery campaign. The Vatican intervened. Political treaties following victory stipulated emancipation as a condition. Slavery persisted, however, and the French commandants as well as the *tirailleurs* took slaves, male and female both. Captured slaves, concentrated in "liberty villages," served a military purpose by depleting the ranks of the enemy; they filled a gap in logistics by being deployed to support supply lines; and they were a strategic asset as troop reinforcements, as well as rewards for service and loyalty. To celebrate a military

victory, female slaves were distributed to troops, patrons, and favored allies.

The demand for labor under colonial rule kept up the pressure to end slavery. The republican ideology of opposition to slavery was harmonized with the assertive politics of colonial intervention. In the 1890s, the conquest of Guinea and Futa Jallon began in earnest, and with that the French crossed the Rubicon with domestic slavery. Slave exploitation had strained the status quo. Slaves complained of being overworked and overtaxed. Some fled from their masters. Some crossed borders to seek relief. Emboldened, still others spoke openly of what to do and how to redress their grievances. In 1905, the French promulgated a decree banning slavery in hinterland Africa. A significant demographic movement, tantamount in some instances to slave revolts, resulted from slaves abandoning their masters and returning to their places of origin. It sucked in the colonial administration, which tried to document movements of people for purposes of controlling labor and tax revenue. In the end, flight was no answer, and neither were colonial measures. Slavery had survived colonialism.

In his main conclusions, Klein is right to stress that slavery survived the French attempt to deal with it, in large part because it was too deeply entrenched in society, and continued opposition threatened France's entire colonial strategy. Besides, measures adopted to root out slavery often helped to preserve it in a different form. Slavery seems to be immune to economic processes as such: it flourished as well in rural, peasant societies as from the high capital investment of the international transatlantic system (see David L. Hancock, *Citizens of the World: London Merchants and the Integration of the British Atlantic Community, 1735-1785* [1995]). It flourished in small-scale societies as well as in large regional systems of trade, war, and politics. It felt congenial in Muslim moral sentiment as well as under conditions of blood feud. War stimulated it as much as peace facilitated trade in it. The central issue is this: external measures to abolish slavery collided with internal reasons and the moral climate allowing it. Furthermore, colonial opposition was neither consistent nor sustained, and Catholic missionary antislavery work was stultified by a gallant republican anticlericalism. Slavery seemed impregnable, capable of infinite adaptations and reincarnations.

With meticulous scholarship his ally, Klein is undaunted. A great strength of the book is that it gives voice to the slaves themselves, however differently expressed, because ultimately it is the humanity of the slaves that is at stake. By his willingness to make that a foreground of his reflections on the subject, Klein honors the slaves whose history and life he has recounted. For that reason, the book is a valuable contribution to the social history of slavery in French West Africa.

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D. HUGH GILLIS. *The Kingdom of Swaziland: Studies in Political History*. (Contributions in Comparative Colonial Studies, number 37.) Westport, Conn.: Greenwood. 1999. Pp. xv, 204. \$65.00.

There are two ways to view this book. The first is to imagine that it was published in 1969 and to evaluate it against the standards of the genre that it best represents, which one rarely encounters in South Africa any longer: that is, imperial political history. The second approach is to set it against the historiography of Swaziland that has emerged in the intervening thirty years. Since D. Hugh Gillis seems largely unaware of the efforts of other historians of Swaziland, the book unsurprisingly scores rather better on the first test than the second.

Gillis provides a useful political history of some of the key developments and moments of the precolonial and early colonial period up to 1920. The story, as told here, has four essential elements: the precolonial origins of the Swazi "nation"; the competing regional designs of Boer and Briton in the late nineteenth century and the end of Swazi autonomy; the first two decades of British colonial rule; and the response of the Swazi aristocracy to colonial intrusion and land alienation. The narrative describes the actions of the great, not the lowly. Swazi kings and queen-regents, colonial governors and officials, and white settlers feature prominently in the narrative.

The themes and substance of this carefully crafted story will be familiar to anyone who has read liberal historians of colonial Swaziland such as R. Drooglever, N. G. Garson, and Christopher P. Youé or nationalist historians such as M. S. Matsebula, Balam Nyeko, and Francis J. Mashasha. But no one has covered the entire period in a single volume, and few have this author's deft writing touch. Gillis's account is not unoriginal because it is derivative; he has clearly read the record for himself and relies sparingly on the work of other historians. What Gillis shares with these scholars is an almost exclusive reliance on official colonial correspondence. This inevitably shapes the priorities, issues, and substance of any narrative using it as a foundation. That is probably why the same questions, personalities, and events tiresomely recur in most conventional histories of Swaziland. What colonial officials did not see or understand, or what they wished to ignore, have no place.

Where Gillis departs from convention, however, is in his judgments. Liberal and nationalist historians of colonialism in Swaziland are essentially critical of the colonial project, refusing to accept it on its own terms. Gillis is generally much more charitable, often accepting colonial verdicts at face value. For example, the aims and activities of rapacious white concessionaires in the 1880s are viewed, without apparent irony, as "no more insidious than those of men and women who pushed back frontiers in the American and Canadian west" (p. 47). The Boer administration in Swaziland in the 1890s, widely judged to be especially draconian,

was "a fair-minded administrator and sought to apply the laws of the Republic in a spirit of moderation" (p. 93). The withdrawal of Boer and Briton from Swaziland during the Anglo-Boer War was, claims Gillis, bad for the Swazi. He reproduces the colonial view that it facilitated arbitrary and barbaric practices of "smelling out" and "killing off" (even defining the latter as "murderous assaults"). The work of the Swaziland Concessions Commission between 1904 and 1907 laid a foundation for the legally and morally indefensible colonial alienation of two-thirds of the land surface to a handful of aggressive white settlers. For Gillis, "by any test, the work of the concessions commission was detailed and fair" (p. 126). The commission's farcical attempt to effect a land partition in 1906 and its ignominious retreat from the country are not mentioned.

The last twenty years of Swaziland scholarship on the colonial period have been dominated by the priorities and perspectives of social history and political economy (as in the work of P. L. Bonner, Alan R. Booth, Martin Fransman, Carolyn Hamilton, Richard Levin, Christopher Lowe, Hugh Macmillan, Hamilton Siphosimelane, Banginkosi Sikhondze, and others). Gillis's book is very far removed from this historiography. Bonner is certainly cited as a source on the precolonial period, but his innovative arguments on the ecology of the precolonial state and the concessions era are not. For the rest, there is little obvious sign of engagement. Even if one is indisposed to the research priorities and theoretical foundations of these approaches, there are serious problems if one pretends, as here, that they simply do not exist.

First, much of Swaziland's precolonial and colonial history clearly made no visible impress on the colonial mind and archive. Oral sources, private papers, and newspapers are now an essential, and extensively used, corrective to a history based almost entirely on official colonial sources. A narrow range of sources generates a seriously constrained history. Second, a great deal of Swaziland's precolonial and colonial "political" history is also about production and economics. Gillis unfortunately ignores the growing literature on the intersection of colonial land and labor policy and the material struggles within Swazi society to define the terms and conditions of access to the local and South African commodity and labor markets. Third, political history without political theory can simply disintegrate into a catalogue of events and personalities operating in some kind of disconnected "political domain." And fourth, through this literature, our understanding of several key themes (such as the land partition or the internal conflicts within Swazi society) has progressed much further than Gillis allows. At a more general level, Gillis's depiction of the nature and impact of the nineteenth-century Zulu Mfecane is entirely conventional (for a study written before the 1990s and the scholarly furore of the last decade). A responsible editor at Greenwood should have urged consideration of the work of other historians of Swaziland. By failing in such a duty, the publisher has done the author and the rest of us something of a disservice.

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## Film Reviews

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CATHERINE THE GREAT (*Katherina die Grosse*). Produced by Marvin J. Chomsky; directed by Marvin J. Chomsky and John Goldsmith; written by John Goldsmith and Frank Tudisco. 1995/2000; color; 100 minutes. Distributed by A&E.

The A&E network's "original movie" *Catherine the Great* is anything but great or original. The film, originally a miniseries televised for European broadcast in 1995, was apparently recut to fit a two-hour time slot on A&E five years later. The missing fifty minutes of film, however, could not have introduced the numerous important figures and issues of Catherine's Russia that were entirely absent from the shorter A&E version.

Although *Catherine the Great* primarily focuses on the intimate details of the monarch's life, it does hint at her role in Russia's intellectual culture and the politics surrounding the Russian throne. But the film provides no evidence that its writers have read any recent histories of Catherine's reign, or of the rest of the century, for that matter. Scholars view this reign as the culmination of Westernizing reforms begun under Peter the Great. The film depicts Catherine and her soon-to-be lover Grigory Potemkin quoting Latin at the dinner table. The empress also mentions her correspondence with the French philosophe Voltaire. Catherine's predecessor Elizabeth is given a great line: "I didn't bring her here to read books. I brought her here to breed sons." This is the extent, however, of the attention paid to Catherine's, or Russia's, intellectual life in the film.

The film includes steamy love scenes between Catherine and several of her lovers, but it does not cope well even with the details of Catherine's intimate life. For example, Empress Elizabeth whisks Catherine's newborn son Paul away, and he is never seen again. Had the filmmakers read David L. Ransel's *Politics of Catherine's Russia* (1975), they could have acquainted the audience with Paul's teacher, Nikita Panin, the focal point of a powerful political faction at the Russian court.

The film does suggest some of the political divisions facing the Russian empire in the 1760s and 1770s: serf-owning nobles, army upstarts who brought Catherine to power, hungry peasants and serfs, and rowdy

Cossacks. Anyone unfamiliar with Russian history, however, would be at a loss to figure out the issues that separated the elite groups. Viewers may turn to the works of historians, such as Isabel de Madariaga's *Catherine the Great: A Short History* (1990) or Alexander B. Kamenskii's *The Russian Empire in the Eighteenth Century: Searching for a Place in the World* (1998), to get a feel for the era. The old nobility is represented in the film by the chancellors Count Aleksey Petrovich Bestuzhev-Ryumin and Mikhail Illarionovich Vorontsov, but here they struggle against each other for no apparent reason.

Vorontsov's niece Elizabeth appears prominently as the mistress of Peter III. This is another missed opportunity to depict the divisions over politics in this era, since Elizabeth's sister Catherine Dashkova was a prominent supporter of the more liberal policies advocated by the Empress Catherine. This second Catherine has received a great deal of attention from historians during the last two decades, but Dashkova does not appear at all in the film. Dashkova's memoirs (recently reissued in translation as *Memoirs of Princess Dashkova: Russia in the Time of Catherine the Great*, ed. Kyriel Fitzlyon [1995]) revolve around her on-again, off-again friendship with the empress. In fact, Dashkova was at least a minor player in the coup d'état that brought Catherine to the throne in 1762. The two women rode together, wearing full uniforms of an elite guards regiment. In the film, Empress Catherine greets the troops in a tricorn hat, but she is wearing a skirt.

*Catherine the Great* treats Peter III as little more than a buffoon. Peter's cruelty and dislike of Catherine are accurate, but the film does not consider recent efforts to rehabilitate him as a ruler. As Carol S. Leonard argues in *Reform and Regicide: The Reign of Peter III of Russia* (1993), Catherine often gets the credit for several of Peter's innovations.

In a film riddled with mistakes and misrepresentations, perhaps the most egregious is the treatment of Emelian Pugachev. Pugachev, who led a rebellion of Cossacks, Bashkirs, and Russian serfs in Russia's central Volga region in the early 1770s, appears in an unlikely personal audience with the empress. Later, he saves Potemkin's life but refuses to continue fighting the Turks with the imperial army. He is next seen launching a rebellion that seriously challenged the

Russian state. According to Madariaga, a member of Pugachev's inner circle had been a delegate to the Legislative Commission of 1767, called by Catherine to prepare for a complete reform of the empire's legal system. Potemkin managed the affairs of minority peoples, but he did not participate in the commission that investigated the rebellion, as this film suggests. Again, viewers may turn to historians for a more accurate and coherent account; John T. Alexander's *Autocratic Politics in a National Crisis* (1969) provides a handy English-language study of the rebellion.

These are only a few of the glaring gaffes and omissions in *Catherine the Great*. They should be enough, however, to keep historians from ordering this video for their home or university libraries.

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**ENEMY AT THE GATES.** Produced by Jean-Jacques Annaud and John D. Schofield; written and directed by Jean-Jacques Annaud. 2000; color; 125 minutes. Distributed by Paramount Pictures.

Stalingrad, September 1942: a trainload of Red Army soldiers arrives to assist a city besieged by Nazi tanks and planes. The soldiers confront, to their mounting horror, a sky full of dive bombers and streets buried under mounds of rubble and body parts. Among the troops is a peasant from the Ural Mountains, Vassily Zaitsev (Jude Law). Trapped by gunfire, he shoulders his weapon and, like a latter-day Sergeant York, calmly picks off five Germans. Witnessing the event is Comrade Danilov (Joseph Fiennes), a Marxist-Jewish intellectual. With the enthusiastic support of newly arrived Nikita Krushchev (Bob Hoskins), he exploits Zaitsev's marksmanship in a propaganda campaign designed to bolster sagging Soviet morale. It works. As Zaitsev's sharp-shooting continues, the press elevates him to mythic heroic status for worshipful Russians everywhere. A frustrated German command takes countermeasures, dispatching Wehrmacht supersniper Major König (Ed Harris), a nobleman, to Stalingrad to destroy Zaitsev.

All this transpires in the first half hour of *Enemy at the Gates*. The rest of the film narrows the epic scope of the opening scenes to the field of vision contained within the sniper scopes of Zaitsev and König. Thus, a film that begins with the epic spectacle of battle becomes an intimate portrait of a very private war between a Russian shepherd and a German nobleman. As the two snipers warily lay traps and countertraps for each other, patiently waiting each other out amid the rubble of the city, they develop peripheral relationships: Zaitsev with a young German-speaking Russian student, Tania Chernova (Rachel Weisz); König with a young Russian boy who supplies him with intelligence about Zaitsev's activities. Looking on is Danilov, frustrated by his own unrequited attraction to Chernova

and resentful of the rival whose heroic image he helped create.

Paradoxically, for all of its surrounding action, the core of the film is inert, a frozen image of death and stalemate. As the siege lengthens, the Russian soldiers find themselves largely confined to their underground bunkers. The city is a silent trash heap of eviscerated buildings, broken streets, and toppled towers. A huge statue of Joseph Stalin lies in pieces. Body parts litter Red Square. Behind every barricade are corpses, crumpled and still. Nothing moves. But look closely and a telltale gleam betrays the slight shift of a metal rifle barrel, or a tiny twitch reveals the quarry's breathing. The standoff ends, at long last, when König is blinded for an instant by a ray of reflected light, just long enough to enable Zaitsev to crawl away.

Like previous films depicting the Stalingrad siege: such as Joseph Vilmaier's *Stalingrad* (Germany/Sweden, 1993), Daniel Sjö's *Stalingrad* (Sweden, 1989), and Leonid Varlamov's *Stalingrad* (USSR, 1943), *Enemy at the Gates* personalizes epic events in a handful of individual characters. Vilmaier's film, for example, tells the story from the viewpoint of three Germans just arrived in Stalingrad. Controversies attended the film's sympathetic treatment of the German side of the story—separating the humanity of its handful of characters from the evil of their superiors in Berlin—and its citing of statistics about the numbers of German dead. In the end, after enduring the horrors of war and witnessing the brutal German treatment of Russian prisoners of war, the protagonists are disabused of their patriotic loyalties and struggle to retain even a vestige of their own humanity.

At first glance, it seems preposterous that a private war between two men could play a decisive part in the ultimate outcome of the messy and chaotic siege of Stalingrad. The German-English-Irish coproduction is based, however, on facts detailed in William Craig's classic text, *Enemy at the Gates: The Battle for Stalingrad* (1973). According to Craig, there really was an expert sniper named Vassily Zaitsev, whose success in killing hundreds of Germans during the siege of Stalingrad earned him the Order of Lenin and has been celebrated ever after (his rifle is housed in the Volgograd Historical Museum). A Major König (or König) really had come from Berlin to kill him. Chernova was an expert Russian sniper who trained under Zaitsev and loved him. And Danilov was a political agitator at the scene; when he was shot by König, it revealed the German's position to Zaitsev's fatal bullet. But, as the reality has disappeared into legend, the exploits of these four individuals have been inflated into epic proportions. Zaitsev and König have become archetypal warriors, the Hector and Achilles of the modern mythology of World War II, invincible to everyone, vulnerable only to each other. As König says in the film upon being informed of rumors of Zaitsev's death: "He is not dead until I kill him."

There are other allusions to the factual record. Russian infantrymen who tried to retreat were indeed

shot; the failure of officers to defend the city did result in their enforced suicide; and citizens were leaving in order to motivate the soldiers to continue defending the city. A brief sequence with an animated map hastily explains the strategic importance of Stalingrad: that its capture would provide Adolf Hitler a northern anchor for the German drive into the oil fields of the Caucasus (the film's actual locations included regions near the Volga and the Polish border, a derelict factory in the German industrial town of Rudersdorf, and deserted military barracks in the village of Krampnitz).

Missing, however, is information on how the Russians eventually triumphed in February 1943. German General Frederick von Paulus and his men were cut off from reinforcements and supplies by a sudden flanking maneuver (the "November Surprise"), as Russians encircled the Germans and their allies with a force of a million and a half men. Ordered to stay in place, the Sixth and Fourth Panzer Armies were obliterated; a quarter of a million Germans succumbed to starvation and disease, leaving less than a hundred thousand alive to surrender. Stalingrad was as far as the Germans were able to penetrate into Russia, and the myth of Nazi invincibility was broken. Just two years later, Russian soldiers found themselves celebrating in the streets of Berlin. Also omitted is the sad statistic that, according to Craig, only a little more than fifteen hundred people survived from Stalingrad's peacetime population of 500,000.

Unfortunately, far too much of *Enemy at the Gates* is sheerest hokum straight out of the standard Hollywood combat film of the 1940s. Interrupting the action are romantic interludes and scenes where the frustrated Danilov fumes, frets, and finally considers betraying his rival. Bob Hoskins's blustering Krushchev barks orders into the telephone to his troop commanders: "You say you've lost half your command? Then lose the rest of it. And lose yourself!" The requisite acts of betrayal and redemption abound: a young Russian boy loses his life in a game of spy and counterspy against the Germans; Danilov kills himself to save the heroic Zaitsev. At war's end, the lovelorn Zaitsev finds Chernova in a hospital, miraculously cured from her seemingly fatal wounds (the factual record reveals that the two never saw each other after the war). Even the closing credits quaintly recall a vanished Hollywood, reprising images of the major cast members. And if the background musical score by James Horner sounds familiar, it is because its primary theme, heard throughout the film, seems to have been lifted, almost note for note, from John Williams's theme from *Schindler's List*.

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MOBUTU: KING OF ZAIRE. Part One: *Quest for Power*; Part Two: *The Upper Hand*; Part Three: *The End of a Reign*. Produced and directed by Thierry Michel. 1999; color and black and white; 52 minutes each. Distributed by First Run/Icarus Films.

*Mobutu: King of Zaire* is a stunning documentary of the life of Mobutu Sese Seko (a.k.a. Joseph Mobutu), one of Africa's most notorious postcolonial despots. Described by one French official as "a walking bank vault in a leopard-skin hat," Mobutu amassed a fortune during his thirty-two years in office as the president of Zaire (now the Democratic Republic of Congo). Squirreling away as much as five billion dollars in Swiss bank accounts, Mobutu also spent millions on mansions on the French Riviera, threw lavish receptions for heads of state and foreign dignitaries, and purchased countless other luxuries, including 14,000 bottles of 1930 vintage wine (the year of his birth). During the 1980s, Mobutu embezzled as much as \$400 million per year from Zaire's copper and cobalt exports. The state treasury, in the words of one acquaintance, became Mobutu's "piggy bank," from which he called up millions of dollars at a moment's notice.

In contrast to the enrichment that Mobutu's kleptocracy provided for himself, his family, and his closest associates, the vast majority of Zaire's population languished in poverty during his incumbency. At the time of Mobutu's death in September 1997, the nation's unemployment rate hovered around seventy per cent. Equally appalling, annual per capita income stood at \$160, nearly two-thirds less than the figure at the time of independence in 1960. Given the corruption that contaminated Mobutu's regime from top to bottom and the gross economic disparities that prevailed in Zaire, how did Mobutu manage to hold dictatorial power for over three decades?

Thierry Michel analyzes this question in his three-part documentary, which is divided into segments assessing Mobutu's rise to power; the consolidation of his absolutist regime; and the decline of Mobutu's authority, which coincided with the post-Cold War era. The director makes use of rare archival footage as well as dozens of taped interviews with Mobutu's associates to create a remarkable montage of a leader who always kept a copy of Niccolò Machiavelli's *The Prince* on his nightstand. Michel's documentary reveals that Mobutu persevered, in part, on his own merits. Compared to a leopard, Mobutu was willing to use all forms of treachery to eliminate his competitors. In 1960, for example, Mobutu employed Central Intelligence Agency funds to turn the Congolese army against Patrice Lumumba, his friend, principal patron, and the country's first democratically elected prime minister. Following Lumumba's assassination early the next year, the way was clear for Mobutu's ascendancy. He led a coup d'état in 1965, seized absolute power, and continued to exercise ruthless force in clearing the political field of all enemies, real and perceived.

Mobutu employed any means necessary to remain the undisputed leader of Zaire: torture, public hangings, deaths in detention, and even the seduction of wives of his government officials to gather intelligence on colleagues. Simultaneously, he constructed a god-like personality cult ("Mobutuism"), created a new political movement (the MPR), changed the country's

name (from Congo to Zaire), and transformed his own identity (from Joseph Mobutu to Mobutu Sese Seko, the "all-powerful warrior").

Although Mobutu's political skills were considerable, his success also depended on the support of his Western friends, most importantly the Americans, the French, and the Belgians. In this respect, Mobutu was a man of the Cold War, viewed by the West as an indispensable ally in the struggle to contain Soviet expansionism. During Mobutu's visit to the White House in the late 1980s, for example, President Bush paid homage to him as "one of [America's] most valued friends." In return for aid and loans from the west, Mobutu allowed the United States to send covert arms shipments through his country to supply UNITA rebels in Angola and permitted France to use Zaire as a staging area for its operations in Chad and the Central African Republic.

As the documentary reveals, Mobutu played the diplomatic game skillfully, charming heads of state with his charismatic public persona. As one former ambassador put it, Mobutu was a "master of diplomacy." But, as the Cold War waned, so did Mobutu's fortunes. Following the collapse of the Soviet Union, the United States and Europe pressured Mobutu to "democratize" Zaire, a transition that unleashed a flood of discontent, forced Mobutu into exile, and brought Laurent Kabila to power in 1997 (Kabila was assassinated in early 2001 and has been succeeded by his son Joseph.) Mobutu, the man who had attained godlike status, who considered himself the father of his country, ended his tenure old, sick with prostate cancer, and reviled by everyone. As one former government official concluded, in the end, "all those who made [Mobutu] king deserted him."

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*I CENTO PASSI (The Hundred Steps)*. Produced by Fabrizio Mosca; directed by Marco Tullio Giordana; written by Claudio Fava, Monica Zapelli, and Marco Tullio Giordana. 2000; color; 114 minutes. Distributed in Italy by Istituto Luce.

Marco Tullio Giordana's film *I cento passi* received the Leone d'oro prize for best screenplay at the Venice Film Festival of 2000, and it is easy to see why. The film is not only a serious study of the life of anti-Mafia crusader Giuseppe Impastato but also a piercing social critique. While historians wince at *Gladiator* and the public sighs over the beauty of *Malena*, Giordana's film is a lesson in how to make a film from a historical subject.

Giuseppe (Peppino) Impastato, born in 1948 in Cinisi, Sicily, is the son of a local Mafia accomplice. Instead of obeying the Mafia cult of *omertà* (silence) and the biblical injunction to "Honor thy father," Peppino decides to rebel and, more dangerously, to expose the myriads ways in which the Mafia is intricately woven into Sicilian (and Italian) life, society,

and politics. The film's title refers to the mere hundred steps that separate the Impastato home from that of Gaetano (Tano) Badalamenti, the notorious Sicilian Mafia lord later arrested and tried in the U.S. on charges of drug trafficking.

The rash Impastato befriends the Communist painter Stefano Venuti and works for the local leftist press. His language is impertinent and hardly subtle: he refers to Cinisi as "Mafiopoli" and runs a headline that reads: "La mafia è una montagna di merda" ("The Mafia is a mountain of shit"). His impatience with the traditional methods of political action is palpable. He breaks with the entrenched Communist Party (which sold out for jobs at the local airport) and joins splinter leftist groups like Lotta continua and Democrazia proletaria. He organizes public demonstrations against the building of the airport, the paving of unnecessary roads, and the construction of *case abusive* (illegally built homes on the beach) that have destroyed Sicily's magnificent landscape.

Blocked in every public endeavor, Impastato becomes the catalyst in creating a pirate radio station. Here is where he and his movement prove most effective and therefore dangerous. The entire town listens to the radio broadcasts, including Tano Badalamenti. Peppino's father, Luigi Impastato, who, like so many others, owes his livelihood to the local Mafia chieftain, is publicly humiliated. And therein lies the double tragedy of the story, for it is Luigi and not his son who represents the daily tragedy of life tied to organized crime. Luigi Impastato is a sympathetic character, and the Oedipal scene where he confronts Peppino, desperately pleading that his son "Honor thy father," is a heart-wrenching moment. Luigi's ties to Badalamenti are also the only thing that protect the brash young man. When Luigi is "accidentally" killed by an automobile and Peppino decides to run for the City Council, his fate is sealed.

Giuseppe Impastato was assassinated on May 9, 1978. His death, however, was overshadowed by the discovery in Rome—midway between the offices of the Christian Democratic Party (DC) and those of the Italian Communist Party—of the body of former prime minister and DC leader Aldo Moro. Moro had been kidnapped, tried, and executed by the Red Brigades in what was the most outrageous act of political terrorism committed by the extreme left (the extreme right, not to be outdone in barbarism, carried out its own terrorism, usually aimed at civilians). With the more spectacular national event as cover, the Sicilian authorities—closely tied to the intricate web of organized crime on the island—first ruled Peppino's death a suicide, recalling the "accidental death" of the anarchist Giuseppe Pinelli (made famous by Dario Fo's play *Accidental Death of an Anarchist* [1977]). They later implied that Impastato died while attempting a terrorist bombing, recalling the death of the publisher Giangiacomo Feltrinelli.

Giordana has directed a somber, realistic film. He effectively uses an eclectic soundtrack, incorporating



everything from traditional Sicilian folk melodies to pop-culture classics, to evoke the sentiments of the late 1960s and 1970s. Most of the actors are trained in the theater, and the effect is reminiscent of the great neorealist films of the immediate postwar era.

The film's palette is almost unrelentingly dark; the camera seems to seek refuge in the cool interior of Sicily's houses, but there it finds only the evil that lurks behind the island's sunny facades. The faces in the films are facades as well. Contrary to the popular culture stereotype, Sicilians are by nature reserved and reticent. The camera captures brilliantly the extremely subtle facial expressions in social settings: at a family gathering, at a funeral, or when Badalamenti pays a menacing visit to the Impastato pizzeria to "settle accounts" with Peppino.

*I cento passi* comes dangerously close to hagiography, and indeed the Christ imagery is compelling but not overwrought. Giordana's Impastato may defy his father, but he loves his mother; he reads Miguel Cervantes and Pier Paolo Pasolini after his father throws him out of the family home. Yet it is difficult not to sanctify Impastato. At a time when *omertà* was the rule, he managed to move his fellow Sicilians out of a millennial apathy.

We now have a substantial body of scholarly work on the Mafia, notably including Pino Arlacchi's *Mafia*

*Business: The Mafia Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (1986), Alexander Stille's *The Mafia and the Death of the First Republic* (1995), and Nicola Tranfaglia's *Mafia, politica, e affari nell'Italia repubblicana, 1943-1991* (1992). Yet *I cento passi* holds out the hope of doing for the anti-Mafia movement in Italy what *Schindler's List* did for a wider public consciousness of the Holocaust. It is that rare thing: both a box-office and a critical success, and it has been shown in schools and to civic associations across Italy. Furthermore, it is grounded in personal experiences: screenwriter Claudio Fava's own father, a journalist, was killed by the Mafia in 1984.

Impastato's death marked an important moment in the struggle against organized crime in Sicily. He was elected posthumously to the city council. A documentation center, the Centro di Documentazione "Giuseppe Impastato" ([www.centroimpastato.it](http://www.centroimpastato.it)), was later founded. It assisted in the making of the film and continues to keep alive that small flame of indignation which will be necessary to eradicate organized crime from Italian society. In 1997, nearly twenty years after Impastato's death, Badalamenti was officially charged with organizing his murder; as of April 2001, his trial was still under way.

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## Collected Essays

These volumes, recently received in the *AHR* office, do not lend themselves readily to unified reviews; the contents are therefore listed.

### COMPARATIVE/WORLD

PIETER N. HOLTROP and HUGH McLEOD, editors. *Missions and Missionaries*. (Studies in Church History; Subsidia, number 13.) Rochester, N.Y.: Boydell, for the Ecclesiastical History Society, Rochester, N.Y. 2000. Pp. x, 229. \$75.00.

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## Communications

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### ARTICLES

#### TO THE EDITOR:

K. E. Fleming uses Herge's *Tintin* to demonstrate that Western Europeans have such a uniquely careless attitude toward the Balkans that they see "scarcely any point in trying to distinguish between them" [*AHR* 105 (October 2000): 1218–33]. Unfortunately, Fleming shows a rather similar attitude toward *Tintin*. First of all, *Tintin* is not a "boy detective" but a reporter. Second, Fleming's argument rests on the assertion that Syldavia in *Le Sceptre d'Ottokar* is the *only* imaginary country in the series, but this is not the case. Two books (*L'Oreille Cassée* and *Les Picaros*) are set in the nonexistent South American countries of San Theodoros and its neighbor Nuevo Rico. I also have been unable to find in any atlas the emirate of Khemed, the domains of the maharajah of Rawhajpoutalah, or the island of Pulaupulau Bompá. The creation of these imaginary places permitted the blend of fantasy and reality that is the trademark of the *Tintin* series.

Fleming does not put *Le Sceptre d'Ottokar* in historical context even to the extent of giving the date of original publication (a courtesy extended to the more literary Agatha Christie). *Le Sceptre d'Ottokar* was serialized in 1938–1939: an important point for understanding its reflections of very real political events. Syldavia and particularly its neighbor Borduria show up again in *L'Affaire Tournesol* (1954). Here, Borduria is under the communist-type regime of Plekszy-Gladz: another indication that Hergé's Balkans are not without history.

Finally, Fleming identifies the *Tintin* series as "ad-

ventures" in which the presence of "Balkan buffoons" is a particular insult to Eastern Europe. In fact, the world of *Tintin* is a comic one from first page to last, with idiocies and pratfalls that spare no one, including *Tintin* himself. *Tintin* doesn't need to go to other countries to find buffoons: he brings along with him some world-class clowns—to be precise, the two detectives Dupont and Dupond.

*Tintin* is one of the great achievements of European popular culture: a series that started in 1929, ended in 1976, and is still a global bestseller. In it we find the whole gamut of European attitudes toward the rest of the world: degrading condescension, fascination with the exotic, genuine insight, and a human solidarity resting on both apolitical loyalty and continual comic indignity. Hergé himself evolved greatly over the years (one of the sources of his greatness). Americans have never really caught on to *Tintin* and the other classic *bandes dessinées* of postwar Europe: a failure in which disdain for mere "comic strips" plays its part. Perhaps this disdain helps explain the factual carelessness revealed here.

LARS T. LIH  
Montreal, Quebec

K. E. Fleming does not wish to reply.

THE EDITORS

### REVIEWS OF BOOKS

#### TO THE EDITOR:

Albert S. Lindemann's reply to my letter in the *AHR* (June 2000): 1083–84, which has lately come to my attention, hits an all-time low in character assassination. Not content with his earlier, unprovoked assault on my scholarly integrity, he now characterizes my work as "shallow and monotonous," recklessly partisan, driven by "twisted perspectives," fervently nationalistic (!), and "devoid of scruple." But it was not my work that was being reviewed in the *AHR*, nor am I responsible for the devastating critique of Lindemann by Judith Elkin in your October 1999 issue, which

exposed the countless flaws in his recent book. Lindemann's reply to me and his other critics completely eschews any rational argument. Instead, he relies on a relentlessly self-publicizing parade of clips from approving reviewers while treating those who dissent from his views to fierce ad hominem attacks that should be beyond the pale of scholarly discourse. I will not dignify this form of intellectual terrorism with a detailed reply. But it is sad to see the *AHR* providing a platform to Lindemann to sling mud at reputable scholars in ways that bring the historical profession into ill repute.

ROBERT S. WISTRICH  
Hebrew University of Jerusalem

TO THE EDITOR:

Albert S. Lindemann's reply to my letter (*AHR* 105 [December 2000]: 1871–72) is deceitful. And in two ways.

First, this letter implies that our exchange belongs to a longstanding feud between us. In plain truth, I wrote to protest a specific episode—Lindemann's criticism of Robert S. Wistrich (*AHR* 105 [June 2000]: 1083–84) . . . My motive was to defend a scholar I deeply admire. Lindemann had written that Wistrich "has few if any defenders of stature . . . while cranks and zealots have rushed to embrace him" (p. 1084). This was not only unfair, it was false. I could have named names, but I preferred not to hide behind other scholars' gowns. I wanted to show that at least one writer was willing to risk being characterized as a crank or zealot for speaking out in defense of Wistrich . . . But the assault on me would be more convincing if it were isolated to me. Sadly, Lindemann pursues exactly the same strategy against Wistrich.

And this is the second deceit. "My criticisms of Wistrich," Lindemann wrote, "have mostly to do with his *Commentary* review of my book" (p. 1872). The truth is otherwise. Lindemann's criticism was not aimed at a mere book review but at Wistrich's scholarship on anti-Semitism—almost the whole of his life's work! Unable to answer my protest that this sweeping and indiscriminate assault on Wistrich's reputation is grounded neither in solid textual analysis nor responsible argument, Lindemann tries now to distract readers . . . The truth is that Lindemann seeks to burke any criticism by seeking to discredit his critics.

Let us suppose everything Lindemann says about me is true. I have produced no historical work. (In fact, my book *The Elephants Teach* is a contribution to the history of education.) I am a "loose cannon," whatever that means. (If its opposite is a cannon fastened in place and firing on command—that is, a scholar who is dependent on the opinion of others and utterly predictable—then one could do worse than to be a "loose cannon.") I have called him an "enemy of Israel" and an "anti-Semitic polemicist." (I cannot find these phrases in my writing.) Even so, it is I, not he, who

"twists and misuses" texts and ignores "crucial qualifier[s]." (Although I may have summarized his views in one place, I have quoted him fully and accurately in another and have discussed his "qualifiers" at length in print.) There are a "diminishing number" of outlets for my attacks on him. (Lindemann may want to avoid *American Literary History*, where in a forthcoming essay I associate his work with the ideology of liberal anti-Judaism.) My attacks have been "venomous if erratic." (In fact, my criticisms of his work have been painstakingly documented and closely reasoned, which is why—anticipating his ad hominem reply—I directed readers to the full transcript of our debates at my web site . . . Whatever I have said publicly about Lindemann has been the demonstrable conclusion to a careful argument.)

Even if everything Lindemann says about me is true, it is entirely irrelevant. A loose cannon may score a direct hit now and then. *Yet Lindemann does not bother to address, let alone answer, a single one of my arguments.* He does not defend himself, for example, against my charge that he abuses Lucy S. Dawidowicz without building a scholarly case against her—or even quoting her! This is a matter of some urgency, since Lindemann has begun to be cited by other writers who would also like to dismiss Dawidowicz as a mere Jewish partisan. To point out that Lindemann has called into discredit the work of a great historian without even citing it is not an "attack" on him, it is a service to the historical profession. My central argument was that Lindemann is abusive with some regularity. "Rather than examining their work in any detail," I wrote, "he prefers to stigmatize his adversaries." How does he respond to this criticism? He tries to stigmatize his critic. Lindemann's reply has the unintended and welcome effect of proving my case against him.

D. G. MYERS  
Texas A&M University

ALBERT S. LINDEMANN REPLIES:

Much of what is in the letters from Robert Wistrich and D. G. Myers goes over issues that I have addressed in several previous letters. As I commented in one of them, I can't imagine that many readers continue to be interested in these exchanges or indeed will be able to follow their convoluted history. Still, I cannot let this stream of misinformation and bluster pass unchallenged.

Reading Robert Wistrich's most recent blast, I must again shake my head in astonishment; for the author of one of the most abusive reviews in recent memory to charge *me* with mud-throwing and "intellectual terrorism"—and further for him to lament that he has been the object of an "unprovoked assault"—must give rise to serious questions about this man's grip on reality. The very tone of his letter provides further evidence of his prickly self-importance and inability to face the

consequences of his own actions, or even understand them.

Wistrich cannot seem to get it into his head that he has written in ways that raise serious doubts about his scholarly integrity. To begin with, as I and others have already noted, for a reviewer to write such a hostile review of a book in which the reviewer's own work is criticized and to make absolutely no reference to that criticism represents a breach of scholarly ethics.

But there is much more, and I am more than happy to be given the opportunity to provide further examples of the "solid textual analysis . . . [and] responsible argument" that D. G. Myers calls for. I am confident that readers will recognize the hollowness of Wistrich's charge that my previous letter "completely eschews any rational argument."

In that *Commentary* review (February 1998), Wistrich wrote that "according to Lindemann [my italics], Romania's reputation as a land of narrow-minded backwardness was undeserved; he cites one source testifying that Romanians were 'the most tolerant of all Christian peoples.'" As I and a number of scholars pointed out in subsequent letters to *Commentary*, this was a serious misrepresentation of what I had written, since I made quite clear that I did not approve of that source. My opening words to the section on Romania are as follows: "Nowhere else did hatred of the Jews become so prominently a part of national identity or one that so obsessed the intellectual classes" (*Esau's Tears*, 307).

One might have expected a man of integrity to recognize that his partisan passions had gotten the best of him and apologize for making charges that were so patently untrue. Instead, in his reply (*Commentary* [April 1998]: 10–18), Wistrich spun himself into a web of further falsehood. He claimed that he "did not attribute to him [Lindemann] the absurd remark of which he complains." But he *most certainly did* attribute that remark to me (see above: "according to Lindemann"). Then he moved on, in his reply, completely avoiding the matter. This is partly why I commented that Wistrich is "incapable of recognizing, even to the slightest degree, injustice on his side" [*AHR* 105 (June 2000): 1084].

The rest of Wistrich's long and abusive reply in *Commentary* is replete with errors and stonewalling. He charged that that my book is "deafeningly silent" about Christian prejudice against Jews. But far from ignoring it, I devote many pages to it. My preface covers it in a general way, and chapter after chapter returns to it. The index, under "Christian anti-Semitism," "Catholic Church," "religion," lists scores of discussions of the issue.

Wistrich further wrote in his reply that I "startlingly" assert in my book "that before the mid-1930s Hitler was a 'moderate' on the 'Jewish question.'" The thing that is startling here is the extent of his readiness brazenly to misrepresent what I wrote. From the opening chapters of *Esau's Tears*, I make clear my position that Hitler was the most fanatical of the

modern anti-Semites. In the section dealing with Nazism, I wrote, "One may certainly find a monstrous hatred in certain elements of the German population, and most pertinently in Hitler himself." "Even the 'moderate' solutions that Hitler's henchmen contemplated [e.g., expulsion] were madly utopian, and morally outrageous." I do note, as have many scholars, that Hitler *tried to appear a moderate* on the Jewish question as on many others, but I emphasize strongly the radicalism of his anti-Semitism and that ultimate responsibility for the Final Solution must be laid at his doorstep.

I have little doubt that Wistrich understands that distinction but consciously chose to misrepresent what I wrote. My description, then, of Wistrich as "devoid of scruple when lashing out at those he perceives as enemies," far from being a "fierce ad hominem attack," is based on much concrete evidence. I could fill pages with further examples. Similarly, his charge that my previous letter to the *AHR* "completely eschews any rational argument" has as much validity to it as his whoppers that I praise the Romanians, ignore Christian Jew-hatred, or describe Hitler as a moderate.

As far as my description of his work dealing with anti-Semitism as "blind to nuance and moral complexity, shallow and monotonous in interpretation" is concerned, I think any careful and discriminating reader of *The Longest Hatred* will recognize, as have a number of reviewers, the aptness of those terms. So, I am sure, will most of those who have read *Commentary* in the past quarter-century recognize the aptness of the terms "neo-conservative polemic and fervent nationalistic/ethnic partisanship."

In part, what is at issue is a fundamental difference in interpreting modern anti-Semitism. I consider it similar in important ways to other kinds of ethnic, religious, and economic conflicts, although I stress that irrational fantasies typically contort and intensify those conflicts. Wistrich maintains that anti-Semitism is to be understood as a wildly irrational phenomenon, one without significant connections to such kinds of conflict. He seems to feel that his primary job as a historian is to describe the irrationalities in detail and say relatively little about the rest. Why such differences in interpretive perspective could not be discussed in a reasonable tone, without the barrage of ugly insults and reckless falsehoods in the *Commentary* review and replies to it still remains something of a mystery to me, although my best guess is that Wistrich's emotional attachment to black-and-white categorizations has made it difficult for him to entertain as worthy of consideration any of the nuances I explored in the Romanian situation—or indeed the complexities of anti-Semitism in most other countries.

I would certainly have much preferred to discuss these differences of perception, which are hardly new to the field, in a calm and civil fashion. I hasten to add that my initial criticism of Wistrich and Dawidowicz in *Esau's Tears* was measured, in both cases recognizing their many merits and accomplishments. I referred to the "dubious tenor and simplistic nature" of the background chapters of Dawidowicz's *War against the Jews*, an evaluation that few serious scholars today

would contest. Of Wistrich, I wrote that his defects were similar to those of Dawidowicz, "prominent among them a tendency to colorful and indignant narrative, accompanied by weak, sometimes tendentious analysis." A radical escalation in language came with Wistrich's review in *Commentary*. Compare the adjectives I used above to those used in Wistrich's review: "profoundly biased and ignominious," "deeply pernicious," "little better than that of the anti-Semites whose arguments he echoes." Obviously, once I had been attacked in such a false and unprincipled manner in the review and then in the reply in *Commentary*, my own estimation of Wistrich's scholarly integrity plummeted.

That D. G. Myers so admires Wistrich does not surprise me. The two have much in common . . . Typically, Myers's own words, in this most recent letter, are his own worst enemy (and, again, he tends to accuse others of those very things of which he is most guilty, such as my being "deceitful"). He seems to think that he can snip out crucial qualifying words and phrases of mine in one instance, altering my meaning (mere "summarizing" in his mind), so long as he quotes the full text elsewhere . . . Similarly, when I noted that he has published nothing in the field of the history of anti-Semitism, and is not a historian, I should have mentioned, he seems to think, a *future* article of his. As for the terms, "enemy of Israel" and "anti-Semitic polemicist," any long-time subscriber to H-Antisemitism, and, of course, its moderators, can, I am sure, refresh his memory—although they, like so many others who have had to deal with D. G. Myers, including the moderators of H-Holocaust, have ruefully vowed to have as little to do with him as possible in the future. That Myers now presents himself as a valiant defender of Wistrich is not, to put it mildly, likely to remedy that scholar's by now badly tarnished reputation.

ALBERT S. LINDEMANN  
University of California,  
Santa Barbara

**[These letters conclude this series of exchanges. No further letters will be published. The Editors]**

#### TO THE EDITOR:

In reviewing my book *Jerusalem in America's Foreign Policy, 1947–1997* (*AHR* 105 [December 2000]: 1767–68), Peter L. Hahn criticizes the book for resembling "less a thorough study of U.S. diplomacy and more a legal brief arguing a case for a particular U.S. policy toward Jerusalem." The book "displays a pervasive, if not excessive, legalism . . . [and] critiques U.S. policy . . . for incongruity with somewhat arcane legal codes." Moreover, the study leaves untouched "available archival materials."

It is quite clear that Hahn is not a legal scholar and certainly not a scholar of international law. I therefore cannot take issue with him for his lack of appreciation of the entire focus of the book, namely, a legal analysis of the status of Jerusalem as perceived by American policymakers during the course of half a century. For the same reason, I cannot fault him for failing to appreciate critical documentation on the legal issue derived from archival sources in Washington, London, and Jerusalem. The international legal character of the study could be readily discerned from the fact that it bears the imprint of Kluwer Law International (the Hague), the world's foremost publisher of works on international law. Perhaps my real regret is that the book review editor, in selecting a reviewer, did not take note of the nature of the book and select someone who is also proficient in international law.

SHLOMO SLONIM  
Hebrew University of Jerusalem

Peter L. Hahn does not wish to reply.

THE EDITORS



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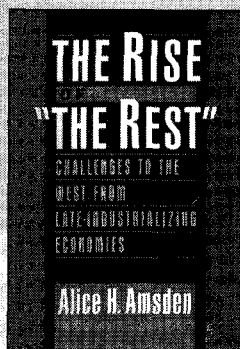
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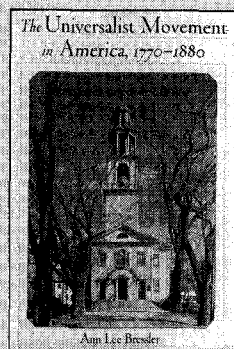
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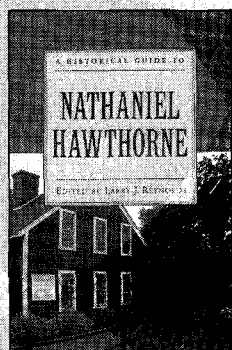
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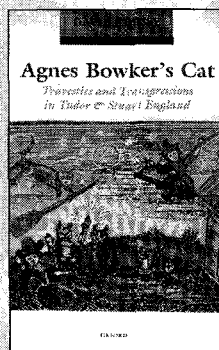
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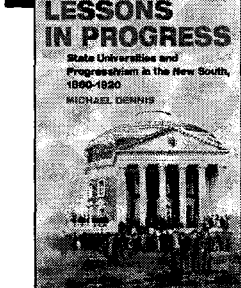
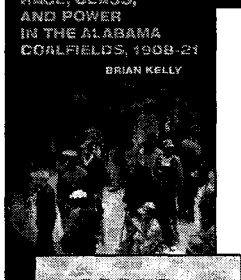
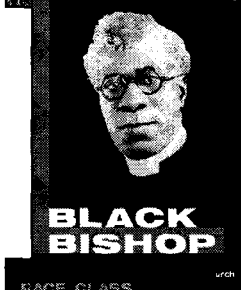
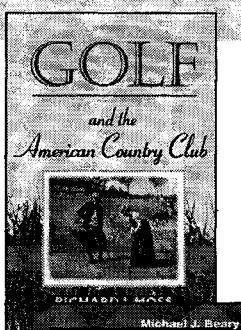
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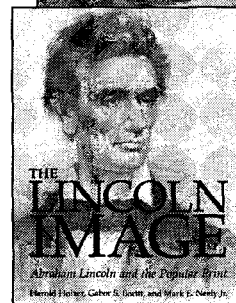
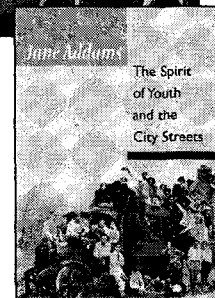
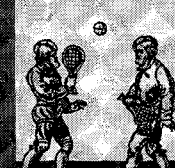
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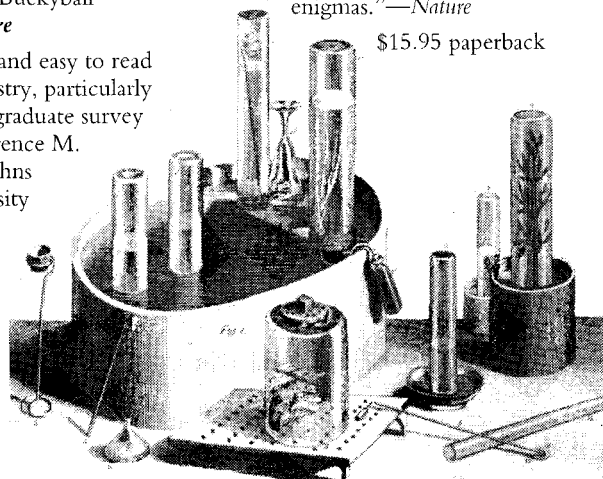
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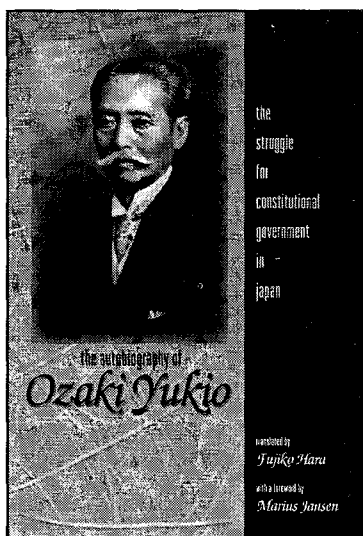
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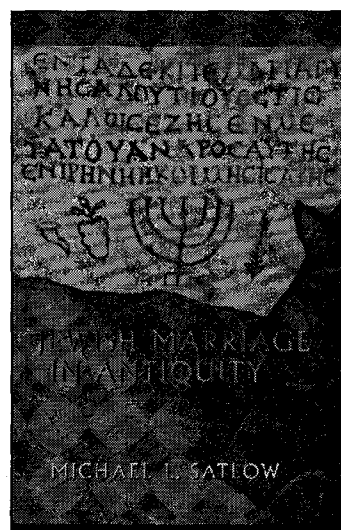
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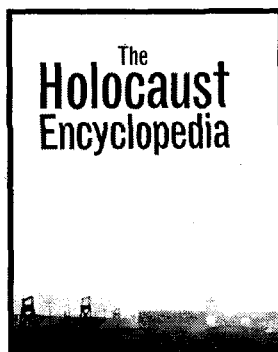
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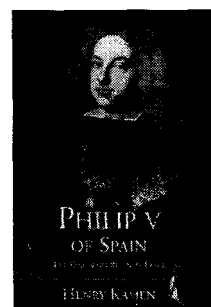
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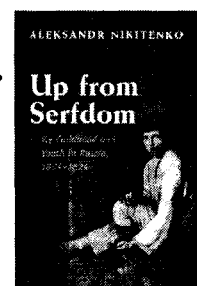
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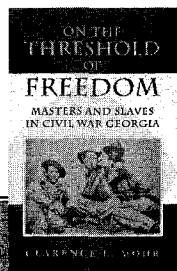
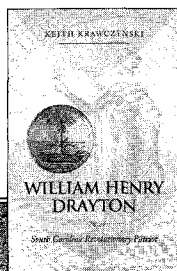
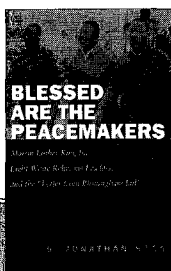
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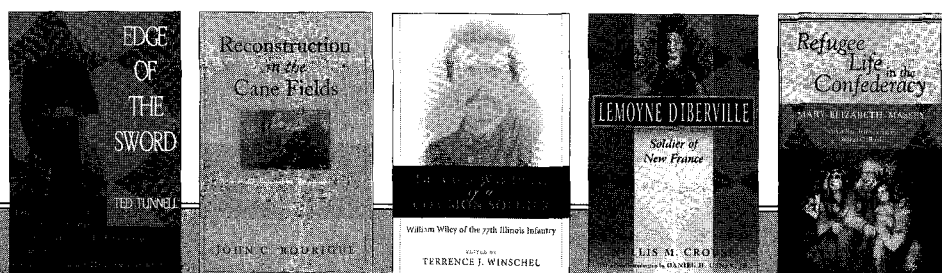
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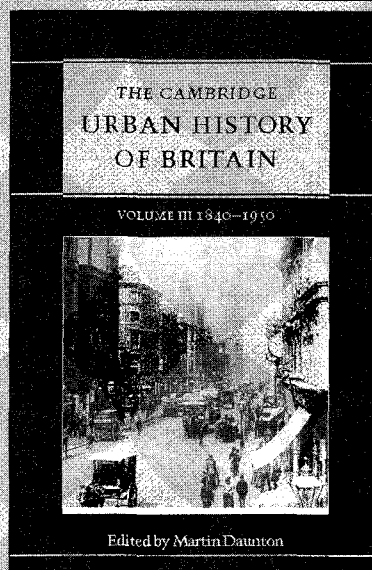
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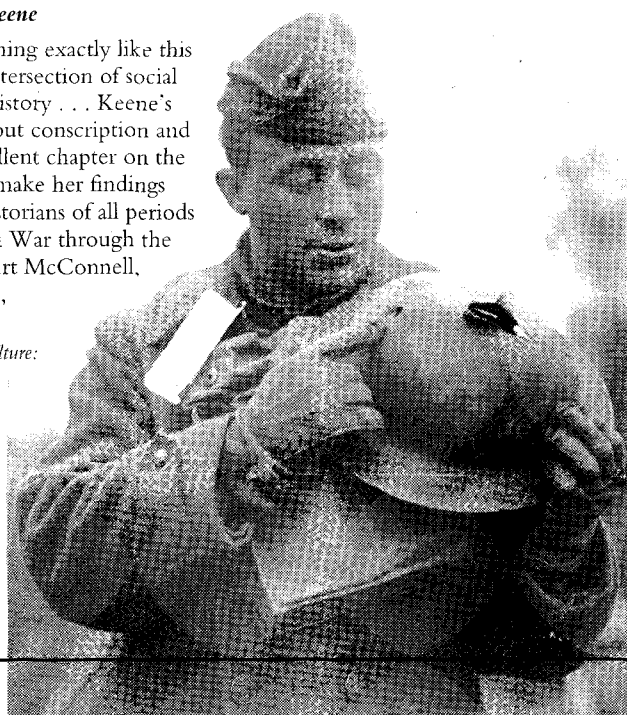
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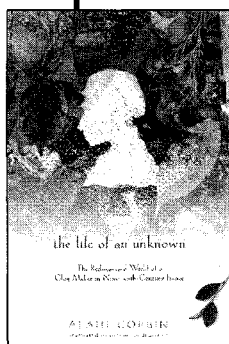
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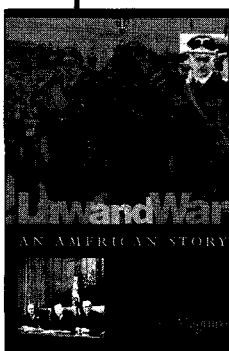
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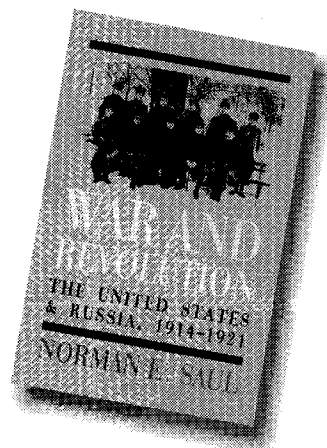
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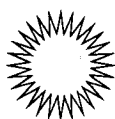
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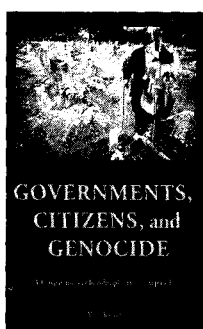
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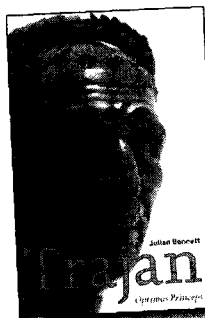
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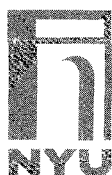
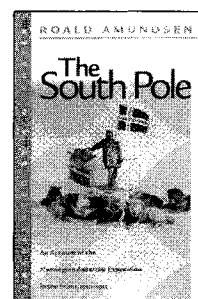
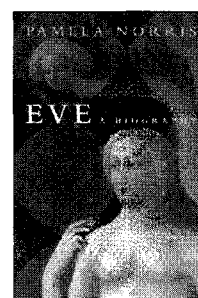
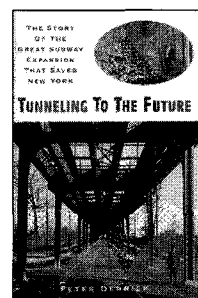
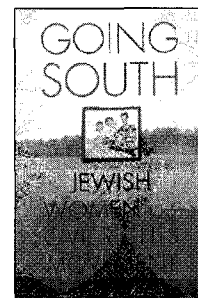
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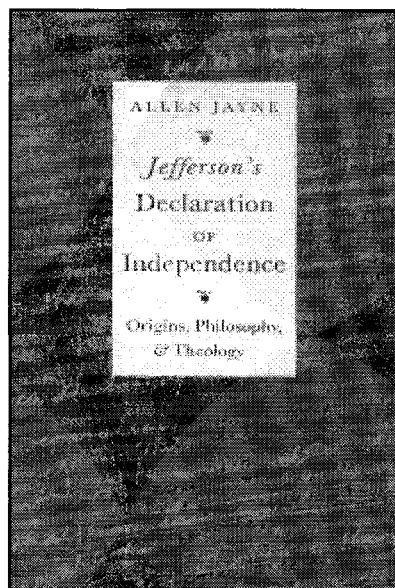
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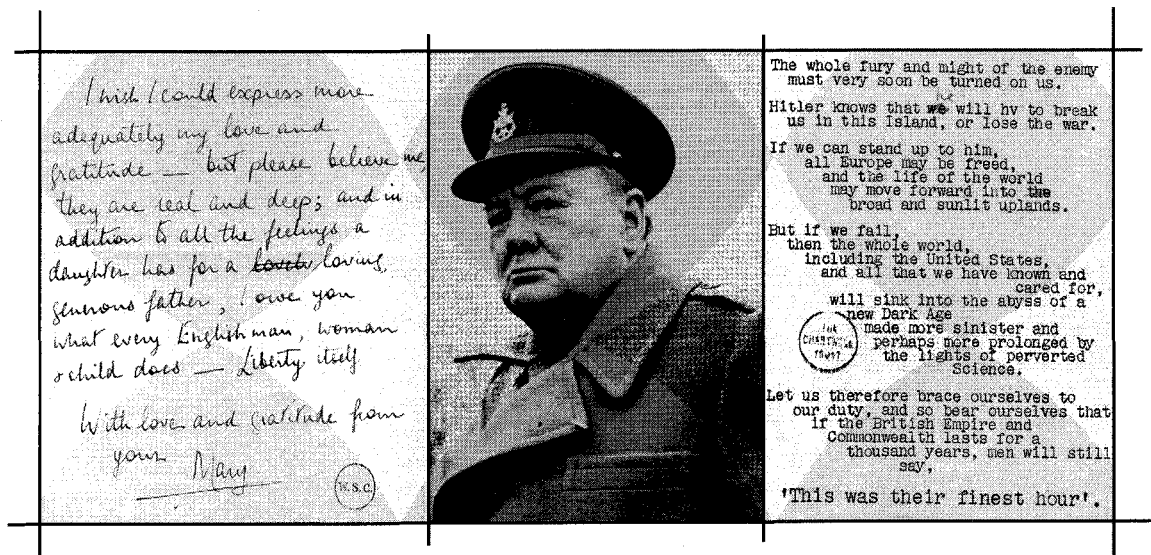
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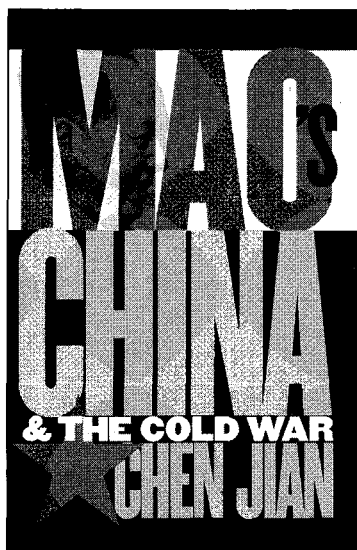
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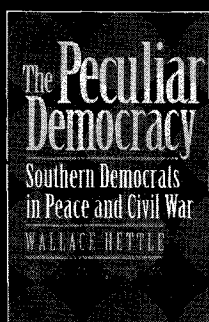
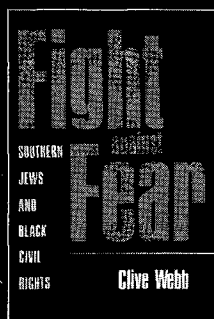
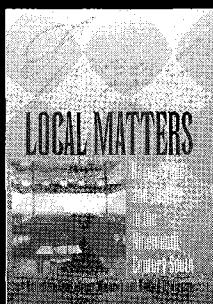
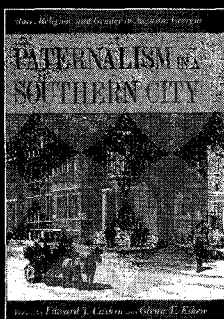
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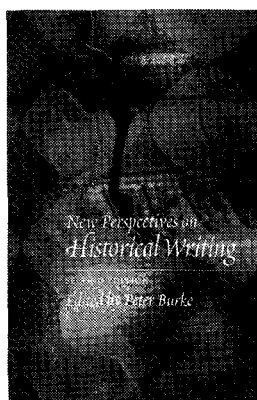
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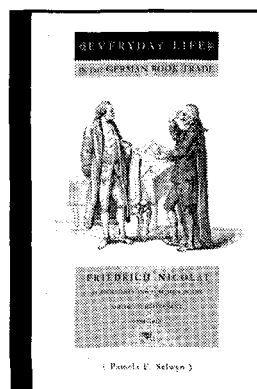
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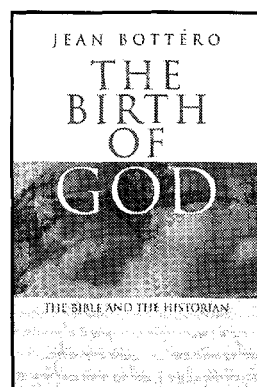
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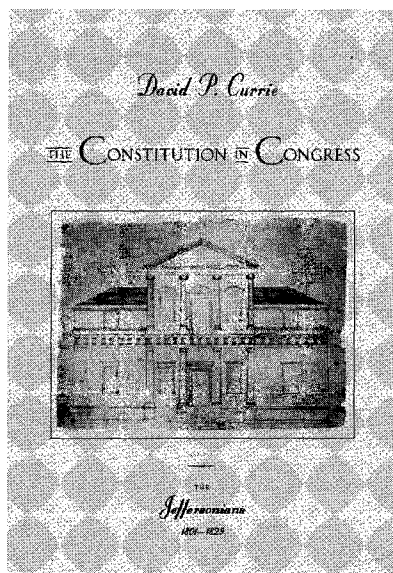
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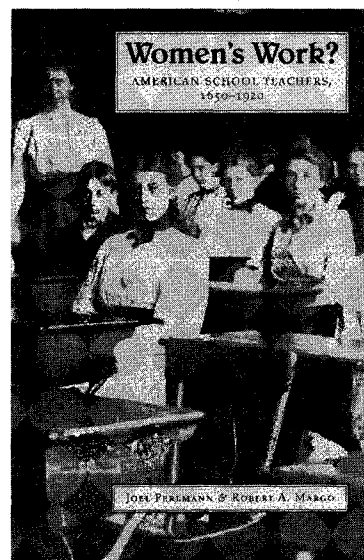
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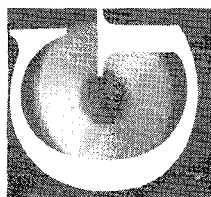
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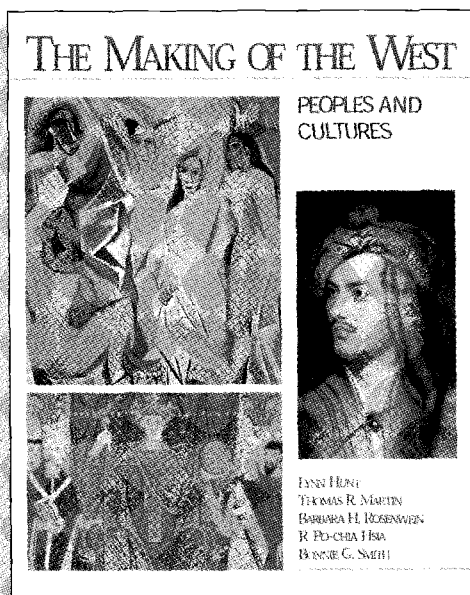
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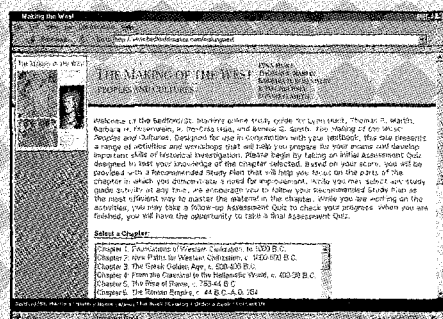
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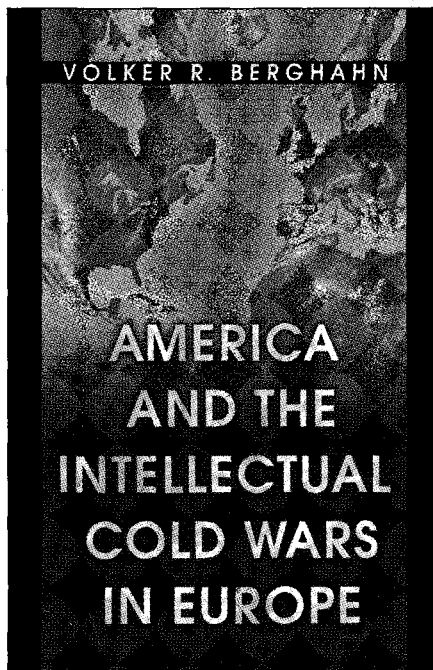
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